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THE ANNALS OF IOWA.

A HISTORICAL QUARTERLY.

VOLUME SEVEN—THIRD SERIES.

EDITED BY

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ANNALS OF IOWA.

Vol. II, No. I. Des Moines, Iowa, June, 1887. No. 1.

EARLY DENMARK AND DENMARK ACADEMY.

BY MRS. H. B. QUINTON.

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In the spring of 1836, Messrs. Epps, Timothy and Curtis Shedd, with their families, and four passengers, journeyed from Providence, R. I., by water, to Quincy, Ill. They bought for two hundred dollars a quarter-section of land half-mile from the center of Denmark. This consisted of land sufficient for four farms, with a small house and a double log cabin sixteen by eighteen feet. It had two half-windows, a puncheon floor, a clay hearth, and a red chimney. This cabin in October received a new family, that of William Brown, consisting of five persons more. They had come by wagon fourteen hundred miles and had been seven weeks on the way. Eighteen persons occupied the cabin through the winter, and at night the greater part of the floor-space was used for beds. The bill of fare that winter consisted of corn and pork and varied by corn and pork. The logs for butchering were obtained in Indiana. The first mill in Augusta, Iowa, in 1838, was called "The Haystack," as called from the shape of the mill. The first day in a corn field was in 1838, and the first corn was harvested in 1838.

Yours Truly

Mrs. H. B. Quinton.

MRS. HARLAN B. QUINTON.

Born July 2, 1832, at Utica, N. Y.; removed to Wisconsin, 1855; graduated from Denmark Academy, 1871.

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VOL. VII, No. 1.

DES MOINES, IOWA, APRIL, 1905.

3D SERIES.

EARLY DENMARK AND DENMARK ACADEMY.

BY MRS. H. B. QUINTON.

The town of Denmark, Iowa, consisting of twenty square miles, lies in the original Black Hawk Purchase, nine miles north of Ft. Madison. The first white inhabitant was John O. Smith, a native of North Carolina, who made a claim to land in 1835. The first child born in the place was his son.

In the spring of 1836, Lewis Epps, Timothy Fox and Curtis Shedd, with their families, and four unmarried men, journeyed from Providence, R. I., by water, to Quincy, Ill. They bought for two hundred dollars a squatter's claim one half-mile from the center of Denmark. This consisted of land sufficient for four farms, with a small fenced field and a double log cabin sixteen by eighteen feet. It had two half-windows, a puncheon floor, a clay hearth and a sod chimney. This cabin in October received a fourth family, that of William Brown, consisting of five persons more. They had come by wagon fourteen hundred miles, and had been seven weeks on the way. Eighteen persons occupied the cabin through the winter, and at night the greater part of the floor space was used for beds. The bill of fare that winter consisted of pork and cornmeal, varied by cornmeal and pork. The hogs for butchering were obtained in Illinois, and the meal was ground at a mill in Augusta, Iowa, in 1835.

The original name of Denmark was "The Haystack," so called from the custom of several neighbors putting hay in a common stack, which, standing on the open prairie, was conspicuous for some distance. By whom and when the

name of Denmark was conferred is uncertain, but a survey under that name was made in 1837.

That same year a school house was built and Miss Eliza Houston, of Lyndeborough, N. H., was installed as teacher. This school house, which was used for church as well, was originally twenty by twenty-four feet, but was soon lengthened to forty feet. It had a loose floor partly of slabs, the walls were unplastered and covered with oak splits, the seats were slabs with no backs, and the desk consisted of two upright boards faced with cottonwood and with a six inch strip nailed on top, all of native Iowa wood. This building was used for church purposes as well as school for eight years.

During the summer of 1837 and the winter of 1837-38, Rev. W. P. Apthorp preached at times to the few living near "The Haystack." In the spring of 1838 measures were taken to secure church organization and Rev. Julius A. Reed, of Warsaw, Ill., and Rev. Asa Turner, Jr., of Quincy, Ill., were invited to assist. On May 5, 1838, thirty-two individuals assented to the "Articles of Faith" and covenanted with one another to serve the Lord. They were the first to unfurl that banner in Iowa, which, more than two hundred years before, their fathers unfurled over Plymouth Rock. Denmark church is the oldest existing church west of the Mississippi river, and the first Congregational church west of the Alleghanies.

After the church was organized, the Rev. Asa Turner was invited to become its pastor, and in July he removed to Denmark with his wife and three children.

The "Home Missionary" found Denmark, his future home, consisting of three houses and the school house, and the first night was passed in the historic cabin that had sheltered so many of Denmark's first settlers. But Mr. Turner soon had a small shanty built east of the present church edifice. The town proprietors gave him two lots for building; this house was the fifth erected from sawed lumber.

One of the Denmark "girls" of that time contributes a

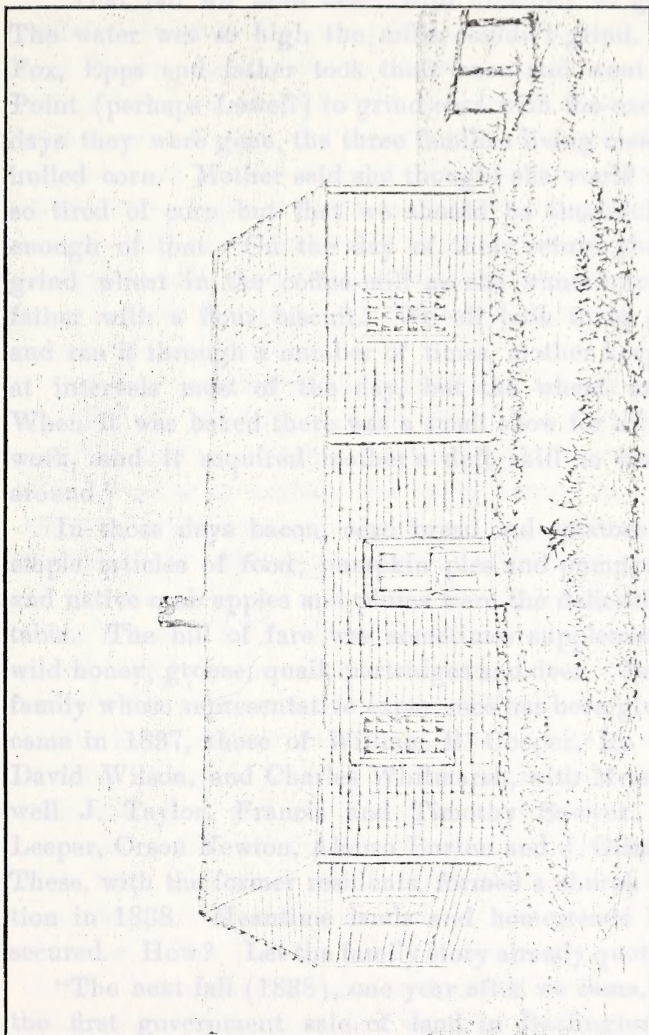
realistic picture of the hardships and life of the pioneers. Her father was born in London; "pressed" on board a British man-of-war when ten years old, he followed the seas, becoming a sea captain. Living on the coast of Maine and fearing for his sons the temptation of the Maine coast to a seafaring life, he decided to come west with his wife and ten children. Their destination was Illinois, but on their journey westward they heard of the Purchase and reached it on October 4, 1837. His daughter says: "As we drew near Burlington, in front of a little hut on the river bank, sat a girl and a boy—most pitiable looking objects, uncared for, hollow-eyed, sallow-faced; they had crawled out into the warm sun with chattering teeth to see the boat pass. To mother's inquiries the Captain said: 'If you've never seen that kind of sickness I reckon you must be a Yankee; that's the ager. I'm afraid you'll see plenty of it if you stay long in these parts. They call it here the swamp devil, and it will take the roses out of the cheeks of those plump little ones of yours mighty quick. Cure it! No, Madam. No cure for it; have to wear it out. I had it a year when I first went on the river.'

"We then decided not to locate near the river. We stopped in a cabin while father 'prospected.' He heard of a Yankee settlement back from the river. Hastening to it he found two small cabins; the families of Messrs. Epps and Shedd were living in one, and Mr. Fox's family in the other. Also a mile to the west lived William Brown. They divided with us their claim, and helped get the logs for our house. During the fortnight it was being built we lived in a cabin near Moffat's Mill (now Augusta), by the river. Father, our brother of sixteen, and a young man who came with us, being made welcome in the cabin of Messrs. Epps, Shedd, Hill and Houston. That they were all in the body we know, but how they all lived I cannot tell; those little pioneer cabins had extensive possibilities, as did also the heads and hearts of their occupants.

"Every night mother suffered from fear of being scalped by the Indians, not knowing where they were prowling about. But she kept her fears from us at that time. Wolves we sometimes saw in daytime, and often heard them sniffing around the door at night and setting up blood-curdling howls. Father had a massive sea chest and it took the united strength of our family to drag it before the door at night and pile others on top; we then felt secure from Indians and wolves. Once sister and I went to the mill, as we had nothing for bread but hulled or parched corn pounded in a mortar or ground in a coffee-mill. Mr. Moffat said the water was too high for grinding, but he went to his house and kindly divided with us their meal.

"When our cabin was finished, father and Mr. Smith came for us with an ox-team. It was dreadfully muddy and some of us had to walk. The distance was two miles, mostly up hill, and as far as we could see one long stretch of black mud. For the first time one little fellow cried to go home and see his grandmother. Mrs. Smith had delayed her dinner for us; mother wouldn't think for a moment of making her so much trouble, but Mr. Smith had already stopped the team at the door, saying he had got the least ones and mother would have to follow. Turning to us children, Mrs. Smith said, 'You are tired, aren't you honeys?' and looking in mother's face, 'Rest a bit; then you'll feel better to fix up your house, and I reckon you'll find right smart to do there.' Except Mr. Moffat's, mother had not seen a face during the last fortnight, and kind Mrs. Smith, our nearest neighbor, never lost a warm place in her heart. It somewhat dampened our ardor when we saw our mite of a cabin standing on the bare prairie alone, and to our eager inquiries where the beds and tables and other articles could be put, mother's cheerful answer would be, 'Oh, we'll find a place or make one.' Yet I overheard her tell Mrs. Shedd that when she came to that dark little cabin on the prairie, with such desolate dreariness all around, it looked so unlike home that

for a moment all she had given up rushed through her mind with crushing force.



CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH AND DENMARK ACADEMY, 1843.

The next fall (1885), one year after the first government sale of land, excitement prevailed, and some felt great anxiety, as they might now lose their homes, or in order to get money to buy them, have to pay fifty per cent to speculators or land-grabbers who stood ready to bid their homes from under them.

for a moment all she had given up rushed through her mind with crushing force.

"That fall we were beset with difficulty to get bread. The water was so high the mills couldn't grind. Messrs. Fox, Epps and father took their oxen and went to West Point (perhaps Lowell) to grind corn with the oxen. Five days they were gone, the three families living meantime on hulled corn. Mother said she thought she would never get so tired of corn but that we should be thankful we had enough of that. On the day of their return she tried to grind wheat in the coffee-mill as she wanted to surprise father with a flour biscuit. We all took turns grinding, and ran it through a number of times, mother keeping at it at intervals most of the day, but the wheat was tough. When it was baked there was a small show for all our hard work, and it required mother's deft skill to make it go around."

In those days bacon, corn bread and potatoes were the staple articles of food; pumpkin pies and pumpkin butter, and native crab apples and plums were the delicacies of the table. The bill of fare was sometimes supplemented with wild honey, grouse, quail, partridges and deer. Besides the family whose representative experience has been given, there came in 1837, those of William B. Cooper, Ira Houston, David Wilson, and Charles Whitmarsh, with Messrs. Hartwell J. Taylor, Francis and Timothy Sawyer, John E. Leeper, Orson Newton, Alonzo Burton and J. Gilman Field. These, with the former residents, formed a church organization in 1838. Meantime lands and homesteads had to be secured. How? Let the family story already quoted relate:

"The next fall (1838), one year after we came, occurred the first government sale of land in Burlington. Much excitement prevailed, and some felt great anxiety, as they might now lose their homes; or in order to get money to buy them, have to pay fifty per cent to speculators or land-grabbers who stood ready to bid their homes from under them.

"Father knew that the money he brought with him had dwindled so it would not be sufficient; the money coming to us back east was not due, and to borrow it at that time would necessitate his going there. The journey there and back might consume two or three months' time, and to be sure of being in season for the sale, father started for Maine in August. He got the money, but coming back the river was low, and he was delayed. As the time drew near the all-absorbing topic at home was father's return. Many had been getting ready for a week to go to the sale, taking food, cooking utensils, and blankets, expecting to camp out several days, and not knowing, with thousands of others, when their turn to bid would come.

"A few days before the sale mother became so troubled she went to Mr. Epps and Mr. Fox. They told her that if possible they would bid in our land, or otherwise protect it, but she grew so anxious she could neither eat nor sleep. Mr. Fox called the morning the sale opened on his way to Burlington to reassure her that we should not lose our home.

"In those days we were not only waiting and looking for father's return from the east, not knowing what had happened, but we constantly exercised an anxious vigilance towards the west for the Indians. They had made a treaty, but we knew of their treacherous attacks. Large companies of them passed to Burlington from their camping-ground a little west of us, and would stop on the way for something to eat, asking first for doughnuts and 'cows' grease' (butter). Mrs. Epps had given Black Hawk and a few of his braves some doughnuts, so they learned the word and always asked for them. The Indians were always hungry, and at first, though their capacious stomachs seemed limitless, and everything cooked in the house quickly disappeared, mother dared not refuse them.

"Mr. Epps and Mr. Fox bid in our land, and in a few days father arrived with the money, to the joy and relief of all. At Pittsburg he had met with two other families bound

for the Purchase and Denmark, Isaac Field's and Oliver Brooks'; both men afterwards became deacons, the latter served as clerk of the church and kept remarkably full and accurate records for more than fifty years."

The original owners, Messrs. Epps, Fox, Shedd and Brown, laid off the town in January, 1840, in twenty-four blocks, enclosing a park of four blocks. One-half of the town lots were donated for school purposes. These original settlers of Denmark brought with them the spirit and principles which led their ancestors in New England to provide among the first things for churches and schools.

To their first pastor, Rev. Asa Turner, familiarly called "Father Turner" justly belongs the title "Father of Denmark Academy." There is a tradition that Father Turner conditioned his coming to Denmark upon the founding of an institution of learning. For several years the purpose to establish a school did not take definite shape. There was talk of a college and the name "Philandrian College," to be located in Denmark, with the names of seven trustees, figure in the early laws of the Territory of Wisconsin, 1837-38, but from lack of funds the institution failed to materialize.

The charter of Denmark Academy was granted by the Territorial Legislative Assembly, February 3, 1843; it is, therefore, the oldest incorporated institution in Iowa. The original trustees were Asa Turner, Jr., Reuben Brackett, Isaac Field, Oliver Brooks, and Hartwell J. Taylor. The proceeds of the undivided half of the town site yielded the first stock for the Academy. Instruction was begun in September, 1845, by Albert A. Sturges, who was afterwards for thirty years a missionary in Micronesia. Mr. Sturges taught from 1845 to 1848, the first year at a salary of fifty dollars per year, which was subsequently raised to twenty dollars per term.

For several years after the birth of the Academy it made but little progress; in fact, it was merely a select school for the people of Denmark. There was no Academy building,

the old historic Congregational church being occupied during the first few years. In 1848 a new building was erected by the people of Denmark on the Academy lands at a cost of four thousand dollars. It was a neat two-story structure of limestone twenty-eight by fifty-two feet, and is a portion of the present Academy building. In the lower only finished room of this building Mr. Drake taught until the summer of 1852. At that time the trustees engaged Rev. Henry K. Edson to take charge of the school; he had been for five years the successful principal of Hopkins Academy in Hadley, Mass.

The Academy opened in 1852 with eighteen pupils, one from abroad, and increased to one hundred and five the first year, forty-four being from abroad; the second year a total of one hundred and forty-four, with eighty-eight from abroad; the third year two hundred and one, one hundred and forty-four from abroad.

The village only fifteen years old, which greeted the teachers from New England, was still in the rough. Blue sky and green prairie furnished all the natural scenery. The few houses were mostly of one story, or one and a half; few lots were fenced and everything seemed out of doors.

The Academy stood alone and unsheltered by trees upon the open prairie; it had no doorsteps, nor was there in the whole place a sign of board or stone walks to keep one from sinking in the seas of mud. Pupils of that early time came to Denmark in "prairie schooners" from a distance of one hundred to two hundred miles, and, in some instances, drawn by ox-teams. The driver of one of these, a woman taking her children to school, relieved the tedium of the way by smoking a clay pipe.

At this time the mails reached Denmark but once a week. The students were accommodated with board in private families, or with rooms where they boarded themselves, or in the Academy boarding or club house. Comfortable rooms with board, fuel, lights and washing were furnished from

\$1.50 to \$1.75 per week. The tuition at the Academy was from \$18 to \$24 per year.

The first catalogue was issued in August, 1858. The names only appear upon the teachers' page, those of Mr. and Mrs. Edson. In 1858 the first diplomas were awarded to Miss Emma Cooper and Miss Fanny Fox. During the years 1856-57, the correspondence students took studies equivalent to the course and were accounted alumni. All became men of note; one was Charles K. Adams, President for some time of Cornell University of New York and also of the State University of Wisconsin, from 1892 until his death in 1905. In 1858 Miss M. M. Edson, now Mrs. J. A. Edson, became Lady Principal, which position she filled satisfactorily for seven years.

Blacksmith shops were established in Denmark previous to 1840, Mr. James Cooper being the first blacksmith. In 1840 Mr. Bassett made twenty five papers for cutting grain, one of which was used on the farm of William Brown, now driven by his son Edward. The year before, 1848, Mr. Bassett made two threshing machines, one of which was taken by teams of the late George C. Cook, Utah, the other was purchased and used by William Brown.

About 1850, Mr. Epps and Shedd began the pork packing business, which they continued for seven years. The building used for this purpose is now standing east of town near the place where the first cabins stood.

James Edwards opened a store about 1840 in the north part of town, the building is now used as a dwelling house. He soon sold his store to Mr. Alvord, who, in 1850, after having charge of it for some time, sold to Mr. Day, and went to California. In 1851 Mr. Day was joined by Mr.

Ingalls, and they built the store which is still standing. In a few years Mr.

MISS EMMA P. COOPER.

Who received the first diploma from Denmark Academy. She taught for several years in the institution as Lady Principal and half of the year 1886 served as Principal.

Of the old settlers few remain. Mr. Edward Brown of Denmark, and his brother Charles Brown, are the sole survivors of the eighteen who wintered in the log cabin in 1836.

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Blacksmith shops were established in Denmark previous to 1840, Mr. James Cooper being the first blacksmith. In 1849 Mr. Bassett made twenty-five reapers for cutting grain, one of which was used on the farm of William Brown, and driven by his son Edward. The year before, 1848, Mr. Bassett made two threshing machines, one of which was taken by teams overland to Salt Lake City, Utah, the other was purchased and used by William Brown.

About 1850, Messrs. Fox, Epps and Shedd began the pork-packing business, which they continued for several years. The buildings used for this purpose are now standing east of town near the place where the first cabins stood.

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Of the old settlers few remain. Mr. Edward Brown of Denmark, and his brother Charles Brown, are the sole survivors of the eighteen who wintered in the log cabin in 1836

and 1837. Mr. Edward Brown was six months old when his parents reached Denmark. The Denmark "girl" who gives the story of pioneer experiences in this article is still living, with three other members of the same family. Mr. Ingalls, mentioned above, has retired from business, but still lives in Denmark. Deacon Trowbridge, who for over fifty years was sexton of the Congregational church, passed away last year.

For a number of years Denmark was an important station of the "underground railroad"; escaped slaves considered themselves safe on reaching the place. Parson Turner and Edward Turner were the principal ones who secreted and helped the contrabands. One, Philip James, made baskets and took them to Burlington. Slaves who reached Denmark were secreted under these baskets and Mr. James, on reaching Burlington, would drive around the town with them but did not sell them, and when night came the hidden slaves would be taken to the house of some party friendly to the cause and helped across the river.

A slave once came to a house two miles from Denmark and asked for shelter. He was secreted and shortly followed by his pursuers who were instructed to go in the opposite direction from the town and under cover of night the negro reached Denmark in safety.

On account of anti-slavery principles Denmark was a marked town during the civil war. A home guard was organized and the people were in constant fear of guerrillas, as they had threatened to burn the town; at one time a party of them crossed the river and headed for Denmark but were frightened away.

During the civil war the Academy suffered from loss of students and consequent pecuniary embarrassment, but her gallant sons performed their full share of patriotic service on many a battlefield. Over one hundred students were enrolled as defenders of their country. Some attained high command, some laid down their lives. Following is a list of

the students who enlisted as soldiers: George Bristow, Pierson H. Bristow, Hiram Brown, S. Brown, Horatio Case, Tobeski Coggeshall, Oscar Dudley, Baron Edwards, James Edwards, Henry A. Field, Elmer Hall, Homer Hall, Amos Hill, Amos Howard, Henry Howard, George Lockett, Theodore Loomis, T. J. Matlack, O. V. Montgomery, George Shedd*, H. H. Shedd, James A. Shedd, Fred Spencer, Jasper Spencer, John Starr, Asa Turner, Robert Turner, Watson Turner, Eugene F. Ware, George Whitmarsh, Timothy Whitmarsh, Alfred Wilder*.

The greater number of those who returned resumed their studies in the Academy. The catalogue of 1865-66 shows two hundred and seventy students, two hundred of whom were from abroad, gathered from sixteen different states, and including twenty children of the first pupils of Prof. and Mrs. Edson.

At this time the people of Denmark met with a problem difficult to solve. The Academy building was altogether too small to accommodate such a number of students. Help from abroad had never been asked or received, but it was now decided that such an addition to the Academy as was needed could not be built without outside assistance. Mr. Edson was sent east to solicit funds and while there he obtained about half the amount required. Within two years the new building was completed at a cost of seventeen thousand dollars.

A word here should be said concerning the generosity of the people of Denmark. Such a school as the Academy, without endowment, could never have existed without the generous support of the Denmark residents. Father Turner, a poor man with large family, gave liberally of his substance to both church and school. He was a farmer-preacher—without the produce of his land he could not have lived, as his salary, supposed to be three hundred dollars, was rarely paid in full, and after twenty years of labor it reached only six hundred dollars.

*Killed in battle.

The church edifice was destroyed by fire in 1861. Re-building the church and adding to the Academy made a hard financial strain for the people of Denmark. They took pride in wearing sunbonnets and plain clothes "to meeting", preferring to do so that they might have more with which to help the church and school. When the work of building was hindered by lack of funds, one of the Trustees replied thus to his pastor's urgency, "We have given until we can give no more. This is the best coat I have in the world, and it is not fit to wear to church. You must give us a rest and let us do something for ourselves."

For twenty-six years Professor Edson received tuitions and paid the salaries of teachers therefrom, contenting himself with the remainder. A part of the time this remainder was equivalent to a moderate salary and part of the time to a bare living, \$400 a year for both himself and Mrs. Edson. In 1874 a small endowment was received—\$10,000, part of it from the sale of lands given by Mr. Reed, the balance by subscription from friends of the Academy at home and abroad. This endowment now amounts to \$18,000. Mr. Edson never received any part of the income of endowment funds.

In 1878 Mr. and Mrs. Edson had leave of absence for a year in Europe, to rest, study, travel and regain health. Father Turner advised it. The next year Mr. Edson sent from Geneva, Switzerland, his resignation. The year before, the Board of Trustees, now enlarged to fifteen, had put on record their testimony that he had "labored with the strictest integrity, with Christian honor and self-sacrificing zeal," and their appreciation of his "signal fidelity, energy and success." In accepting his resignation they expressed their "deep sense of the value of his services as Principal of the Academy for twenty-six years," and their "affectionate sympathies and fervent prayers for his continued usefulness." Mrs. Edson, who served as Lady Principal for many years, will be long remembered by the graduates of the Academy

and other papers for key loving kindness, and the great work of the

at Grinnell, January 10, 1859, when many two years ago. I was
Edson moved to Grinnell and occupied the same building
in 1859 College from 1878 to 1887. Prof. and Mrs. Edson
have succeeded Mr. and Mrs. Edson. For many years
were followed by three different professors. The first
Johnson served from 1887 to 1894. He was a very good
04. At this time under the office of the principal
principal, the Academy was very successful. The
attendance increased, the curriculum was strengthened. Life was left in a

present (1905).

Principal, Macdonald, who came from 1890 to 1891, began the good work, and was succeeded by Prof. W. in 1892 who succeeded in persuading in the spring of 1893. He was a specimen of noble manhood, whose influence for good will be felt by the youth of the community for a long time. Arthur Bauer, A. B., from Cornell, a graduate of Denmark Academy in 1896, was assistant Principal with at the time of his death. He carried on the work of the school the remainder of the year and for two succeeding years. His

and other pupils for her loving kindness, and the grace and beauty of her Christian character and influence. She died at Grinnell, January 16, 1889, aged sixty-two years. Prof. Edson moved to Grinnell and occupied the chair of didactics in Iowa College from 1879 to 1892. Prof. and Mrs. Bingham succeeded Mr. and Mrs. Edson; for three years they were followed by three different professors. Mr. A. S. Johnson served from 1887-90, Mr. J. F. Morse from 1890-94. At this time, under the efficient management of Principal Morse, the Academy received new inspiration, the attendance increased, the course of study was revised and strengthened. Life was felt in all departments.

Miss Emma Cooper, who received the first diploma from Denmark Academy, was the daughter of William B. Cooper and wife, who came to Denmark on their wedding trip. She was the first child born to them. Her life was devoted to teaching, in which profession she was always successful. For a number of years she was principal of one of the city schools in Topeka, Kansas. She taught for several years in the Denmark Academy as Lady Principal and for half of the year 1886 she served as Principal, the former incumbent having resigned during the middle of the year.

Miss Charlotte N. Estabrooke, of East Lebanon, Mass., was secured as Lady Principal from 1888-95. She was a fine scholar, a good and faithful teacher, and a lady in every sense of the word. Her influence over the young women especially was very noticeable for good.

Principals Macomber and Conner from 1894-98 kept up the good work, and were succeeded by Prof. Wing in 1889, who succumbed to pneumonia in the spring of 1900. He was a specimen of noble manhood, whose influence for good will be felt by the youths of the community for a long time.

Arthur Risser, A. B., from Grinnell, a graduate of Denmark Academy in 1895, was assisting Principal Wing at the time of his death; he took charge of the Academy the remainder of the year and for two succeeding years. He

was succeeded by J. Richmond Childs, A. B. (Amherst), under whose administration the Academy will take no backward steps. He is assisted by Miss Willard, A. B. (Knox).

The value of such a school as Denmark Academy, kept up as it has been for fifty-nine years, can never be estimated. Upwards of four thousand students have been enrolled. The graduates numbered two hundred and forty-three up to the year 1904. Eight of these graduates were the children of Denmark Academy alumni. They came from nearly every state in the Union, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Columbia river to Mexico. They are filling pulpits, judges' benches, presidents' and professors' chairs in colleges; they are ministers of the gospel, missionaries, home and foreign, doctors, lawyers, business men and women, school teachers, and fathers and mothers of future Denmark Academy students and graduates.

The environment of Denmark Academy has always been favorable to students. The citizens have been kind and generous to them in opening their houses for board or rooms as needed. There has never been a saloon in Denmark and it is safe to prophesy there never will be. The town is pleasantly situated in a healthful location. The community is an intelligent and cultured one, and its influence upon the students, who are looked upon as members of its society, is lasting and beneficial.

While the Academy was founded by members of the Congregational church it is by no means sectarian. It is open to all. However, the influence brought to bear upon the student is thoroughly Christian.

The government of the Academy is based upon the rules of conduct which ought to be observed by young people assembled for study. The Academy building contains commodious class rooms, library and assembly hall, all in good repair. A new Club House, with large pleasant rooms, is situated in a block adjoining the Academy grounds. Near the Academy stands the Music Hall, containing pianos to be

used by the students for instruction and practice. A beautiful campus of about three acres, with croquet ground and tennis court, surrounds the buildings, while in front lies the large and beautiful village park.

In order to give students the benefit derived from listening to the best talent of the American lecture platform, an annual course of lectures has been given in Academy Hall, to which students can purchase tickets at a reduced price.

At the annual Commencement, June, 1903, twenty-three hundred dollars were subscribed for improvements for the Academy. The amount was used for a steam heating plant, acetylene gas lighting, and some minor improvements. A class of thirteen was graduated in June, 1904.

Much of the work done in Denmark Academy the pen of the historian will never record, it "Seems out of sight like the toil of those who lay foundations upon which will rise stately superstructures to be admired of men."

PERSONS traveling from Fort Dodge to Des Moines, will find a first rate conveyance in the line of stages run by Hatch & Co. They leave three times a week, have good carriages, careful drivers and fast horses, all of which can be readily proven by trial.—*Fort Dodge Republican*, February 17, 1864.

THE ICE.—The Des Moines river which has been snugly bridged for months, began to cave in a few days since. The ice at the crossing above Court Avenue bridge has had a few holes punched into it by the hoofs of horses, and travel is not so free as usual in that direction.—*Daily State Register* (Des Moines), March 1, 1862.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE HALF-BREED TRACT.

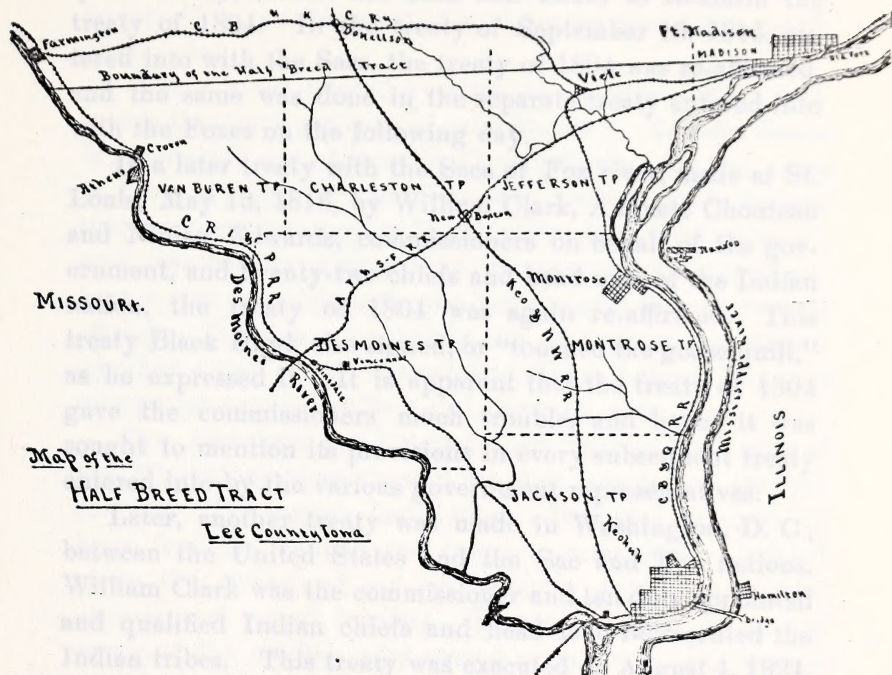
BY B. L. WICK.

The late Judge George G. Wright, in his lectures, frequently urged his students to make a study of the legal questions growing out of the half-breed lands, which occupied the attention of the courts for many years during the early days. It was due to this venerable jurist's suggestion that the writer became interested in this subject.

In order that the reader may fully understand the true situation, it will be necessary to go back and cite the early treaties which were made with the Indians, as these have a certain bearing on the questions involved.

On November 3, 1804, five Indian chiefs of the Fox and Sac nation, entered into a treaty at St. Louis, whereby they sold to the United States, fifty-one million acres of land lying between the Illinois, the Fox and the Mississippi rivers, in the then territory of Illinois. William H. Harrison, then governor of the territory of Indiana, acted on behalf of the government. The consideration paid for this vast stretch of country, was protection on part of the government, and goods delivered to the amount of \$2,234.50, with an annuity, paid in goods, of \$600.00 to the Sacs, and \$400.00 to the Foxes, forever. It was further provided that, as long as the government held the lands, "the Indians belonging to the said tribes shall enjoy the privilege of living and hunting upon them". The tribes always maintained that the chiefs had no power or authority to make such a treaty, as they had been sent to St. Louis to obtain the release of an Indian who had been imprisoned for the killing of a white man, and consequently were not empowered to relinquish the title to any lands which the tribes held or occupied.

This treaty was made at the time that the government took possession of the Louisiana purchase at St. Louis.



Map of the
HALF-BREED TRACT

Lee County, Iowa

MAP OF THE HALF-BREED TRACT.

It shows the extreme southern limit of the State of Iowa, with adjacent portions of Illinois and Missouri. Compiled from original sources by Mr. C. S. Byrkit, late Deputy Secretary of State.

and were reserved to the half-breeds of the Sac and Fox nations; this land is described as lying between the Des Moines and the Mississippi rivers, and south of a line drawn from a point one mile below Farmington, east to the Mississippi river, touching the town of Ft. Madison, and including the town of Keokuk, and all of the lands lying between said line and the junction of the rivers.

The title to this land was the same as other Indian titles,

Black Hawk was present, but he and his followers failed in any way to recognize the American government.

The Indians never accepted this treaty as binding upon themselves as tribes, still the United States, in every subsequent treaty, forced the Sacs and Foxes to re-affirm the treaty of 1804. In the treaty of September 13, 1815, entered into with the Sacs, the treaty of 1804 was re-affirmed, and the same was done in the separate treaty entered into with the Foxes on the following day.

In a later treaty with the Sacs of Fox river, made at St. Louis, May 13, 1816, by William Clark, Auguste Chouteau and Ninian Edwards, commissioners on behalf of the government, and twenty-two chiefs and head men of the Indian nation, the treaty of 1804 was again re-affirmed. This treaty Black Hawk also signed, or "touched the goose quill," as he expressed it. It is apparent that the treaty of 1804 gave the commissioners much trouble, and hence it was sought to mention its provisions in every subsequent treaty entered into by the various government representatives.

Later, another treaty was made in Washington, D. C., between the United States and the Sac and Fox nations. William Clark was the commissioner and ten duly appointed and qualified Indian chiefs and head men represented the Indian tribes. This treaty was executed on August 4, 1824, and ratified on January 18, 1825. By its provisions the Indians disposed of all their right and title to the northern portion of the state of Missouri from the river to the western borders of that state. By this treaty 119,000 acres of land were reserved to the half-breeds of the Sac and Fox nations; this land is described as lying between the Des Moines and the Mississippi rivers, and south of a line drawn from a point one mile below Farmington, east to the Mississippi river, touching the town of Ft. Madison, and including the town of Keokuk, and all of the lands lying between said line and the junction of the rivers.

The title to this land was the same as other Indian titles,

the United States retaining a reversionary interest in the land and depriving the holders thereof of the right to sell or dispose of it. A half-breed by the name of Morgan, is said to have been the person who made such an eloquent plea for his people, that he won over the government officials to reserve this valuable tract of land for the use of the people of his color.

It is a much mooted question who secured for the half-breeds this immense tract of valuable land. Captain James W. Campbell, son of Isaac R. Campbell, who, as a boy, came to Iowa in 1830, in a public speech made in 1875, claimed that the honor belonged to Maurice Blondeau, a jolly Frenchman, who had for years prior to the enactment of the treaty, been a sort of mediator for the Indians with the government officials. He was a brother-in-law of Andrew Santamont, who had a step-son by the name of Frank Labessa, the best interpreter among the Sacs and Foxes in early days.

The American Fur Company had posts on both sides of the Mississippi river during the first quarter of the last century. The agents had Indian wives, and brought up large families; hunters and trappers came also and located along the rivers and put up log huts and brought their squaws and reared families. The same might be said of many of the soldiers who moved about from one place to another protecting the early settlers during the Indian wars. Thus in a few years there sprang up a mixed population among the Indians on the borders. Some adopted the blanket, and took up the wandering lives of the Indians, while others, too proud to reside in the wigwam, tried to make a place for themselves and their children among the white settlers now related to them by ties of kinship.

Julien Dubuque had an Indian wife, and so had many of his French Canadians. The second white settler in Iowa, Chevalier Marais, in the year 1812 married the daughter of the chief of the Ioway Indians. Dr. Samuel C. Muir, a native of Scotland, and a surgeon in the United States army,

was stationed at Ft. Edwards, now Warsaw, Illinois. He had taken to wife a Fox maiden, and when the government later issued an order for all officers in the army to abandon their Indian wives, the Doctor resigned his office, saying, as he held up to public view his infant daughter, "May God forbid that a son of Caledonia should ever desert his child or disown his clan." He died in Keokuk in 1832, from cholera, survived by a widow and five children. The property was wasted in litigation, and this "brave and faithful wife, left friendless and penniless," at last returned with her children to her own people on the upper Missouri.

At Farmers' Point, which was founded in 1831, there were a number of white settlers who had Indian wives. Antoine Le Claire, one of the founders of Davenport, took for his wife, the granddaughter of a Sac chief, and he, himself, was the son of a granddaughter of a Pottawattamie chieftain. John Conelly, J. Forsyth, James Thorn, J. Tolman, employees of the American Fur Company, all had Indian wives. Lemoleise, a French trader, who lived near the place called Sandusky, in Lee county, had an Indian wife. Henry J. Carbell married a Winnebago maiden, and even the daughter of Black Hawk, who all his life was an enemy of the whites, was engaged to a merchant of Ft. Madison, but the engagement was broken off.

From existing conditions, as regards the mixture of races in this part of Iowa at the time, it would seem that what the friends of the half-breeds so eloquently contended for, before the treaty was signed, was just and sensible, and had matters gone as they had hoped, we might to-day have had a settlement in southeastern Iowa of thrifty, law-abiding people, as proud of their Indian blood as was John Randolph of Roanoke.

During the year 1833, a meeting of half-breed Indians was held at Farmers' Trading Post, to prepare a petition to Congress requesting the passage of an act authorizing the half-breeds to sell and dispose of the land holdings granted

them by the treaty of 1824. Congress it seems, on June 30, 1834, passed an act, whereby the government relinquished to the half-breeds, as a class, the reversionary interests it held, together with power to convey. (4 Stat. at Large, p. 740.) It was due to the mistake or the carelessness of this act by Congress, that the half-breeds became possessed of a fee simple title which caused the trouble.

Many questions arose in the construction of this statute. One of the first raised by the courts was, who are the half-breeds for whom this tract is intended? It is not questioned but that it was intended to be for the use of the whites of the Sac and Fox nations, who did not wear a blanket, and who were not entitled to annuities conferred upon the Indians of those tribes. It was further contended that the half-breeds preferred the annuities as many had decided to reside among the Indians; all agreed that they would be willing to accept the lands and annuities both. Soon the half-breed tract became one of the most active real estate localities in the west. It is stated on good authority that one Indian trader at Agency, now Agency City, purchased claims worth several thousand dollars, for a horse, a pony, a saddle, or a barrel of whiskey. Keokuk, as chief of the tribe, would attach his signature to the paper, to the effect that a certain person was a half-breed, and related by blood to the Sac and Fox nation. The person was easily influenced to partake of whiskey, and would then dispose of his title for a pony to some land-shark. So many transactions of this kind went on, that all these land contracts became known in law, as "blanket claims."

We must not, however, imagine that all this fraud was carried on by the whites alone. The Indians, on the other hand, soon discovered how they could take advantage of the situation, and soon those of mixed blood would get some Indian to swear that they were of Sac and Fox blood, and would dispose of land to which they held no title whatever. There were no boundary lines, no proper surveys, and as a

result conflicts arose which effected the titles for years afterwards. The main difficulty seems to have been that the right to sell was not given to individual Indians, but to the half-breeds as a class.

The act of Congress was silent as to the method to be used in dividing the land, and soon full-blooded and half-breed Indians sold land without regard to any legal rights. Often the same tract would be sold to several persons. Whites had located on this land as squatters, believing that as soon as it was thrown open to settlement, they would come in as original settlers, hoping that title was still in the United States. Thus there might be on the same land, half-breeds, Indians, speculators and squatters, all claiming title to the land through some pretext or other.

A number of companies were organized to deal in half-breed lands, the most important being the New York Land Company, and the St. Louis Land Company, the latter company being finally absorbed by the former. Henry S. Austin, an attorney of New York, located at Montrose in 1837, and with Dr. Isaac Galland as agent, looked after the interests of the New York Company.

The territorial legislature of Wisconsin on January 16, 1838, passed an act requiring all persons claiming land under the half-breed tract to file their respective claims with the clerk of the District Court of Lee county, within one year, showing the nature of the title upon which they relied. The same act provided that Edward Johnston, Thomas S. Wilson and David Brigham were appointed commissioners to take testimony as to the titles claimed by the respective parties at a per diem salary of \$6.00.

Lands not thus disposed of were to be sold and the proceeds to be divided among such half-breeds as could properly establish their claims and had not otherwise been fully paid in lands. The two commissioners, Wilson and Johnston, began in the spring of 1838, and sat for two years hearing the claims of the half-breeds. It seems that their

labors were displeasing to the people or to the parties dealing in half-breed titles. A considerable pressure was brought to bear upon Col. William Patterson and Hawkins Taylor, who were members of the territorial legislature, and at the First Legislative Assembly, 1838-39, a repealing law was passed which legislated the commissioners out of office. At the same session a law was enacted to partition this land, and as soon as the new law took effect, a suit for partition was brought by parties in St. Louis, and after nearly a year's litigation, an agreement was entered into by the contending parties, and still other questions of law were left for the court to decide.

The same act also provided that the commissioners should bring suit against the land for their services, thus depriving of their lands the half-breeds, who had had no part in making the selection, or of approving the method devised to settle affairs. Suits were accordingly brought, and the entire tract of land, consisting of 119,000 acres, was sold to Hugh T. Reid, an attorney, for the sum of \$5,773.32. The sheriff executed a deed to Reid for the lands thus sold, and he became, and has held to this day the record for having been the largest land owner within our borders.

The Legislature had enacted a law that any tenants in common, on lands which they were in possession of, might bring suits in partition. Under this law, a large number of suits were brought in Lee county, by claimants and their grantees, for partition of the half-breed tracts among the respective owners. Judgments were rendered for plaintiffs, and a commission was appointed dividing the lands into one hundred and one shares. The actual squatters were not silent, and remained active, as they had spent considerable money in improvements, and some had actually obtained "straw titles" to these lands.

The Legislature of 1839 passed an act for the benefit of the white settlers. The act provided that any person who had color of title, and had settled upon the land, and had

made improvements thereon, before being dispossessed of such lands, should be paid full value for such improvements. The Legislature of 1840 passed a supplemental act authorizing any settler on the half-breed tract, who had some color of title to the same, to select not more than one section, and hold such land till the title was finally settled. A receipt paid for taxes should be evidence of title to enable the person to hold such land. The next session followed this up by passing a law that the white settler was to have a lien on the land for improvements which he had made. During the session of 1848 another act was passed permitting the defendant in an action of ejectment to raise the question of fraud in procuring title by the plaintiff, whatever the nature of title might be, and the allegation of fraud should be investigated by the judge. (See Chap. 4, Sess. 1839-40.)

Now a long fight began in the courts, and it was not now a fight over the rights of the half-breeds, as these unfortunate people, for the most part, had disposed of all their holdings, for a mere song, to the powerful land companies, or their agents. The Legislature, by its various acts, had tried to protect the actual white settlers against the claims of the speculators, who were seeking to get possession of these lands, which had become the most valuable in the territory.

At the January term, 1846, of the Supreme Court, the case entitled "Joseph Webster, plaintiff in error, vs. Hugh T. Reid, defendant in error," was decided by the court, composed of Charles Mason, Joseph Williams and Thomas S. Wilson. This case involved the title to one hundred and sixty acres of land, and the court held that Reid, who had previously purchased the 119,000 acres for less than six thousand dollars, was the owner in fee simple of this land.

In 1841, Johnston & Reid, as attorneys for the St. Louis claimants of the half-breed lands, filed a petition in the United States Court for a decree of partition. Francis Scott Key, author of the "Star Spangled Banner," who was

then an attorney for the New York Land Company, also holding forty-one shares in these lands, drew up the decree, by which the half-breed tract of land was divided into one hundred and one shares, and arranged that each claimant should draw his portion by lot, and that he should abide the result whatever it might be. This decree was signed May 8, 1841, and for more than ten years litigation continued. By agreement, a plat was filed of record October 6, 1841. According to that plat, titles to half-breed lands are now held.

The Court held as follows: "That the act of Congress of 1834, vested the right and title in the half-breed Indians, all the right the United States had, with power to the half-breeds to transfer their portions by sale, descent or devise, according to the laws of the State of Missouri." Neither the treaty nor the act of Congress mentioned the names of persons who could take under the law, and it was for this reason that the territorial legislature, on January 18, 1838, with a view to ascertain who were the real owners, appointed the commission to pass upon the titles and to set aside these lands in severalty.

The grounds upon which Webster rested his case were as follows:

1. That he was a purchaser in good faith of the land from Na-mau-tau-pus, a half-breed Indian of the Sacs and Foxes, and that other Indians had so testified and made oath.
2. That he had resided on these lands and made improvements thereon.
3. That no notice had been personally served upon the defendant, Webster.
4. That plaintiff had been one of the attorneys in the case, that the sale had never in fact taken place, and that the return of the sheriff was false.

Another question raised in the case was, the meaning of Indian titles. The court held that the half-breeds held the land in common, and could not dispose of it without the

consent of the United States, but that the later act conferred this fee simple title and hence the act of 1834 conferred the right to sell and dispose of land on certain conditions.

Another question decided was, that although a legislature could not by law destroy vested rights, it did have a legal right to create and augment them. The case is reported in Morris, page 467. Another case was brought by Reid against Wright, which was decided at the May term, 1849, adversely to Reid. The court at that time was composed of John F. Kinney, George Greene and Joseph Williams.

Judge Kinney wrote the opinion, holding, "That it is the right and duty of the judicial power in the state, to declare all acts of the legislature made in violation of the constitution, to be void, and that the legislature of Wisconsin territory, could not curtail rights conferred, nor confer rights withheld by the ordinance of 1787." . . . "That in an action of right, the plaintiff must recover upon the strength of his own title, and must show a valid subsisting title in himself, and that no interest can accrue from a void judgment." (See Reid vs. Wright, 2 G. Greene, page 15.)

The former case was appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, and before that body decided the case, it is worthy of notice, that the State Supreme Court of Iowa arrived at the same conclusion, holding that the bona-fide settler and purchaser from the half-breed had title, and that the various acts of the legislature of both territories were void and repugnant to the ordinance of 1787.

At the December, 1850, term of the Supreme Court of the United States, that learned body handed down the long-looked for decision, reversing the territorial court, and deciding adversely to the purchaser of the land by sheriff sale to Hugh T. Reid. This was the blow which put an end to the strife which had waged long and bitterly for many years. The lawyers for the various land companies, quit-claimed for a reasonable consideration, all interests in these lands, and the matter was thus settled once for all.

The opinion was written by Justice John McLean (1787-1861), one of the most noted lawyers of his day and a profound judge, who held in the Dred Scott decision seven years later, "that slavery has its origin in force, not in right, nor in general law to which it is opposed." A few of the many points decided in the case are as follows:

"Where a judgment was rendered by the Supreme Court of the territory, and the record was certified by the Supreme Court of the state, after its admission into the Union, and the subject matter is within the jurisdiction of the Court, it will take jurisdiction of the case.

"Where the legislature directed that suits might be instituted against the owners of half-breed lands lying in Lee county, and notice thereof being served through newspapers and judgments were recovered on suits so instituted, such judgments are nullities.

"The court holds that where there is no personal service of notice on individuals, nor attachment or other proceedings against the land in question, there can be no valid judgment.

"The law provided that the court could decide without the intervention of a jury matters of fact. The court held that this was inconsistent with the provisions of the constitution of the United States, and with the ordinance of 1787, and if the law was void, the judgments under it equally so.

"It further held that the purchaser should have been allowed to show by evidence, the title upon which he relied; and he should have been allowed to show that the judgment relied upon by Reid had not been obtained in conformity with the law." (See Webster vs. Reid, U. S. Reports 52, Howard, book 11, p. 437.)

Part of the land involved in the half-breed purchase had once before been under consideration by this court in 1839. This was on the Honori title, over the town site of Montrose. Honori had purchased a tract of land in 1799 from the Spanish government, and in 1805 sold his contract to one J. Robedoux. He died and Auguste Chouteau was appointed

executor. He sold it to Thos. F. Reddick, the same year. After the half-breeds disposed of their lands, the various claimants brought partition suits to invalidate the title of the Reddick heirs, and this remains the oldest title to lands in Iowa.

From 1837 to 1850, emigration from the Scandinavian countries had begun in earnest, and as early as 1838-39, a settlement had been made, at what is known as Sugar Creek, in Lee county, Iowa.

The settlers early bought lands and obtained what was known in those days as "straw titles" and "blanket claims," which were declared worthless, so that a number of them lost every dollar invested. The misfortunes of their countrymen discouraged others in the settlements in Illinois and farther east, and hence the influx of Scandinavians later, began in the northeastern part of the State, and as a result the northern half of the State has a large Scandinavian population. There is no question but that if the first settlement had prospered, the Scandinavian settlements would have been found in the southern half of the State, and would have extended into the state of Missouri, for as a rule, people migrate by latitude, not by longitude.

Although "blanket claims" and "straw titles" prevented the first Scandinavians from getting a foothold in eastern Iowa, the chaotic condition of titles resulted in producing a lot of able lawyers in southern and eastern Iowa.

H. T. Reid was an able attorney, and represented the St. Louis Land Company. Edward Johnston became a United States attorney and later judge. H. S. Austin removed to Chicago, and Dan F. Miller, Sr., practiced law for more than fifty years in Iowa, and was one of the well-known men in the State, being a partner of Judge James M. Love, who was judge of the federal court for many years. Hawkins Taylor, the sheriff, became a noted politician and held the further honor of having arrested Hiram Smith, a brother of Joseph Smith, the Mormon prophet, in the early days of the

Nauvoo settlement. Of the many judges who participated in one way or another, may be mentioned Charles Mason, a New Yorker by birth, the classmate of Jefferson Davis and Leonidas Polk at West Point. He came to Iowa in 1836. John F. Kinney was also a New Yorker, and came to Ft. Madison in 1844, and after a residence of three years, was appointed judge on the Supreme bench. Joseph Williams was also a man of note, and a profound judge. George Greene was an Englishman of much learning, the author of the early reports, and a sound judge. Thomas S. Wilson came to Iowa in 1836 and two years later was appointed on the Supreme bench by Martin Van Buren. When the territory became a state, he was again appointed to fill a vacancy.

Although many of the descendants of the half-breeds can still be found in various walks of life, scattered over the State, most of them gradually wandered to the west to be with their own people, with whom they had much in common, and where perhaps they could more easily obtain a scanty living. On account of "the laws' delay," by the time the final decision came, the half-breeds thought little and cared less about the outcome. They were placed in much the same situation as the man who had entered into a contract for a contingent fee with his lawyers, and when asked about the outcome replied, "You see it is this way, if I win, I don't get anything, if I lose, my lawyers don't get anything." The lands were largely in the hands of speculators, and so this ideal home, which had been in the possession of their ancestors for centuries, slipped away for a mere song, and the social scheme of Morgan and his co-laborers, became only a vague dream of what "might have been."

It is not safe to speculate. But what might not have been the possibilities, if the title to this vast stretch of country had remained in the government for the use of the half-breeds and their descendants. If the government had erected, on the banks of the great river, manual training

schools and Indian experimental stations, conducted along practical lines, might we not from these people far removed from Indian tribes, have obtained our interpreters, practical farmers, teachers, doctors, missionaries and Indian agents, who, on account of training, environment and race instincts, might have been able to cope with our Indian problems in a more practical manner than has been thus far possible.

CEDAR RAPIDS, IOWA.

WILD DEER BROWSING IN IOWA.—George A. Lincoln, state fish and game warden, has received a letter from Council Bluffs, the contents of which were quite a surprise to him, and which will be a great surprise to the people of the State. It states that there is a drove of twenty-five deer running at large in that county, and that they are doing so much damage that the farmers are threatening to kill them. He has been asked for advice in regard to the matter, and is puzzling to know what action to take, although he sees no way of getting around the law, which provides especially that no deer shall be killed.

Mr. Lincoln is at an utter loss to account for the presence of deer in the State, although he is of the opinion that they must have escaped from some game preserve. During his incumbency of the office of state fish and game warden there have been four deer killed, and in each instance the hunter has been fined for so doing. These animals stray into the State occasionally from Minnesota, or from some game preserve, but it was not supposed there was any such number in existence as is reported from Pottawattamie county.—*Webster City Freeman-Tribune*, January 26, 1905.

JOSEPH LANCASTER BUDD.

BY ALBERT N. HARBERT.

Among the self-made men of Iowa, but few have made a more honorable record or attained greater prominence in their profession than Joseph Lancaster Budd. He was born on a farm in Putnam county, New York, July 3, 1835. On the paternal side his father, Joseph Budd, was descended from Rhine French stock, the ancestral name being Bude. His mother, Maria Lancaster, was of English extraction, being a descendant of the Lancasters, who with the Hardenbergs and Depuys, received from Queen Ann the grant of a tract of land on the Hudson, known as the Highlands, and extending from Peekskill to Newberg. Joseph Budd settled near Monticello, New York, in 1850.

The early life of Joseph Lancaster Budd was passed on his father's farm, where he acquired the habits of economy and industry, which were of great value to him in his subsequent life. He inherited a rugged constitution which, together with an unusually strong mind, enabled him to overcome any and all obstacles that confronted him. He entered the Monticello Branch of the State Normal School, from which he graduated in 1855, and located the same year at Rockford, Illinois, where he conducted an academy for boys, until the spring of 1860.

In the spring of 1857, he delivered a consignment of fruit trees for the Bryants of Rockford, Illinois, at a Quaker settlement in the vicinity of Hoosier Grove in Linn county, Iowa. He there learned of the good land in Benton county, and on making investigation found the report to be true, and purchased a farm of over two hundred acres which included a portion of Parker's Grove, and was situated some five miles southwest of Shellsburg.

It was at Shellsburg that he first met Miss Sarah Martha Breed, to whom he was married January 25, 1860, at Iowa

She is a loyal descendant of the Breeds of Keweenaw, the very same. Two children blessed this union. The daughter Rita May Budd has become known as an artist. The son Allen Joseph Budd, resides on the old homestead near Sheffield.

In the spring of 1871, he started the Benton County Orchard which was the only nursery in the county, and soon became the largest in the State. He was now his experiments in horticulture began. His being of such a practical nature he began to write for horticultural and agricultural journals. His cultivation of standard varieties of fruits and introduced ones. The demand for Budd's trees became so great that he was now doing a wholesale business throughout the State. His election in 1873 as secretary of the Iowa State Horticultural Society was but the natural selection of the man best fitted for the place, and he was continuously re-elected to the office until 1894, with the exception of the years 1880 to 1882. During that time he edited twenty-one annual reports for the Society. He was awarded first premium on every exhibit at the Iowa State Fair held at Cedar Rapids in 1874, and as his exhibit covered nearly every line of fruit growing in the State he considered it an injustice to the other exhibitors and requested the judges to reverse their decisions and share the rewards with them, which was accordingly done. In the meantime he was elected to honorary membership in the American Pomological Society, the Northwestern Fruit Growers Association, and nearly all of the horticultural societies of America.

He removed to Ames, Iowa, in 1882. The same year the Board of Trustees of the State College at Ames called him to the charge of the Department of Horticulture and Forestry. The Professor entered upon his duties March 1, 1882. He was one of the makers of the State College.

Secretary State Horticultural Society for 17 years; Professor of Horticulture and Forestry in the Iowa Agricultural College 22 years.

Yours
J L Budd

JOSEPH LANCASTER BUDD.
1835-1905.

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He removed to Shellsburg in the spring of 1876. The same year the Board of Trustees of the Iowa State College at Ames called him to take charge of the Department of Horticulture and Forestry. The Professor entered upon his duties March 1, 1877, and thereafter was one of the makers of the college history. That department was then in its infancy, and his experiments were conducted in a

small frame building to which was attached a small greenhouse, and as it became inadequate for the work other buildings were provided from time to time, until his department had acquired a world-wide reputation. He was in the active service of the college for nearly twenty-two years, until January 1, 1899. At the time of his retirement he was made professor emeritus.

Professor Budd understood the importance of climate and soil as related to horticulture and reasoned that the importation of some of the hardier varieties of fruit from Russia might be better adapted to the climate of the northwest. He traveled in Russia and the arid steppes of Central Asia, in 1882, searching for hardier fruits with which to enrich our western horticulture. The importation of Russian apples numbered about six hundred varieties, which were distributed to the places best adapted to their native requirements. Of the many varieties imported and tested some have succeeded and are widely grown, others give promise of final successful adaptation to our climatic conditions, while from others by crossing, hardy varieties have been developed. The shrubs imported were also hardy and valuable. In the line of flowers two wild Russian roses imported by Professor Budd have through their descendants given us a family of most beautiful roses free from the diseases and parasites to which ordinary roses are subject.

A warm friendship existed for many years between Professor Budd and Charles Downing, the noted American horticulturist. By the terms of Mr. Downing's will, his extensive library of pomological books and original manuscripts was bequeathed, in 1885, to the Horticultural Department of the Iowa State College, with the request that Professor Budd carry on his labors and prepare a revised edition of his principal work. Professor Budd complied with this request in writing the "American Horticultural Manual," which has been published in two volumes by John Wiley & Sons, of New York, and Chapman & Hall, Limited, of Lon-

don, in 1902 and 1903. The work is an accepted authority on horticulture, giving to the farmer and home owner, as well as the professional fruit grower, advice that will enable them to make the best of their opportunities.

It was Father Clarkson's last request that Professor Budd should keep up the horticultural column for the *State Register*, which he did until August, 1904.

Professor Budd was a republican in politics, but was only sufficiently interested in political affairs to keep informed on the issues of the day. The only political office he held was that of Justice of the Peace, while yet residing on his Benton county farm. The same thorough and painstaking care which was so noticeable in all his work, was manifest in the performance of the duties of that office. He became known as an expert in writing deeds and mortgages and through this work the office became a source of profit.

He was successful in financial affairs and had made ample provision for the proverbial "rainy day." He was of a genial temperament, and an entertaining conversationalist. His character was of unswerving integrity, and he enjoyed the confidence and respect of all who knew him.

In the hope of improving his health he had gone to Phoenix, Arizona, a few weeks prior to his death, which occurred December 20, 1904. His memory is cherished as that of a loyal, helpful friend.

FIRE AT THE CAPITOL.—At about half past nine, yesterday morning, while the legislature was in session, an alarm of fire was sounded in the capitol building, causing the greatest fear and excitement imaginable. It was discovered immediately that the fire had communicated by some means from one of the chimneys on the west side to some boards in the attic. It was extinguished without any damages.—*Daily State Register (Des Moines), February 10, 1860.*

UNION OF CHURCH AND STATE AT SPRINGDALE, IOWA.

BY PROF. JESSE MACY.

In the autumn of 1866 I entered into a contract with a committee from the Springdale Monthly Meeting of Friends to teach a school during the ensuing winter. The school was to be held in the meeting-house, and I was under the impression that it was to be strictly a Friends' school. When I presented myself, however, to begin my work, I was informed that an arrangement had been made with the sub-director of the school district for the payment of half my salary by the district. I accordingly secured a county certificate and signed a contract with the school officer. The school thus involved the co-operation of district and church.

At this time the Friends throughout the State were establishing private academies under the control of the church, and the discipline of the society placed its members under strong obligations to send their children to the schools so maintained. I had known something of the working of this policy in other parts of the State, and had become convinced that it was a mistaken system, tending to divide the school interests and create competing institutions in neighborhoods scarcely able to support a single good school.

The Friends at Springdale had perfected plans for erecting a building and establishing a church school during the spring and summer of 1867. Almost the only man of influence in the neighborhood who was not connected with the society of Friends was Dr. Gill, who had been elected sub-director of the school district, and I found that he shared my views as to the erroneous policy of undertaking to maintain two schools in the village when one was entirely adequate. At the same time he was quite willing to send his children to a school controlled by the society of Friends. Many of the Friends also regretted the apparent necessity

for assuming the additional burden of an independent church school.

After numerous consultations between the sub-director and the committee of the Friends' Meeting the following plan was agreed upon: First, the village of Springdale and the surrounding country were to be incorporated into an independent school district under the laws of the State. In this way a large taxable area would be secured. Second, Springdale Monthly Meeting was to give to the Independent District a small sum of money for school purposes. Third, in consideration of this sum of money the Independent District was to grant to the Monthly Meeting certain privileges, among which was an equal voice with the district officers in the employment of teachers and the management of the school, together with the right of holding a religious meeting in the school once each week.

The following is the record of the Monthly Meeting in the case:

Articles of agreement made and entered into this 7th day of 3rd month, 1867, by the Independent District of Springdale, situated in the county of Cedar and State of Iowa of the first party, and the Springdale Monthly Meeting of Friends, an incorporated religious society located in the county of Cedar and State of Iowa of the second party. Witnesseth that the two parties, wishing to unite their school interests, hereby enter into the following agreement. The second party agrees to furnish the first party with Three Hundred Dollars or more, by the first day of 6th mo., 1867, to assist in defraying the expenses of building and furnishing a school house, with the understanding and agreement that the Educational Committee composed of three of the second party are to co-operate with the Board of Directors of the first party in selecting teachers and making regulations for the union school contemplated by the two parties, and the second party may have a special religious meeting held in the building, of short duration, each week when the school is in session, for the religious benefit of the students and others who may wish to attend.

The regulations made by the parties shall not be inconsistent with the laws of Iowa.

If the parties cannot agree in selecting teachers or making regulations for the government and management of the school, the disagreement shall in all cases be submitted to the County Superintendent of Schools for his judgment and decision, which shall be final.

Should the Monthly Meeting aforesaid be discontinued according to

years, when the neighborhood had become more complex in respect to church preferences, the religious meeting in the school was omitted and the committee of the Monthly Meeting was discontinued. The Seminary thus became simply a public school; but during all the changes of more than a third of a century the school interests, public and private, have remained united, and the school has continued to be the chief pride of the region. For many years it has been on the list of accredited high schools whose graduates are admitted to Freshman standing in the State University.

In September of 1901 it was my privilege and pleasure to attend a reunion of several hundreds of graduates, former students, teachers and friends of the Seminary, drawn together from various parts of the country to renew old acquaintance and to give expression to sentiments of gratitude for inspiration and help received at the public-private school on the prairie.

IOWA COLLEGE, GRINNELL, IOWA.

IMMIGRATION.—There has been already considerable immigration to Northwestern Iowa this fall, and the cry is "still they come." Some eight or ten teams passed through our streets today, and this is no more than has occurred on a great many other days within the last three months. Scarcely a day passes without bringing with it more or less of these welcome visitors. Let them come; there is room, and to spare, on our beautiful and fertile prairies.—*Ft. Dodge Republican*, October 28, 1863.

GEO. H. YEWELL, a young and promising artist of Iowa City, who has resided for several years in Europe, has lately returned to this country. His paintings are spoken of very highly by Willis' Home Journal.—*Daily State Register* (Des Moines), January 30, 1862.

SOME OF IOWA'S STOCK.

BY F. I. HERRIOTT,

Professor of Economics and Political Science, Drake University.

The growth and distribution of talent and genius have long been subjects of entrancing perplexity and study. What are the causes, what are the conditions, that produce the psychic complex we call mind—that Intellectuality or power whereby the human physical organism and the forces of nature are to a greater or less extent understood and made to obey man's will and subserve his purposes? What elements and factors conjoin to produce those variations from the average type whom we designate as persons of *talent*? Whence and how arises that strange admixture of physical substance and psychic energy that produces the man of *genius*?

Just what the efficient causes and the predominating conditions governing the growth of talent and genius are can not be precisely determined for the reason that all of the elements and factors are variable and in constant flux. But the conclusions of all biologists, or psychologists who have dealt with the subject probably concur in assigning all causes and conditions to one or the other or both of two great causes—Heredity or Environment. By Heredity we comprehend the entire range of an individual's inherent or natural powers, his capacities, traits or tendencies of body and mind or character; in short the endowment he receives from his parents and ancestors. By Environment we must designate all those conditions, external to the individual, into which he is born, amidst and against which he must maintain himself in his struggle for existence. But Environment includes more than is usually thought of, viz: physical nature with its infinite adverse forces; it comprehends the society into which a man is born with its enveloping maze of social institutions and traditions, religious, political, industrial, educational, literary.

Between these two contending forces or factors develops the human intellect with its powers of perception, volition and control, that by training and habit may conquer Heredity and Environment and compel man as well as nature to serve its purposes. This third element is perhaps the predominant perplexity because it is the greatest and most complex variable in the problem. The resultant of the first two elements it nevertheless reacts upon and controls to a greater or less degree the primary factors.

But while exact explanation of the growth of talent and genius is unattainable we may nevertheless so classify the phenomena accompanying and signifying Intellectuality as to enable us to approximate some of the general conditions precedent to such extraordinary psychic development. The difficulties in the way of collection and classification of data are usually so numerous and irreducible that conclusions can only be tentative and suggestive at the best. Yet certain classes of data can be clearly differentiated and if definite sources of information are assured various interesting and instructive exhibits can be obtained respecting age, occupations, education, nationality of parents, nativity and geographical distribution. These manifestly are factors that enter into and make up Environment and constantly affect Heredity. Such a study has been essayed in what follows. It relates to the growth of talent and genius within the State of Iowa.

The first consideration in such a study is, of course, our definitions. What test shall we apply in determining the presence of talent? From the nature of the case our test must be—Achievement that attracts and holds public attention. Potential ability of vast power and sweep may exist in abundance, but unless it demonstrates itself in accomplishment of some sort over and above that of the majority, such ability can not be generally known let alone be measured; hence its exclusion here. Achievement or accomplishment that attracts the public may be positive or passive.

The latter is the sort that by reason of inheritance of great property or position or title men have, without effort on the part of the possessors, power and prestige that attracts public interest: sometimes it includes those who achieve position through a fortuitous concourse of events, as by reason of friendship or association with certain powerful persons or classes or parties. To a greater or less degree the "passive" men of reputation should be excluded but it is impossible to discriminate them from the former.

The second consideration is the means to be taken for measuring reputation or the public's estimation of ability. For this we must have recourse to biographical dictionaries or encyclopedias that are published under conditions that insure, as nearly as may be, impartiality of judgment, universality of consideration and continuous and systematic measurement.

Finally such a study if it is to be thoroughgoing and to afford substantial results, should comprehend the entire history of the State from its pioneer days down to the present. It is only where our data extends throughout the entire range and sweep of the life of a people in a particular locality that showings warrant substantial conclusions.

Unfortunately the various sources of reliable information for such an investigation do not afford us complete or continuous data throughout the State's history. Appleton's "Encyclopedia of American Biography" is not sufficient for our purpose as it was published a number of years ago and it deals chiefly with persons deceased. Moreover, as it covers the entire country and the sketches are extended, persons mentioned necessarily had to have a high degree of celebrity before they would receive any consideration. Thus Senator Henry Cabot Lodge in his study of "The Distribution of Ability in the United States" based upon Appleton's Encyclopedia records but five persons as accredited therein to Iowa.* Other and later sources might be resorted to but in

*See Century Magazine, New Series (September, 1891), vol. xx, pp. 687-694.

cases are enlistments in the union army from Iowa during the civil war, or Admiral John G. Walker's assignment to the National Naval Academy from Iowa. There is here of course much room for arbitrary inclusion or exclusion of names and for much criticism; but this class is clearly distinguishable from the other three classes and no serious confusion is involved.

The data respecting these four classes has been classified to show occupations, periods of birth, the states of nativity of the non-native Iowans, collegiate education, and their distribution in Iowa by counties and cities and towns. The totals of those born in Iowa or now residing here do not quite agree with those given by the compilers of "Who's Who," being slightly less. This discrepancy may arise from a miscount or from variation in the definition of residence, e. g., in cases of persons in the national service living in Washington but still holding Iowa as their state of residence. But omission is not improbable. The mass of names is great, the type small, and frequently the order of statement of data varies, or long titles or names of occupation are injected between the name and the data as to birth to the confusion and distraction of one compiling such data.*

The showings of the compilation are presented in detail in Tables I to VIII. Some of the more interesting and instructive exhibits are briefly indicated with some discussion in what immediately follows.

The total number of names mentioned that are considered here amounts to 445, of which number 24 were women. This aggregate was distributed as to nativity and residence—22 natives resident, 147 non-natives resident, 126 natives non-resident and 150 sometime residents. Two of the

*Here I desire to acknowledge the substantial services of Mr. Elywn E. Baker of Washington, Ia., Mr. Marion H. Morrison of Council Bluffs, and Mr. Earl M. Sinclair, of Des Moines, students in my classes in Drake University, in the compilation of the statistics herein presented. But for their efficient aid, especially in verification, the preparation of this article would have been impracticable at this time. Any one familiar with the actual work of statistical verification will realize that my obligation is not small.

SECTIONS WHEREIN NON-NATIVES WERE BORN.

	Resident		Sometime Resident		Totals	
	No.	Per-centage	No.	Per-centage	No.	Per-centage
New England	17	11.7	25	16.5	42	14.1
Middle States	48	32.4	31	20.5	79	26.7
Southern States	8	5.5	7	4.6	15	5.0
Western States	59	40.7	74	49.0	133	44.9
Foreign States	10	6.9	10	7.2	20	7.0
Not Stated	5	2.8	3	2.2	8	2.3
Total	147	100.0	150	100.0	297	100.0

Next to one's parentage and the physical and mental endowment derived therefrom, with the family life incident thereto, the fact next in importance in an individual's career is his occupation or profession in life. Occupation is at once the chief objective of the normally constituted man or woman and the chief element in their environment. It is the *milieu*, as the French would express it, in which a man lives and works, the atmosphere, that creates his state of mind that impells and guides his action, the soil whence he derives sustenance and the condition in which he must work and strive and survive. Hence it is that the occupations of the men of achievement in Iowa constitutes the most interesting and significant phase of their development and distribution.

In such a study we must bear in mind the general physical character of the State and the nature of the chief industries of the people. In popular estimation Iowa has usually been designated as an "agricultural" state and perhaps agriculture is her predominant industry. But the census of 1900 showed that nearly half her population lived in cities and towns and hence commercial, manufacturing, and mercantile pursuits constitute the occupations of fully one-half the inhabitants.

The occupations of those given in the authority here depended upon have been grouped under seven class heads: I, Agricultural and Rural; II, Commercial and Mercantile;

III, Manufacturing and Mechanical; IV, Communication and Transportation; V, Professional; VI, Public Service; and VII, Miscellaneous. The designations are sufficiently suggestive not to require special explanation. For reasons given elsewhere I have varied somewhat from the schedules followed by the national census office.*

Of the 445 persons here considered only 12 were engaged in agricultural pursuits. None, however, were resident-natives born. Nine were resident non-natives. Two natives non-resident and one sometime resident agriculturalist had achieved distinction.

In commercial and mercantile pursuits only 11 were deemed conspicuous enough for mention. Of these 4 were bankers, 2 insurance men, 1 a merchant and 4 followed sundry pursuits. The bankers were resident Iowans. Only 6 received mention who were engaged in manufacturing or mechanical arts. While 11 is the total given for those following such occupations as telegraphy, telephony and railway transportation; and of these latter 1 was a resident native, 4 resident non-natives and 6 were sometime resident Iowans.

It is when we come to the professional occupations that the numbers increase. In the totals of all classes one finds 3 actors, 17 authors, 6 civil engineers, 25 clergymen, 34 editors, 101 educators, 1 electrician, 67 lawyers, 1 librarian, 1 musician and 21 physicians. With respect to nativity and residences the totals of these several classes were 15 natives resident, 90 non-natives resident, 99 natives non-resident and 110 sometime residents. The total number of those in professional pursuits aggregates 317 or 70.1 per cent of the total number. Of this professional class 101 were college educators, nearly one-third; and of the latter 35 were college

*The nature of the occupations included in the classes designated above and the reasons for such groupings are given with some detail in the writer's "Occupations, General Health and Diseases in Insanity—Being some Notes on the Classification of Statistical Returns in Iowa," reprinted from the *Bulletin of Institutions of Iowa* for July, 1901.

officials, 12 professors of subjects in belle lettres, 39 professors in the physical sciences and 11 in economic, political or social sciences.

Those engaged in the public service who receive mention number 5 natives resident, 33 non-natives resident, 17 natives non-resident, and 22 sometime residents—a total of 77 persons. Of these 21 were congressmen, 17 were in the administrative departments of the national government, 11 were engaged in special work in the technical civil service, 5 were in the army and 2 in the navy. Only 19 were mentioned who are connected with governmental positions in our state governments, and 12 of this number were judges.

The foregoing with the proportions expressed in percentages is presented in summary form in the succeeding table.

THE OCCUPATIONS OF NOTABLE IOWANS, 1903-1904.

Class of Occupations	Resident				Non-Resident				Total	
	Native		Non-Native		Native		Sometime			
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Agricultural .....	...	.....	9	6.2	2	1.6	1	.6	12	2.7
Commercial	1	4.5	6	3.4	2	.8	4	2.6	13	2.4
Manufacturing .....	...	.....	1	.6	2	1.6	3	1.9	6	1.3
Transportation ...	1	4.5	4	2.7	...	.....	6	3.9	11	2.4
Professional	15	68.1	92	62.0	100	79.2	111	72.1	317	70.1
Public Service	5	22.9	33	22.7	17	13.6	20	14.5	77	17.6
Miscellaneous .....	...	.....	3	3.4	4	3.2	5	4.4	12	2.7
Total	22	100.0	147	100.0	126	100.0	150	100.0	446	100.0

In view of the character of Iowa's industries the striking thing about the exhibit just made is the disproportion of the professional classes as compared with the agricultural, commercial, manufacturing and transportation classes. This excess may be due to the general presumption that inclines the compilers of such biographical dictionaries to favor professional classes at the expense of men engaged in what we call industrial pursuits. But the editors of this volume have

consciously sought to overcome such inclination.* But while allowance may justly be made for this fact it nevertheless remains true that taking the public interest as gauged by the public prints it relates in the main to the achievements or doings of men in professional pursuits. This does not mean that men engaged in agriculture or manufactures are not or may not be men of pronounced ability; but simply that unless they become magnates who control immense interests that closely affect the public welfare or attract persistent public interest or curiosity they are not likely to find mention in such directories.

Another condition of potent positive influence in Environment, one that usually is coincident with occupation is one's conjugal condition. Since the memory of man runneth not to the contrary the question whether the marital relationship hinders or stimulates activity and achievement has been debated *ad infinitum ad nauseam*. The returns here indicate that marriage is at least congenial to, if not provocative of, intellectual activity and noteworthy achievement. Out of the 445 Iowans named 426 or 95.3 per cent were married or had married. Of the 21 unmarried 8 out of the 13 were women. Only 2 of the entire number were divorced at the time. Twelve men report second marriages and one woman reports three matrimonial ventures. Eleven men were widowed. None of the natives either resident or non-resident and none of the non-natives resident were divorced. None of the resident natives had been widowed or divorced. Whether the achievements of Iowans have been due to their marital state or in spite of it others may figure out. Below is a summary statement giving these and other items.

*See introduction to *Who's Who in America* for 1903-1905, p. 8.

CONJUGAL CONDITION.

Conjugal Status	Residents				Non-Residents				Total	
	Natives		Non-Natives		Natives		Sometime			
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Married 1st.....	19	1	112	3	93	2	103	8	327	14
Married 2d.....			4		4		4		12	
Married 3rd.....						1				1
Widowed.....			8				3		11	
Divorced.....							2		2	
Unmarried.....	1	1	1	2	5	3	6	2	13	8
Not Stated.....			17		16	1	22		56	1
Total.....	20	2	142	5	118	7	140	10	421	24

Among the factors that work powerfully in determining both Heredity and Environment is what we promiscuously call Education. Most persons mean by the term the pursuance of studies in regular course and the completion of a schedule or curriculum of some one or all of our various systems of schools wherein one is supposed to acquire a working knowledge of the elements of science and become familiar with the best methods of research or study. Moreover, if we may take common parlance as a guide an education is not supposed to be adequate or complete until graduation from a collegiate institution has been attained. There has been much discussion of late years concerning the value of collegiate education in fitting one for success in life, especially in what we are wont to call practical or common everyday business as distinct from professional callings. The returns given in considerable detail in subsequent exhibits show that out of the 445 there were 303 who received collegiate instruction or 66.9 per cent, while 142 or 33.1 per cent did not so report.* The compilers of the directory state that the percentage of college graduates (that

*The graduates of the Agricultural College at Ames have been included here. Some may object on the ground that the training given is technical rather than liberal. While in the main this is true an examination of the courses at Ames in recent years shows that they have been extended so as to include much of an ordinary collegiate curriculum.

is graduates from institutions conferring baccalaureate degrees in letters, science, or philosophy) constitute some 56.03 per cent of the 14,443 persons mentioned.* The proportion of college men among notable Iowans is thus nearly 10 points higher than is the case for the country as a whole. This preponderance of collegians creates a favorable presumption in favor of the contention put forth by the advocates of collegiate training here in the State. We cannot estimate fully the real significance of these percentages until we know the number having a technical education and the professions in which college men predominate.

Taking each class of occupation we find that college graduates number only a fourth or less in the agricultural and mercantile and transportational pursuits, and a third of the manufacturers. In the governmental service college men slightly exceed the non-college men. The preponderance of college men previously referred to is found therefore in the professional pursuits. In these occupations collegians outnumber non-college men two to one.

The locus of this collegiate training, the institutions whence it was obtained, is of no little importance. At no other period in life are the forces that determine character, that stimulate conduct more powerful than in the days one spends in college halls. The associations in class room, library, literary societies, and on campus and field affect the student at the turning point in his career when his mind is most receptive to the manifold subtle influences that permeate college life. The physical environment of one's college, its architecture and chief of all its traditions of scholarship and achievement have usually a decisive effect upon the life of the collegian. The showings of Table IV in which are given the number of graduates from each of the institutions in Iowa whose achievements have been such as to secure their mention in this national directory, together with the graduates accredited to certain institutions outside

*See Introduction Ibid, p. 19.

the State and the remainder grouped by states will be of interest to the administrators, alumni and constituents and friends of the various institutions.

The colleges and universities of Iowa can claim 120 graduates out of the 445 mentioned or 26.9 per cent. If we take the number of college graduates only, Iowa can claim 40.1 per cent as the products of her collegiate training schools. The alumni of the State University at Iowa City exceed, being 37. The graduates of Iowa College at Grinnell number 22. Those of the State College at Ames total 16 while Cornell College at Mt. Vernon has 13 graduates.

The graduates from the famous colleges of the older states to the east of us do not reach the numbers that most persons probably would anticipate. Amherst college has 6; Cornell at Ithaca, 6; Dartmouth, 5; Harvard, 5; Northwestern at Evanston, 6; Oberlin, 7; the universities of Chicago, Michigan and Wisconsin, 4 each; Vassar 1 and Yale 6; a total of 54. The greater number come from other colleges in the various states. For instance 21 are graduates of institutions in Illinois, 17 from colleges in Ohio and 10 from schools in Indiana, and the same number from colleges in Pennsylvania.

The summary statement showing the distribution of these graduates among natives and non-natives, resident and non-resident is presented below. The four Iowa institutions whose graduates exceed 10 are alone given.

	Resident		Non-Resident		Total
	Na-tives	Non-Na-tives	Na-tives	Some-time	
Cornell College at Mt. Vernon.....	3	4	5	1	13
Iowa College at Grinnell.....	2	2	5	13	22
Iowa State College	1	3	6	6	16
University of Iowa.....	4	7	11	15	37
Other Iowa Colleges.....	4	10	6	12	88
Colleges of other States.....	5	61	61	41	178

Academicians will be interested in the number of those who have pursued post graduate courses of study in letters,

philosophy or science for which the doctoral degree (Ph. D.) was conferred. Of the 299 collegians of Iowa who have attained eminence 44 or 14 per cent pursued post graduate courses obtaining such degree: Thirty-six did such work in institutions in the United States and 8 in universities abroad. Three of this number were natives resident, 14 non-natives resident, 16 natives non-resident and 11 sometime residents. Iowa College at Grinnell has the greatest number to her credit, 10; the State University 6; Ames and Cornell, 2 each. These include faculty as well as alumni. The Johns Hopkins University at Baltimore gave this doctoral degree to 14 out of the 44; the University of Michigan comes next with 5 to her credit.

Fifty-two officers and members of the faculties of the various colleges and universities of the State receive mention. Of these 8 are natives and 44 non-natives. The State University leads with 16; the State College at Ames comes next with 10; Drake University follows with 8; Cornell College at Mt. Vernon with 5 and Iowa College at Grinnell with 4.

The distribution of these men and women among the counties and the cities and towns of the State is a matter of considerable significance. An examination of Tables VI and VII showing such geographical distribution demonstrates that the growth of talent or of genius is not confined to particular cities or localities although the greater numbers naturally come from the older sections of the states. Thus taking the counties having 10 or more: Woodbury county has 10; Clinton and Dubuque have 12 each; Henry, 15; Story, 17; Lee and Linn, 18 each; Des Moines, 19; Poweshiek, 21; Scott, 24; Johnson, 40; and Polk, 56. There are 22 counties without any accredited to them; but the residence of 19 was not reported and if the latter were properly apportioned the number of counties represented would doubtless have been increased. As it is, 77 out of the 99 counties are represented. By the census of 1900 Iowa had

685 incorporated cities and towns. Of this number 108 are reported as the birthplace or residence of the 445 notable persons mentioned in *Who's Who*. They range in size from mere hamlets and villages to the metropolis of the State. Listing those having 10 or more: Cedar Rapids and Sioux City have 10 each; Dubuque and Keokuk, 12 each; Mt. Pleasant, 13; Ames and Burlington, 18 each; Grinnell, 20; Iowa City, 41, and Des Moines, 63. The preponderance of names in college towns or university cities is manifest. Their distinction is not entirely warranted as a large proportion is imported, so to speak. Thus but 5 out of the 41 at Iowa City are natives of that community; but 1 out of the 18 at Ames; and not one is a native of the 20 accredited to Grinnell. The distribution among natives and non-natives, both resident and non-resident, is exhibited in Table VII.

The true significance of all these exhibits and comparisons can not be fully estimated until we view them in the light of larger contrasts, namely, with the returns of the country as a whole. Our space limits, however, permit only a few comparisons.

The population of Iowa in 1900 was 2,231,853 or 2.9 per cent of the population of the entire country. If we consider only native born and present residents Iowa has produced 2.02 per cent of the notable men and women of the country, slightly less than our population calls for. If we include sometime resident Iowans our percentage of notabilities increases. The inclusion of the latter class may seem to be of doubtful propriety. Valid objections can doubtless be made to some names here and there, yet with the large majority their residence in Iowa was long continued or influential in their lives. Thus no one can question the potent effect of Iowa's climate, soil and institutions upon the careers of Messrs. Robt. J. Burdette and Hamlin Garland, of Judges H. Clay Caldwell and John F. Dillon, of General Grenville M. Dodge and Col. Frank O. Lowden, of Mrs. J.

Ellen Foster, of Messrs. J. S. Clarkson, John A. Kasson and Frank W. Palmer and of Professor J. Irving Manatt and Dr. Albert Shaw. Including these men Iowa has 3.02 per cent of the notable men of the country—a slight excess above the State's proportion.

In a study recently printed in the *Century Magazine* Mr. Gustave Michaud shows in graphic form the distribution of men of talent throughout the United States by states of birth for every 100,000 of population. According to his computations the numbers exceeded 37 per 100,000 in each of the New England states, except Rhode Island which had 33. In Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina and Virginia the number ranges from 18 to 36 per 100,000. In Alabama, California, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Michigan, Mississippi, North Carolina and Wisconsin the number varies from 9 to 17, while in Florida, Iowa, Missouri, Nevada, Oregon, Tennessee, Utah, Washington and West Virginia men of talent appear in numbers ranging from 4 to 8 per 100,000. In the remaining states the returns decline from 3 to zero. Taking the states adjacent to Iowa, the returns are South Dakota 0, Minnesota 2, Wisconsin 9, Illinois 10, Missouri 6, Kansas 2, Nebraska 1. Iowa has 5 to her credit for each 100,000 of her population.

The fact which stands out strongly in Mr. Michaud's map is Iowa's proportion in contrast with the returns of Minnesota, Missouri and Wisconsin. First, Minnesota while not so old a state as Iowa, has had by reason of her two great cities at the falls of St. Anthony and her great lake port at Duluth, a commercial and industrial life that create greater expectations respecting the growth of conspicuous talent than are fulfilled; second, considering the long period of Missouri's state history and the prominent part her central location has given her, in transcontinental movements, the numbers accredited to her fall below one's natural anticipations; third, the history of Wisconsin is coincident with

the development of Iowa, her population does not vary much in numbers from that of Iowa, yet the number of notable men and women born in Wisconsin is nearly double the number born in Iowa and living in 1903-1904.*

Mr. Michaud's conclusion that there is decreasing Intellectuality as we proceed from the states of the northeastern Atlantic seaboard west and south seems to be confirmed, taking the exhibits of his maps as the basis for deduction. But the force of his conclusion is materially lessened if we consider the brief histories of our western states and the vast and various opportunities for industrial activity and commercial gain that naturally attracted and absorbed the energies of a vigorous and thrifty population. In the older eastern states the pressure of population upon the means of subsistence, the severity of industrial competition, have operated to increase intellectual activity of the kind that attracts public attention. In the west our men of ability have been engaged chiefly in conquering nature and in securing economic independence. The next quarter of a century will probably witness a marked increase in the activities and achievement of men and women of talent and genius in Iowa for the same reasons that have forced them to the front in the older states to the east.

[After the foregoing was in type three omissions and a duplication were discovered. These corrections were made in the text and in the tables, but few changes were made in the figures showing the percentage.]

*See Mr. Michaud's article, p. 44, already cited.

TABLE No. II
NATIVITY OF NON-NATIVES.

TABLE No. I.

NUMBER BORN WITHIN SPECIFIED PERIODS.

Born Between	Resident				Non-Resident				Total	
	Native		Non-Native		Native		Sometime Resident			
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		
1810-19.....	.....	...	1	...	.....	...	.....	...	1	...
1820-29.....	.....	...	14	...	.....	...	5	...	19	...
1830-39.....	.....	...	26	...	2	...	25	1	53	1
1840-49.....	5	...	33	...	14	...	39	2	91	2
1850-59.....	8	...	38	3	43	2	40	1	128	6
1860-69.....	5	1	23	...	46	4	25	1	99	6
1870-79.....	1	...	2	...	13	...	1	...	17	...
1880-89.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	...
Not Stated.....	.....	1	6	1	1	1	7	3	14	6
Total.....	20	2	143	4	119	7	142	8	424	21

TABLE No. III.

OCCUPATIONS OF NOTABLE IOWANS, 1903-1905.

	Resident		Non-Resident		Total
	Native	Non-Native	Native	Some-time	
I. AGRICULTURAL AND RURAL		9	2	1	12
II. COMMERCIAL AND MERCANTILE					
Bankers, etc.	1	3			4
Insurance		2			2
Merchant			1		1
Sundry				4	4
III. MANUFACTURING AND MECHANICAL		1	2	3	6
IV. COMMUNICATION AND TRANSPORT'N	1	4		6	11
V. PROFESSIONAL					
Actors, etc.			3		3
Authors		9	5	4	18
Civil Engineers	1		4	1	6
Clergymen		9	5	11	25
Editors and Publishers	1	8	17	7	33
Educators					
a College Officials	2	18	3	12	35
b College Professors					
Law				1	1
Letters	1	4	3	4	12
Medicine				1	1
Philosophy		1			1
Physical Science		21	12	6	39
Social Science	3	3	4	1	11
Theology		1	1		2
c General	2	3	11	10	25
Lecturers		1	2	5	8
Electricians			1		1
Lawyers	4	8	19	35	66
Librarian				1	1
Musician				1	1
Physicians	1	6	6	8	21
Sundry			4	1	5
VI. PUBLIC SERVICE					
1 National					
a Congress	3	11	3	4	21
b Executive					
Administrative	2	7		8	17
Technical		1	5	4	10
Army		1	1	3	5
Navy			1	1	2
c Judicial		1	2		3
2 State					
Executive	1	5	1		7
Judicial		7	3	2	12
3 Municipal					
4 General					
VII. MISCELLANEOUS		2	4	5	11
Total	22	147	126	150	445

TABLE No. IV.

COLLEGES WHENCE GRADUATED.

	Residents		Non-Residents		Total
	Na- tives	Non- Na- tives	Na- tives	Some- time Resi- dents	
I. IOWA INSTITUTIONS .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Central University .....	.....	1	.....	1	2
Charles City College .....	.....	.....	1	.....	1
Coe College .....	.....	.....	.....	1	1
Cornell College	3	4	5	1	13
Drake University	1	1	.....	2	4
Iowa College at Grinnell	2	2	5	13	22
Iowa State College	1	3	6	6	16
Iowa Wesleyan University	2	1	3	2	8
Lenox College .....	.....	1	.....	.....	1
Luther College .....	.....	.....	1	3	4
Penn College	1	.....	.....	1	2
State University of Iowa	4	7	11	15	37
Upper Iowa University	1	2	1	1	5
Washington College .....	.....	.....	.....	1	1
Western College .....	.....	3	.....	.....	3
Total	15	25	33	47	120
II. OTHER COLLEGIATE INSTITUTIONS .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1 Special .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Amherst College .....	.....	3	1	2	6
Bowdoin .....	.....	.....	.....	1	1
Cornell University	1	3	1	1	6
Dartmouth College .....	.....	4	.....	1	5
Harvard University .....	.....	.....	3	2	5
Northwestern .....	.....	1	3	2	6
Oberlin College .....	.....	4	1	2	7
Princeton .....	.....	.....	1	.....	1
University of Chicago .....	.....	1	2	1	4
University of Michigan .....	.....	3	4	1	8
University of Wisconsin .....	.....	2	2	.....	4
Vassar College .....	.....	.....	1	.....	1
Western Reserve College .....	.....	1	.....	1	2
Williams College .....	.....	1	1	.....	2
Yale University	2	1	1	2	6
West Point .....	.....	.....	1	1	2
Naval Academy	1	.....	2	1	4
2 Remaining by States .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
California .....	.....	.....	1	.....	1
Colorado .....	.....	.....	3	.....	3
Illinois .....	.....	9	7	5	21
Indiana .....	.....	5	3	1	9
Kansas .....	.....	.....	.....	3	3
Louisiana .....	.....	.....	1	.....	1
Maryland .....	.....	1	.....	.....	1
Michigan .....	.....	.....	3	2	5
Minnesota .....	.....	.....	.....	1	1
Missouri .....	.....	1	2	.....	3

TABLE No. IV.—CONTINUED.

	Residents		Non-Residents		Total
	Na- tives	Non- Na- tives	Na- tives	Some- time- Resi- dents	
Nebraska		1	1	1	3
New York		4	2	1	7
Ohio		6	4	7	17
Oregon			1		1
Pennsylvania		5	4	1	9
Kentucky		1			1
Vermont				2	2
Washington			1		1
West Virginia		1			1
Wisconsin		1		1	2
Foreign				4	4
Partial Collegiate Training		2	3	5	10
Not Stated	3	62	32	51	147
Total	22	147	126	150	445

TABLE No. V.

NUMBER HAVING DOCTORIAL DEGREE (Ph. D.) FOR POST GRAD-
UATE STUDY AND INSTITUTIONS GRANTING.

Institutions	Resident		Non-Resident		Total
	Native	Non- Native	Native	Some- time	
Cornell University			3		3
Harvard University			1		1
Johns Hopkins University	1	5	5	3	14
Syracuse University		1			1
Yale University	1	1			2
Washington University		1			1
Upper Iowa University			1		1
University of Chicago		1	1	3	5
University of Indiana			1		1
University of Michigan			1		1
University of Nebraska				1	1
University of Pennsylvania	1		1		2
University of Wooster		1		2	3
Total American	3	10	14	9	36
FOREIGN—					
University Freiburg		1			1
University of Gottingen		1		1	2
University of Heidleberg				1	1
University of Leipsic		2			2
University of Munich			2		2
Total Foreign		4	2	2	8
Grand Total	3	14	16	11	44

TABLE No. VI.

CITIES AND TOWNS WHERE NATIVES WERE BORN OR NON-NATIVES RESIDED.

	Resident		Non-Resident		Total
	Na-tives	Non-Na-tives	Na-tives	Some-time Resident	
Adair.....				1	1
Afton.....			1		1
Ainsworth.....		1			1
Albion.....				1	1
Algona.....			1		1
Ames.....		10	1	7	18
Armstrong.....		1			1
Atlantic.....		1			1
Audubon.....				1	1
Belle Plaine.....			1		1
Benton.....			1		1
Boone.....		1			1
Boonesboro.....			1		1
Brighton.....			3		3
Burlington.....	2	4	5	6	17
Cedar Rapids.....	1	5	2	2	10
Centerville.....		1			1
Chariton.....			1		1
Charles City.....		1			1
Cherokee.....				1	1
Clarinda.....		1			1
Clarion.....			1		1
Clermont.....		1			1
Clinton.....		1	4	2	7
Colfax.....		1			1
Council Bluffs.....	2		1	3	6
Cresco.....			1		1
Creston.....				2	2
Dallas.....			1		1
Davenport.....	1	4	9	8	22
Decorah.....			2	2	4
Dennison.....		2			2
Denmark.....		1	1	2	4
Des Moines.....	7	34	3	19	63
DeWitt.....		1	1		2
Dubuque.....		6	6		12
Eldora.....		1			1
Fairbank.....	1				1
Fairfield.....		1			1
Fayette.....	1	3	1		5
Ft. Dodge.....		1		1	2
Garden Grove.....			1		1
Grinnell.....		5		15	20
Hopkington.....			1		1
Independence.....			2	2	4
Indianola.....	2			2	4

TABLE No. VI—CONTINUED.

	Resident		Non-Resident		Total
	Na- tives	Non- Na- tives	Na- tives	Some- time Resi- dent	
Iowa City	1	15	4	21	41
Jefferson				1	1
Keokuk		4	1	7	12
Keosauqua			1	1	2
Kirksville			1		1
Knoxville			1		1
Lamoni		1			1
Lansing			1		1
La Porte City			2		2
Lawler				1	1
Le Mars				1	1
Lyons			1		1
McGregor		1	1	1	3
Magnolia			1		1
Maquoketa	1		2		2
Marble Rock					1
Marion			1		1
Marquissville			1		1
Marshalltown		2			2
Mason City		1		2	3
Midway				1	1
Montrose			1	1	2
Mt. Pleasant	1	2	5	5	13
Mt. Vernon		5		2	7
Muscatine	1	1	3	2	7
New Hartford			1		1
New London			1		1
New Sharon			1		1
Newton		1	2		3
Nora Springs			1		1
Northwood		1			1
Odebolt		1			1
Osage		1		2	3
Osceola			1	1	2
Oskaloosa		2	2	1	5
Ottumwa		1			1
Plainfield			1		1
Point Pleasant				1	1
Princeton			1		1
Red Oak		2			2
Scott Grove			1		1
Sheldon		1			1
Sioux City		5	2	3	10
Storm Lake		1			1
Strawberry Point			1		1
Stuart				1	1
Sumner			1		1
Tabor			1	3	4
Tipton	1				1
Toledo		4		2	6

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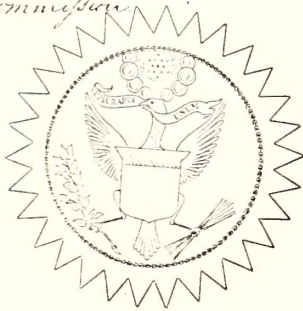
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Martin Van Buren

President of the United States of America.

To all, who shall see these Presents, Greeting.

Know Ye: That reposing special trust and confidence in the Integrity and Abilities of Robert Lucas of Ohio I have nominated, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, do appoint him Governor of the Territory of Iowa and do authorize and empower him to execute and fulfil the duties of that Office according to law and to have and to hold the said Office, with all the powers, privileges and emoluments thereunto of right appertaining, unto him, the said Robert Lucas, for the term of three years from the day of the date hereof, unless the President of the United States for the time being should be pleased sooner to revoke and determine his Commission.



In Testimony whereof I have caused these Letters to be made patent and the seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed.

Given under my hand, at the City of Washington, the seventh day of July — in the year of our Lord, one thousand, eight hundred and thirty-eight and of the Independence of the United States of America, the sixty-third

By the President.

M Van Buren

John M. Smith Secretary of State

ANNALS OF IOWA.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

REPUBLICATION OF SOLDIER RECORDS.

Some months ago the writer in an interview printed in *The Register and Leader*, Des Moines, which was copied into many papers throughout the State, suggested the republication of the Adjutant General's Reports, with like records of the Iowa soldiers of all our wars. No accurate roster has ever been published of the men who went to Mexico. In our opinion that record can still be found by looking for it in the right place. Then, the soldiers of the Spirit Lake Expedition and of the Northern Border Brigade should be included in such a work. An impression has gone abroad that our suggestion included a biographical record at some length of our soldiers. There are objections to this: In the first place, the work would be too voluminous, and second, it is impracticable at this time to secure the requisite information. Our idea is to publish rosters of each of the companies and of the field and staff officers, together with a brief history of each regiment, with a list of the engagements in which it participated, and a summary of its casualties. This information can be obtained at the present time from the Adjutant General's old books, and from other sources. It would include the dates of enlistment and muster into the United States service, with the battles in which each soldier had participated, his casualties, whatever their result, and if living his present post-office address.

Models for this class of publications are presented in the recently published reports of Vermont, New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania, and some of the other eastern

states. The Vermont report, however, is a very heavy quarto, and it would take probably three such volumes to contain the Iowa rosters. The New York report was published in handsome octavos, which we should judge to be the best form. Almost daily the Historical Department is called upon to furnish information concerning soldiers of the revolutionary war, and the war of 1812. We are also occasionally asked for lists of the soldiers who went to Mexico, which up to this time we have not been able to furnish. All the accessible information touching the Iowa soldiers and regiments should be collected as rapidly as possible, carefully edited and brought out in handsome durable volumes. There is no work which would be more satisfactory to the people, or more pleasing to the coming generations. It would take some years to do all this work, and but moderate appropriations would be required. So far as we have been able to obtain the views of soldiers of the civil war the expressions have been unanimous in favor of this enterprise. The State can well afford to publish these records; it cannot afford to ignore them.

-IOWA COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

Doubtless the first to take form—the pioneer—in this State was that which was organized at Chariton, Lucas county, through the efforts of Col. Warren S. Dungan. It dates from June 10, 1901. It received notice in THE ANNALS, Vol. V, pp. 230-1, and an article which Col. Dungan wrote concerning it may be found in *The Bulletin* of the Iowa Library Commission, Vol. 2, No. 1, and in THE ANNALS, Vol. VI, pp. 55-58.

In Winterset, Madison county, a Society was organized March 15, 1904, of which Mr. H. A. Mueller is the leading spirit. He was chosen its first President. This society has lately promulgated its first constitution and by-laws, though

some of its members had been at work many months. It has already accomplished excellent results.

A Society was organized at Lamoni, Decatur co., Sept. 14, 1901, largely through the efforts of Fred M. Smith, editor of *The Saints' Herald*. A constitution and by-laws were adopted and the organization has since been doing some highly creditable work. A historical library of about 200 volumes has been secured, and efforts are in progress to collect biographical sketches of the pioneer settlers, with their recollections of early Iowa days. That region is rich in valuable materials to reward an energetic and enthusiastic collector like Fred M. Smith.

The Linn county Society has met with a great degree of success. Its latest published announcement shows a membership of 125, including leading men and women of that section of the State. In Messrs. Albert N. Harbert and Lew W. Anderson, the Society has two of the foremost historical collectors in the State. Both have been remarkably successful. Mr. Luther A. Brewer, another leading member, is one of the finest, up-to-date book printers west of the Mississippi river and a successful collector of fine books. The collections of these gentlemen and of the society are growing rapidly, and their publications will be cordially welcomed.

Mr. J. W. Ellis, of Maquoketa, Jackson county, has for several years been doing efficient work in local historical collecting, and we believe that a county organization has been effected.

Boone county has made a good start in this species of patriotic work, though no organization has yet been effected. Local historical collecting is in progress as a department of the Ericson Public Library, under the supervision of John M. Brainard, an ex-journalist of Boone. He has already performed much labor in collecting newspapers, books and pamphlets, manuscripts, original biographical data, engraved portraits and photographs of early settlers, specimens illustrative of the natural history of that section of the State, etc.,

etc. Quite recently the city council have authorized a local taxidermist to collect and mount the birds of Boone county for the Library. This work which is most commendable has just been commenced. Boone county abounds in prehistoric stone implements, and these are being gathered in. Everything indicates that Mr. Brainard will in a few years not only collect the local history and biography of that county, but also build up an interesting local museum.

DENMARK ACADEMY.

Our leading article presents a history of the quiet and secluded little village of Denmark, Lee county, Iowa, and of the celebrated institution of learning which has flourished there with undiminished success since 1845. This history is a pleasant and instructive one to read, for it depicts the wisdom which underlaid this most commendable enterprise at the start and portrays the tenacity with which its pious founders and supporters have pursued their labors for sixty years. Few schools of this grade have made so proud a record, whether we look to the distinguished names which appear in its list of graduates, the high grade of its scholarship, the patriotism which inspired its young men to enlist in the Union armies in the civil war, or the liberality of those who gave their time and money to its development and support.

This article was prepared by Mrs. H. B. Quinton, who has resided in Denmark for many years, at the request of the Alumni Society of the Academy. She wished it also to be understood that she has drawn for her facts quite freely upon the late Rev. Dr. George F. Magoun's "Asa Turner and his Times"—a book well known to the Congregationalists of Iowa—and sundry manuscripts furnished her by Prof. H. K. Edson of Grinnell.

Prof. Frank Leverett, who was born in that town in

1854, graduating there and at the Iowa Agricultural College, and who has become one of the foremost writers upon the glaciers of this country, in a letter to the Editor of THE ANNALS, says of Denmark Academy:

I hardly know what I could say that would be worth inserting concerning the Academy as I knew it. I am keeping track of its work right along, and know that it is maintaining and in some ways improving its standard. There are more persons going to college from it now than in the days when it had an attendance much greater than the present, which shows pretty clearly that it is not deteriorating. There is in such a school an atmosphere of culture which is rare in the public school and which tends toward good citizenship. I wish our public schools had more of it.

THE COMMISSION OF GOVERNOR LUCAS.

The original document is in the possession of the State Historical Society at Iowa City. Gen. Robert Lucas was appointed first governor of Iowa Territory by President Van Buren. The commission bears the date of July 7, 1838. This precious document has suffered very much from the lapse of time and possibly from lack of care during earlier years of its existence. Wherever blanks were filled with pen-writing the ink has become much faded. In some instances even the printed lines are so worn that it is quite difficult to trace them. It was kindly loaned to the Historical Department for the purpose of enabling it to be reproduced in these pages. The result is shown in the facsimile which we print in this number. While the work is in some respects faulty it is certainly as good as can be produced without a better copy, which at this time is wholly out of the question. It shows as nearly as practicable what the commission was at the date of its issuance. We have made every possible effort to recover the commissions of Governors Chambers and Clarke, but up to this time without success. It is extremely doubtful whether either of them is in existence, and a matter of regret that they have not been preserved.

THE BATTLE OF ATHENS AGAIN.

The following is an extract from a letter written March 2, 1905, by Gen. H. H. Wright of Centerville, Iowa, referring to the Battle of Athens:

... An account of that event in the border history of the great war should not leave out the commands of Col. John Adair McDowell and Col. Worthington, of the 6th and 5th Iowa Infantry Volunteers. Col. McDowell arrived at the Croton station just as the engagement was ending on the south side of the river. We heard the shot that sent the cannon ball into the hills on the north side of the river, and saw the little squads of the enemy scampering back over the hills into the big timber out of sight. The scene at the Croton station was calculated to chill the blood in the veins of stout-hearted men in the ranks of the military. Men, women and children, crazed with fear and excitement, running about crying and pleading for help to reach safety from the awful roar of the cannon and small arms. Col. McDowell quickly formed three companies of the 6th and proceeded to cross the river, the men taking their shoes and socks off and rolling up their pants—the water being about knee deep.

The killed and wounded of Col. David Moore's command were gathered into the store, houses and dwellings, where they were cared for by the doctors belonging to the troops and by local physicians. The Iowa commands furnished the picket guards for the outposts during the night and also the camp guards. So it is clear that the 5th and 6th Iowa were in the battle of Athens, causing Gen. Martin Green to retreat and the only pursuit made was by Col. W. H. Worthington, in command of detachments from the 6th and 5th regiments.

Gen. Wright also takes occasion to notice another matter which appeals keenly to the old soldiers' sense of justice. He is himself understood to be writing a book in which he will undoubtedly correct other errors and do justice to the merits of many heroes. For the present he says:

I notice also that the common error is made, of describing the start from Atlanta by Sherman's army as a wild scene of disorder and merri-ment, when in fact, there never was an army of 65,000 men and 35,000 animals so well organized and disciplined, marching in such perfect order, as did that noble body of men under the eye of that grandest field-marshal produced by the war.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

The State of Missouri, an Autobiography, edited by Walter Williams for the Missouri Commission of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. Press of E. W. Stephens, Columbia, Mo., pp. 592.

Missouri—"pronounced Miz-zoo-ry"—is here presented as fifth of the United States in population and wealth, as first in potential resources, and geographically as the central commonwealth of the Union. The story is told in a fine blazonry of facts, figures, maps, pictures, and portraits. Seventy pages are given to the history, government, climate, geology and physiography of the state; 75, to agriculture, live stock, horticulture, dairy and poultry; 50, to manufactures, mining and transportation; 24, to education, church, art and press; 20, to fauna, plant-life and fisheries; 71, to a description of the cities of the state; 228, to the 114 counties, two pages to each of them; and 45 pages to additional statistics of the state, and its exhibit at the Exposition.

For the first thirty-three years of its existence the state was crippled in its growth by slavery. Illinois grew more rapidly. When a strip of Iowa was thrown open to settlement, there was a larger migration thither than to Missouri. Although there was no large increase in the number of slaves brought into the state, its whole social and political life was dominated by the "peculiar institution." Southern statesmen now acknowledge that the question of slavery in Missouri shaped the course of American history for forty-five years. Thus the Hon. William B. Bate, of Tennessee, said in the Senate of the United States, January 20, 1905, that in the case of Missouri, "that fire bell was struck in the night which continued its funeral peals from 1820 to 1865." The repeal of the Compromise of 1820, under which Missouri had come into the Union, was nowhere supported with more spirit, or welcomed with so much eclat as in Missouri. The instructor in History, in the State University, says in this volume, pp. 24-25, "The South in general believed that it was the intention of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, unexpressed it is true, that Kansas should be slave, and Nebraska free. Thus the Missourians would resent any interference with slavery in Kansas as prejudicial to their welfare and as a violation of natural justice." It was in this faith and with these convictions that citizens of Missouri went into Kansas to establish slavery, and that by their votes they put it into the "Lecompton Constitution."

While it may be unbecoming to raise those things out of their graves, at the same time it should not be forgotten that a most notable and forever memorable opposition to the extension of slavery, and to the repeal of the Compromise of 1820, came also from Missouri, though it proved the political downfall of the greatest public man in the history of that State. Because of that opposition, the name of Thomas Hart Benton was cast out as evil by the people of Missouri, who had almost idolized him for thirty years. Time, however, sometimes redresses great wrongs, and truth, crushed to earth, rises again. Another spirit has come to another genera-

tion of the people of Missouri. Invited by Congress, in common with the other states, to place in the capitol at Washington statues of two of its citizens, "illustrious for historic renown and distinguished services," the legislature of Missouri, without a dissenting voice, made choice of Thomas Hart Benton and Francis Preston Blair (a man of kindred sentiments, of similar fates, and of the same high moral tone), for that honor. Their statues were presented to Congress, February 4, 1899, when Senators Vest and Cockrell, and representatives of Missouri, who had themselves been political antagonists of Benton and Blair, joined in tributes to their high character and great services. This volume says that "Missouri has developed farther and faster in the last quarter of a century than in all her previous history. Her wealth has increased enormously." Iowa, the first free state west of the Mississippi, rejoices in the alignment of Missouri by her side under the auspices of freedom, and in the magnificent prospect of growth and renown now before "the central commonwealth of the Union."

W. S.

Life, Letters and Travels among the North American Indians, of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, 1801-1873. By Hiram Martin Chittenden, Major, Corps of Engineers, U. S. A., and Alfred Talbot Richardson. Four Volumes, pp. 1624, New York: Francis P. Harper, 1905.

During the past dozen years the publication of several books of travel and exploration in the middle and far west has thrown a flood of light upon the history of that great expanse of territory. The surpassing value of the labors of Coues, Thwaites, Mrs. Dye, Chittenden and Richardson, in placing these records of the past before the world is quite beyond estimate. Dr. Elliott Coues edited several volumes which were brought out, though in limited editions, by the enterprising publisher of the work before us. We believe that a place next in importance to the History of the Lewis and Clark Expedition will be assigned to the Life and Letters of Father De Smet. He possessed peculiar qualifications for the work which he undertook. To the thorough education which is known to be absolutely essential for priests of the Society of Jesus to acquire, he united the zeal of the devoted, self-sacrificing missionary. Then he was endowed with a stalwart frame, great physical strength, and health which carried him through marvelous perils by "flood and field" and beyond the allotted three score and ten. He devoted his life to the conversion, education and the betterment of the condition of the Indians in the region west and north of St. Louis, and stretching to the Pacific ocean. The field was a large one and the laborers were but few. This made the work of Father De Smet seem simply herculean. He became one of the most widely known men in the west. His present biographers say of him:

Father De Smet's travels were not confined to the western country. He visited many parts of the United States east of the Mississippi, crossed the Atlantic nineteen times and made one voyage around Cape Horn and two by way of Panama in the interest of his work. He was well known, both in Europe and America, and on one occasion was made the bearer of

interesting observations on the soil and general appearance of the wide Iowa prairies, saying among other things that "deer and elk range here in good numbers." He seemed to have an intuitive knowledge of the natural history of every region through which he traveled. The information contained in these large volumes has been most conscientiously edited and errors in former publications carefully corrected. To the student of Indian history and life they would seem to be indispensable. They should have a place in every public library. In addition to the map above mentioned the work contains several portraits of Father De Smet from about his 25th year until he was "aged and gray." A large bronze statue was set up at his birth-place, Termonde, Belgium, of which there is a fine illustration.

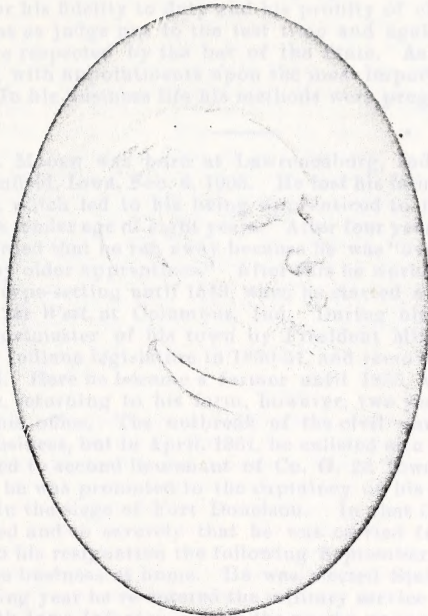
Proceedings of the Academy of Science and Letters, of Sioux City, Iowa, for 1903-4. Volume I. Published by the Academy. Perkins Brothers Co., Printers, Sioux City, Iowa, 1904.

A Scientific Association existed for many years in Sioux City, but in 1903 it was determined to enlarge its scope and publish a volume of proceedings and original papers. The results of this action appear in a reorganization under the name of "The Academy of Science and Letters of Sioux City, Iowa," and the handsome volume which recently came from the Perkins' Press. This is an octavo of 191 pages which is clearly and beautifully printed, with many appropriate illustrations. Among the latter are excellent portraits of John H. Charles and Judge George W. Wakefield, both of whom recently passed away deeply lamented. No two other men had done more for the cause of science and letters in that portion of the State. The volume contains the constitution and by-laws of the Academy, lists of officers from the beginning of this work, details of the organization, biographical sketches of deceased members, with many scientific and historical papers. Among the papers, that of Hon. C. R. Marks, on the "Monona County, Iowa, Mormons," is especially interesting and valuable. The book is one which will often be referred to in the libraries fortunate enough to possess a copy.

Cleiocrinus, by Frank Springer, No. 2, Vol. XXV. Memoirs of the Museum of Comparative Zoology at Harvard College, January, 1905, pp. 91-114, with one plate.

A history and description of the peculiar structure and stratigraphic position of certain unique fossils that have been found in the earliest beds of crinoids. The genus was established by a Canadian scientist in 1856, but has been a puzzle to crinologists. Mr. Springer has taken up the problem with his wonderful acumen and with his habits of close and thorough research, and elucidated the relation of this genus to the other forms of the same life that sported in the long ages of the palaeozoic world. This monograph shows the fine patience of his genius, and his

them in the federal courts affecting land titles. He especially gained reputation as a successful defender of the rights of Iowa's country against adventurers and swindlers who attempted to plunder that country in the days of the land speculation. He was elected to the bench of the 11th judicial district in 1881, in which position he rapidly gained distinction by his able decisions and sound opinions. In 1892 he was elected to the 10th Congress and was re-elected on two successive occasions, occupying his last term March 3, 1905. Judge Thomas was a man of more than ordinary strength of character. The following is from the obituary paid him by a former business associate, Mr. James E. Toy: "So young a man never had more friends in his home town or more people who wanted to see and admire him for his ability and integrity of character. As years passed, he was as judicious as the test of time and again, and his judicial opinions were respected by the bar of the state. As a congressman he was honored with a reputation upon the most important committees in the House. In his private life his methods were progressive but strictly honorable."



COL. S. A. MOORE.

1821-1905.

Civil war veteran; State Senator, 10th and 11th general assemblies, and member of the House of the 29th; postmaster of Bloomfield, Iowa, 1875-83.

FRAN W. FAULKNER, editor of *The Evening Gazette* of Cedar Rapids, was born on a farm in Davis county, Wis., April 18, 1855; he died at Brookings Springs, Minn., March 21, 1905, where he had gone to recover health broken as a result of overwork. Besides a common school education he attended the State University of Wisconsin. Thereafter he became a telegraph operator and later on reporter for *The State Journal* of Madison. He came to Iowa in 1874, and for some years was in the employ of the N. O. & N. R. R., as telegraph operator. In 1884, in company with Mr. C. L. Miller, he purchased the daily and weekly *Gazette*, publications then owned by Mr. Faulkner's business and editorial control from that date until his death. Mr. Faulkner had a notable career as an editor and a writer. He was independent in his editorial writing, being a member of a free hand in the freedom with which he criticized public policies and public men.

tions in the federal courts affecting land titles. He especially gained reputation as a successful defender of the rights of Buena Vista county against adventurers and swindlers who attempted to plunder that county in the days of the land speculator. He was elected to the bench of the 14th judicial district in 1884, in which position he rapidly gained distinction by his fair decisions and solid opinions. In 1898 he was elected to the 56th Congress and was re-elected on two successive occasions, completing his last term March 4, 1905. Judge Thomas was a man of more than ordinary strength of character. The following is from the tribute paid him by a former business associate, Mr. James F. Toy: "No young man ever had more friends in his home town or more people who confided in and admired him for his fidelity to duty and his probity of character. As years passed, he was as judge put to the test time and again, and his judicial opinions were respected by the bar of the State. As a congressman he was honored with appointments upon the most important committees in the House. In his business life his methods were progressive but strictly honorable."

SAMUEL A. MOORE was born at Lawrenceburg, Ind., Dec. 16, 1821; he died at Bloomfield, Iowa, Feb. 6, 1905. He lost his father when he was but six years old, which led to his being apprenticed to learn the trade of a printer at the tender age of eight years. After four years of printing office life it is recorded that he ran away because he was "over-taxed with labor and abused by older apprentices." After this he worked in a store, on a farm, and at type-setting until 1849, when he started a Whig paper called *The Spirit of the West*, at Columbus, Ind. During his editorship he was appointed postmaster of his town by President Millard Fillmore. He served in the Indiana legislature in 1850-51, and removed to Davis county, Iowa, in 1853. Here he became a farmer until 1855, when he was elected county judge, returning to his farm, however, two years later on the expiration of his office. The outbreak of the civil war found him in the mercantile business, but in April, 1861, he enlisted as a private and was at once promoted to second lieutenant of Co. G, 2d Iowa Infantry. Some months later he was promoted to the captaincy of his company which he commanded in the siege of Fort Donelson. In that battle he was three times wounded and so severely that he was carried from the field. His wounds led to his resignation the following September, when he resumed his mercantile business at home. He was elected State Senator in 1863. In the following year he re-entered the military service as lieutenant-colonel of the 45th Iowa Infantry. After the war he was again elected senator and in 1892 representative in the General Assembly. He also served as doorkeeper of the House. Col. Moore was an eloquent speaker—a favorite on the rostrum, a popular man, as his repeated elections conclusively indicate, a servant of the people whose record is an enviable one.

FRED W. FAULKES, editor of *The Evening Gazette*, of Cedar Rapids, was born on a farm in Dane county, Wis., April 18, 1855; he died at Excelsior Springs, Mo., March 21, 1905, where he had gone to recover health broken as a result of overwork. Besides a common school education, he attended the State University of Wisconsin. Thereafter he became a telegraph operator and later on reporter for *The State Journal* of Madison. He came to Iowa in 1871, and for some years was in the employ of the B. C. R. & N. R. R., as telegraph operator. In 1884, in company with Mr. C. L. Miller, he purchased the daily and weekly *Gazette*, publications that were under Mr. Faulkes' business and editorial control from that date until his death. Mr. Faulkes had a notable career as an editor and a citizen. He was independent in his editorial writing, being somewhat of a free lance in the freedom with which he criticised public policies and public men.

He was a vigorous writer and sharp critic, and indifferent to whether or not a thing was popular. He was held in high esteem by all who knew him, especially by his intimate friends who were constantly the beneficiaries of his kindly disposition and generosity. As a citizen he was an important factor in the life of Cedar Rapids, and a beneficial influence in the politics of Iowa, because of the vigorous work which he constantly did in furthering the interests of his home city and better politics and government in the State.

EDWARD F. WINSLOW was born in Kennebeck, Maine, Sept. 28, 1837; he died while traveling in Egypt, Feb. 13, 1905. He came to Iowa in 1856, locating at Mt. Pleasant. He followed mercantile pursuits until the breaking out of the civil war when he recruited a company at Ottumwa, of which he was commissioned captain when it was incorporated in the 4th Iowa Cavalry. This regiment had no little fame as the only cavalry troop that remained with Grant continuously from the beginning to the end of the Vicksburg campaign. His career in the army was noteworthy and meritorious. In January, 1863, he was promoted to the position of major, and in July following received his commission as colonel. Later on he was given commands of brigades and rendered valuable services in the armies of Sherman, Grant, Sturgis and Wilson. At one time in the latter part of the war Col. Winslow was chief of the cavalry service of the 15th Army Corps. He was brevetted brigadier-general in 1864, in recognition of the high character of his services as a soldier and officer. After the war Gen. Winslow became practically interested in the construction and management of railroads. He was closely connected with the management of the B. C. R. & N. R. R., and later was associated in the construction of the Union Pacific R. R.

EDMUND BOOTH was born in Springfield, Mass., Aug. 24, 1810; he died in Anamosa, Iowa, March 29, 1905. He lost his hearing at the age of four years, and was educated at the American School for the Deaf at Hartford, Conn. He came to Iowa in 1839, and engaged in farming near Anamosa. He was one of the famous California "Forty-niners," but returned to his Jones county farm five years later. He named the county seat "Anamosa," for a beautiful Indian girl who came there in early days. He was for a time associated with the late Hon. Matt Parrott in the publication of *The Anamosa Eureka*, one of the oldest and most widely known Iowa weekly papers. In later years he has been associated in that enterprise with his son, Thomas E. Booth. While his deafness had been a life-long hindrance, Mr. Booth wielded a powerful influence in his town and county and had a wide acquaintance abroad. He was especially noted for his well directed efforts to better the condition of the deaf and dumb.

JESSE A. RUNKLE was born in Lisbon, Iowa, July 12, 1863; he died in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, Jan. 19, 1905. He was educated at Western College, Toledo, Iowa, and the State University, graduating from the law department of the last-named institution. Settling in Cedar Rapids he had built up a good law practice, and had become especially well known in the club life and educational work of that thriving city. He was one of the founders and a leading member of the Linn County Historical Society, and had been especially active in starting it upon its useful career. He took a deep interest in the State Historical Department, and at the time of his death was making a study of a historico-legal subject upon which he was preparing a paper for this magazine. His death came suddenly from heart failure. His loss was a serious one to the city and county of his residence, and to the State, and was deeply deplored by a wide circle of friends.

EDWARD C. RUSSELL was born in Louisville, Ky., September 13, 1841; he died at the hospital in Clarinda, Iowa, March 21, 1905. When a boy his parents located in Dixon, Ill. He enlisted in Co. A, 65th Illinois Infantry, and served until the close of the civil war. He studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1867 at Altona, Ill. He also established *The Altona Mirror*, the first paper in the town. In 1870 he removed to Corning, Iowa, where for many years he practiced law and engaged in newspaper work. He established *The Adams County Union* and *The Free Press*, and for a time edited *The Creston Democrat*. In 1891 he removed to Oregon, where for four years he was U. S. appraiser for the ports of that state and Washington. After a time spent in Alaska he returned in 1899 to Corning. He had been a member of the 21st, 22d and 23d General Assemblies.

THOMAS B. KNAFF was born in Danbury, Conn., July 9, 1822; he died in Iowa Falls, Iowa, Jan. 31, 1905. When a boy his family removed to New York state and later to Ohio, where he attended the academy at Norwalk. He spent some years during the '40's in Alabama and California. In 1854 he located in Hardin county, Iowa, and purchased land on the Iowa river. During the civil war he served as sutler of the 32d Iowa Infantry. After the war he engaged in business in Iowa Falls, where for a time he was postmaster, and for many years a justice of the peace. He was a member of the 11th and 12th General Assemblies, and was a delegate to the first Republican convention held in Iowa, at Iowa City, in 1855. He wrote many of his pioneer reminiscences for *The Iowa Falls Sentinel*.

PHILIP E. SHAVER was born in Pennsylvania, May 6, 1829; he died at his home near Iowa City, October 11, 1904. Capt. Shaver came to Johnson county in 1844. In 1847 he enlisted in the Mexican war as a member of James M. Morgan's company of mounted volunteers. For some time he was engaged chiefly among the Indians and became well acquainted with several tribes. He assisted in removing the Winnebagoes from Iowa to Minnesota. In 1850 he made the overland trip to California in a "prairie schooner," returning via the Isthmus of Panama. When the civil war broke out he enlisted in Co. F, First Iowa Cavalry, and later received a commission as 1st lieutenant. He had held many township offices.

ADAM V. LARIMER was born in Bellefonte, Pa., in 1829; he died in Chicago, where he had gone for medical treatment, March 23, 1905. He was educated at Allegheny College. In 1852 he was admitted to the bar. In March, 1854, he traveled overland to Iowa and located in Council Bluffs. He was elected prosecuting attorney the following autumn and afterwards filled the office of county and probate judge for two years. He was a member of the 6th General Assembly, which convened in 1856. In 1876 he removed to Wyoming and engaged in the stock business. In 1886 he returned to Iowa and settled in Sioux City which has since been his home, and where he invested heavily in real property.

HUGH LOGAN was born in county Antrim, Ireland, in 1803; he died in Knoxville, Iowa, December 1, 1904, at the age of 101. The year of his birth saw the acquisition of the Louisiana Purchase by the United States. In 1826 Mr. Logan came to America; after living for a time in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, and in Ohio, he removed in 1855 to Iowa, settling in Marion county. When the war broke out he was debarred from service on account of age, but was finally admitted into the "Graybeard Regiment," 37th Iowa Infantry. He was one of the few survivors of that organization.

EDWARD J. GAULT was born near Belfast, Ireland, June 1, 1828; he died at his home near Cincinnati, Iowa, August 24, 1904. The family emigrated to America in 1839, making their first home in Philadelphia. In the spring of 1853, Mr. Gault removed to Appanoose county, walking the entire distance from Keokuk, and settled near Cincinnati, where he has since lived and where he owned a large stock farm. He was prominent in county and State affairs. He served as a member of the House in the 9th General Assembly, and as State senator in the 14th, 15th, 20th and 21st.

JAMES F. BRENNAN was born in county Kilkenny, Muchalee, Ireland, in 1851; he died in Fonda, Iowa, November 21, 1904, as the result of an accident while driving. In 1878 he was ordained in his native county as a priest of the Roman Catholic church and the following year came to the United States. Father Brennan was for some years a "Cathedral Priest" at Dubuque, but Bishop Hennessey sent him to Webster City to take the place of Father O'Keefe. After a service of fourteen years with that congregation he went to Fonda, where his career was so suddenly ended.

FRANCIS A. J. GRAY was born at Graysville, Green county, Pa., Feb. 11, 1831; he died in Wilton township, Muscatine county, Iowa, March 3, 1905. He was married to Miss Adelene Palmer, at Wellsburg, West Virginia, May 31, 1854. When the war broke out he enlisted as a member of Co. C, 18th Pennsylvania Cavalry, serving until 1863. In 1864 he removed to Iowa and settled in Muscatine county, on the farm which has since been the family home. He was closely identified with the financial interests of Wilton. He was a member of the 16th and 17th General Assemblies.

MRS. ELIZA ANN MELVIN SHRADER was born in Plymouth, N. H., Jan. 7, 1808; she died at the home of her daughter in Iowa City, March 1, 1905. She occupied an honored position as a Daughter of the Revolution, as her father, Isaac Melvin, served in the Revolutionary War under Gen. Washington, was taken prisoner, transported to London, and confined for three years in the Tower prison. She was a member of both the State and National societies. In 1813 her parents removed to Washington county, Ohio, where in 1828 she was married to John Shrader.

THOMAS HARRIS was born in Barnstable, Massachusetts, October 14, 1832; he died in Montezuma, Iowa, October 5, 1904. In 1850, when a young man, he took the voyage around Cape Horn to California, where he remained for two years. In 1856 he left his native state and removed to Iowa, walking the entire distance from Iowa City to Poweshiek county, where he entered land. He gradually acquired large business interests in several western states. Since 1882 his home had been in Montezuma. He was a member of the 30th General Assembly.

FLETCHER HOWARD was born in Leeds, Maine, Oct. 5, 1853; he died in Colorado, where he had gone in search of health, March 3, 1905. He graduated from Bates College, Lewiston, Maine, in 1879. In 1880 he came to Iowa and for a time engaged in teaching school. He then entered the drug business at Onawa, Iowa. After several years he removed to Sheldon, where he continued in the same business for eleven years. From April, 1903, he was a member of the State Pharmacy Board, serving several years as its president.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

Vol. VII, No. 2.

2d Series.

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE UNION PACIFIC AND THE MISSOURI PACIFIC RAILROADS

BY

In the spring of 1852 I was employed by the Union Pacific Railroad Company as a surveyor from St. Louis to Iowa City. My principal assistant was General Grenville M. Dodge, who afterwards acquired a national reputation in the Civil War and later as chief engineer of the Union Pacific railroad. We reached Iowa City the first day of June. The town had about thirteen hundred people at that time, about the same as Moines, as it was then called, about half that number. The business houses in the place were mainly wooden shanties plastered with mud and decorated with letters, "LAND WARRANTS". The land offices for a large part of the State were located in the place. The general government still retained the property of the lands within the State. Iowa had been impressively impressed with the capital building in the style of the Doric order, stone is used for a base and an enclosure, and gaining in character by its surroundings. Its walls were massive and its design a model. For fifty years I have passed it, often daily, and I never look at it without satisfaction. My first impressions, which have never changed, were

Emory G. Goss

Peter A. Deep

ANNALS OF IOWA.

VOL. VII, No. 2.

DES MOINES, IOWA, JULY, 1905.

3D SERIES.

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE OLD CAPITOL AND THE NEW.

BY HON. PETER A. DEY.

In the spring of 1853 I was employed by parties interested in the Mississippi and Missouri Railroad Company to make a survey from Davenport by way of Iowa City and Fort Des Moines to the Missouri river. My principal assistant was General Grenville M. Dodge, who afterwards acquired a national reputation in the civil war and later as chief engineer of the Union Pacific railroad. We reached Iowa City on the first day of June. The town had about thirteen hundred people at that time. Fort Des Moines, as it was then named, had about half this number. The business houses in both places were mainly wooden shanties placarded with signs in large letters, "LAND WARRANTS". The land offices for a large part of the State were located in these towns, the general government still owning a majority of the lands within the State. At Iowa City I was especially impressed with the capitol, a building in the severest style of the Doric order, alone in the center of a ten-acre inclosure, and gaining in character by contrast with its surroundings. Its walls were massive and its design a model. For fifty years I have passed it, often daily, and I never look at it without satisfaction. My first impressions, which have never changed, were endorsed in a letter received from Frederick Dielman, president of the Academy of Design in New York, who was preparing a mosaic for one of the recesses of the capitol at Des Moines. In representing higher education he proposed to

introduce as a center this building, saying that from casual observation he regarded it as a fine specimen of classic architecture.

The country west of Iowa City was unsettled. Robert Manatt and his sons lived east of where Brooklyn now is. On one of the most traveled thoroughfares in the State, from Manatt's to Latimer's, a distance of eighteen miles, there was no house or cultivation of any kind. When our survey reached Grinnell, the highest elevation attained between the Mississippi and Des Moines rivers, we looked over a vast extent of prairie and saw nothing to indicate that the foot of the white man had ever pressed the ground. The change can be better appreciated from the standpoint of the past.

During the year 1854 I spent considerable time in and about Iowa City, and knew many of the prominent men of the State. Judge Joseph Williams, Chief Justice, was a man who would be remembered. On the bench he was dignified and self-respecting, but when the restraints were loosened he was full of humor, had a fund of stories that was inexhaustible, and a remarkable fondness for music, which was his recreation. He was especially fond of the violin. He told me that at one time he held court in a barn at Tipton and sentenced a man for horse stealing, telling him that he had given him the limit of punishment the law permitted and only regretted that he could not make the term longer, as his crime prevented the cultivation of the farm from which the family acquired its living. In the evening the young people gathered in the barn and the judge furnished the music for a dance. He observed one man on the floor who, from his movements, seemed to especially enjoy the occasion; his appearance seemed familiar, and the judge, on inquiry, was told that this was the man he had sentenced in the morning for horse stealing. The sheriff wanted to attend the dance, and as he had no place in which to confine his prisoner, he brought him on the floor where he could watch

him. It is needless to say the music and dance abruptly ended.

Judge J. C. Hall was said to be a profound lawyer, and it was claimed that his opinions were logical and the results of reasoning on principles rather than following precedent. Judge George Greene after retiring from the bench devoted himself to railroad building and was successful. Judge George G. Wright was chosen by the legislature Chief Justice in 1855. Added to legal acquirements which have been universally acknowledged as of a high order, he had the faculty of impressing himself upon the men with whom he came in contact. In the day when prejudices were stronger than they now are, many a pioneer who differed with him in politics, in religion and almost everything else, felt that the judge was personally interested in him and his special friend. I never have met a man who had this faculty to so great a degree.

James W. Grimes was elected governor in the fall of 1854. He was both an astute politician and a statesman. He at that time kept up a regular correspondence with some influential man in almost every county in the State, asked his views and incidentally outlined his own, so that practically he dictated the platforms of his party, and often the persons elected to state offices. As a statesman his views were far reaching. The constitutional convention of 1857, through the influence exerted by him, limited to five per cent. on its valuation all state, county, city and township indebtedness. In a period when Iowa might have been involved in all kinds of schemes for internal improvements and the public was ready to adopt them, the State was saved from the load of debt that has been so burdensome to surrounding states. The man who introduced this provision probably went to his grave in the firm conviction that this wise constitutional restriction was his own measure. Governor Grimes labored for results, not personal distinction. His career in the United States senate was a fitting sequel to that in the State of Iowa. In

the session of 1856-57, Governor Grimes and Senator Wm. F. Coolbaugh, who were at the time the acknowledged leaders of the two political parties, occupied jointly the same rooms in the Clinton House at Iowa City, and consulted freely on all matters of state policy, while at the same time their views on the subjects that divided national politics were radically different. They both felt that the State was young and the time to develop a correct policy for the future was then, and they united on measures that have since demonstrated their wisdom. Their personal friendship lasted until the death of the former, and in his later years Mr. Coolbaugh spoke of Governor Grimes as the statesman of Iowa, and as the man who was true to his convictions when fully conscious that this fidelity meant political suicide. It is nearly thirty years since the death of the latter, and both have been forgotten by the generations now on the stage. It may not have been amiss to recall them to public attention.

The convention that framed the constitution in 1857 must have been an able body. That the constitution has remained so long practically unchanged speaks emphatically in favor of the wisdom of its provisions. Hon. Francis Springer was President, and William Penn Clarke, Judge J. C. Hall, and George Gillespie were among its members.

While Iowa City was the capital, immigrants were coming into the State rapidly. Two classes of men met with very different antecedents and ideas, one from New England, New York and Pennsylvania; the other from what President Roosevelt denominates the "Middle West". The New Englander felt (perhaps justifiably) a superiority on account of education, of the economies practised at home, of the systematized charities of the east, and claimed a higher civilization for his region. He talked of Beecher and Wendell Phillips and the influences of Harvard and Yale. The Middle West man was self-reliant and prided himself on the fact that he belonged to what Mr. Lincoln styled the "plain people". He often quoted the saying of Stephen A. Douglas, "if you wish to

fool anybody do not begin with a man who signs his name with an x". Their collisions were earnest, often amusing. Both belonged to the higher type of men. The civil war developed the patriotism of both, and before its close they merged into the most intense lovers of their country and forgot the idiosyncrasies of the past. Our standpoint is nearer that of the New Englander, developed by liberal surroundings, than of the other, yet there was merit in the logic of the man grown in the Middle West. Judge Douglas, one of the most influential stump speakers of his day, repeatedly stated that he never attempted to lower his standard or dilute his arguments to meet the capacity of the unlearned. Governor Kirkwood, a product of the Middle West and in his day the most successful man on the stump, in the State, realized the truth of this, and always stated his positions so clearly and sustained them by arguments so convincing that his hearers carried away with them some ideas that they never forgot. He once told me that the Hon. Thomas Corwin one afternoon made a speech at Mansfield, Ohio, which with its humor and his own peculiar characteristics of gesture and grimace convulsed the crowds in attendance. Everyone went wild over the great stump orator. In the evening with some young lawyers he called on Mr. Corwin at the hotel. Unexpectedly they found him, instead of in flowing spirits, deeply depressed, from which state it was difficult to arouse him. Finally, however, he said, "Young gentlemen, learn a lesson. I believe there is enough in me to rank with the statesmen of this country. Unfortunately, I have successfully adopted the methods of the humorist and will be remembered as Tom Corwin the clown, not the statesman. Always address your audiences from the highest plane you can reach and furnish them argument, not amusement". Governor Kirkwood evidently profited by the advice.

In the session of 1854-55 a law was passed removing the capital to Des Moines, and under the provisions of a law of Congress the old capitol and grounds became the property

The last judicial occupancy of the old capitol was by the United States District Court presided over by Judge James M. Love. Of his judicial career lasting more than thirty years it is only necessary to say that, to the best of my knowledge, every attorney who practiced in his court had full confidence in his innate integrity and in his ability to correctly expound the law. I never heard his name mentioned but with profound respect.

The capital with all papers, records and other belongings was removed to Des Moines in the fall of 1858. A building had been erected by certain citizens of Des Moines and deeded to the State for a nominal consideration. It was occupied from that time and answered the purpose for a number of years. During the session of 1868, the census board (corresponding as I understand to what is now known as the executive council) was directed to advertise for plans for a new capitol, these to be submitted to the following general assembly. During the session of 1870, an act to provide for a new capitol, was passed and approved April 14. It established a board of commissioners consisting of the governor who was *ex officio* president and six other commissioners chosen by the legislature in joint convention, whose term of office should be two years. In addition the act named General G. M. Dodge and Hon. James F. Wilson as commissioners for the State at large. They were required to give bonds for \$50,000.00 each for the faithful performance of their duties. They were to select from the plans submitted to the census board, with the advice of a competent architect, a plan on which to build, but were authorized to modify it by combining with it the desirable features from other plans. The building was to be constructed of the best material, made fire-proof, warmed and ventilated in the most approved manner; it must provide suitable legislative halls, rooms for the judiciary, executive offices, library and committees; for the archives of the State agricultural society and for all purposes of the state government. It must be erected

on the ground held by the State for that purpose, and its cost was limited to one million, five hundred thousand dollars. The board was required to give preference to contractors living in the State and to material found in the State, for construction, if as good and at the same price as could be furnished elsewhere. The commission was unusually large for the purpose. While the act does not so state, they were selected from each of the then existing congressional districts, and the two commissioners at large were supposed to represent the United States senators, making a commission of nine in number, all republicans. It was an unwieldy body and, as the event proved, by no means harmonious. What relation members of congress or United States senators had to the construction of a state capitol is not evident. They first examined the quarries of the State, made chemical and physical tests, apparently the most complete ever made in the west, and possibly in the country, up to that time. After satisfying themselves as to quality and durability they decided to use for the foundation stone from the Orford quarry on the Iowa river in Tama county, an oolite limestone, which, the reports show, has stood the tests better than any other except the boulder granite, which was out of the question with the limit of cost fixed in the law. The quarry was not fully developed, and although the stone was adopted, there seems to have been in the minds of some of the members of the board a doubt whether enough could be furnished from that locality. One of the editors in the eastern part of the State, from information that he supposed to be reliable, attacked the stone, claiming that it was a failure and liable to disintegration; his brethren joined him and public sentiment condemned the commissioners. The democrats feeling that they had been unjustly treated in not being allowed representation on the board, joined heartily in the condemnation. The commissioners without further investigation, lacking the nerve to defend themselves, abandoned the oolite stone and adopted a limestone found in a hill west of Des

Moines, without investigation as to its extent or any test of its durability. Popular clamor at once subsided and nothing further was heard on the subject until the stone used in the foundation actually failed. In a short time the new quarry failed to furnish stone of suitable dimensions and was abandoned. It, however, became necessary to do something, and the board decided upon a stone from Rock Creek in Van Buren county. This in appearance resembled the stone in the foundation of the Illinois capitol, which had been submitted to chemical and physical tests. The work was pushed rapidly during the summer and fall of 1871, and on the 23d day of November, the corner-stone was laid with appropriate ceremony. Three-fifths of the cellar was then completed. The corner-stone had the names of the commissioners and the architects carved upon the western face, and on the south end "A. D., 1871". Hon. James F. Wilson made an introductory address which was followed by a historical paper by Governor Samuel Merrill on the portion of the Louisiana Purchase represented by Iowa; a poem was read by Hon. J. B. Grinnell, and an address made by Hon. John A. Kasson on the presentation to Governor Merrill of a silver trowel from the architects and a silver mallet from the superintendent. Everything looked bright. Whatever may have been the merits of the Rock Creek stone, unfortunately they were quarried late in the fall, put in the wall full of moisture, or as is termed by the stone-men, "quarry sap", and soon severely cold weather cracked a considerable number of them. The public, again influenced by the press, condemned the commissioners, and when the legislature met there was an investigation which ended in a report stating that the interior face of the wall showed many stone that were affected by frost, recommending "that the persons to whom may be committed the continuance of the work, be required to cause a thorough investigation to be made into each and every part of the wall by competent and disinterested persons, and direct that all the worthless material be taken out and reject-

ed, regardless of the consequent loss to the State". The commissioners closed their report with a review of what they had done in the two years, and advised that they be empowered to make contracts for the stone in the superstructure of the building. They asked for an appropriation of not less than three hundred thousand dollars. They gave it as their opinion that the board of commissioners should consist of not more than three members in which each political party should be represented, and that they should be appointed for the time occupied in building the capitol, and that they should be paid a salary that would justify them in giving their whole time to the discharge of their duties during the continuance of the work.

The 14th general assembly passed an act approved April 10, 1872, which amended the act of 1870, and established a board of commissioners which consisted of the governor, who was *ex officio* president and four other members, viz.: John G. Foote of Des Moines county, Maturin L. Fisher of Clayton county, R. S. Finkbine and Peter A. Dey of Johnson county. Each political party was represented by two members whose term of office extended to the completion of the building. It was made the duty of the commission to inspect the foundations already in, with reference to the material and character of the work and to reject any part thereof that did not conform to the proper standard. The value of such rejected work was not to be considered in determining the amount authorized to be expended in the construction of the building. The act appropriated \$100,000.00 for the prosecution of the work for 1872, and \$125,000.00 annually thereafter until the amount reached \$1,380,000.00, or was an appropriation of \$1,480,000.00, the time when available being fixed. The commissioners were to direct their action with a view of the completion of the building for the sum of \$1,500,000.

The first duty of the new commission was to determine what repairs were needed on the foundation walls which on their interior or exposed face showed the effect of frost, and to set-

tle the problem of how much of these massive walls must be removed. A committee of the board, Messrs Finkbine and Dey, was directed to examine and report. They were selected because one of them was a builder of long experience; the other, an engineer. After very careful and mature consideration they gave as their conclusion that the entire walls above the concrete foundation must come out, giving as a reason that the expenditure of \$50,000 would soon be forgotten, but that a failure in the foundation could never afterward be remedied and would ever remain a source of regret. The board considered the report radical and directed the wall to be taken down in places where signs of disintegration appeared. Opening up the walls fortunately showed a condition even worse than the committee anticipated, and resulted in the removal of every stone above the concrete except three. The cost of removing the defective stone and rebuilding the walls, leaving the work as it was when repairs began, was \$52,343.76.

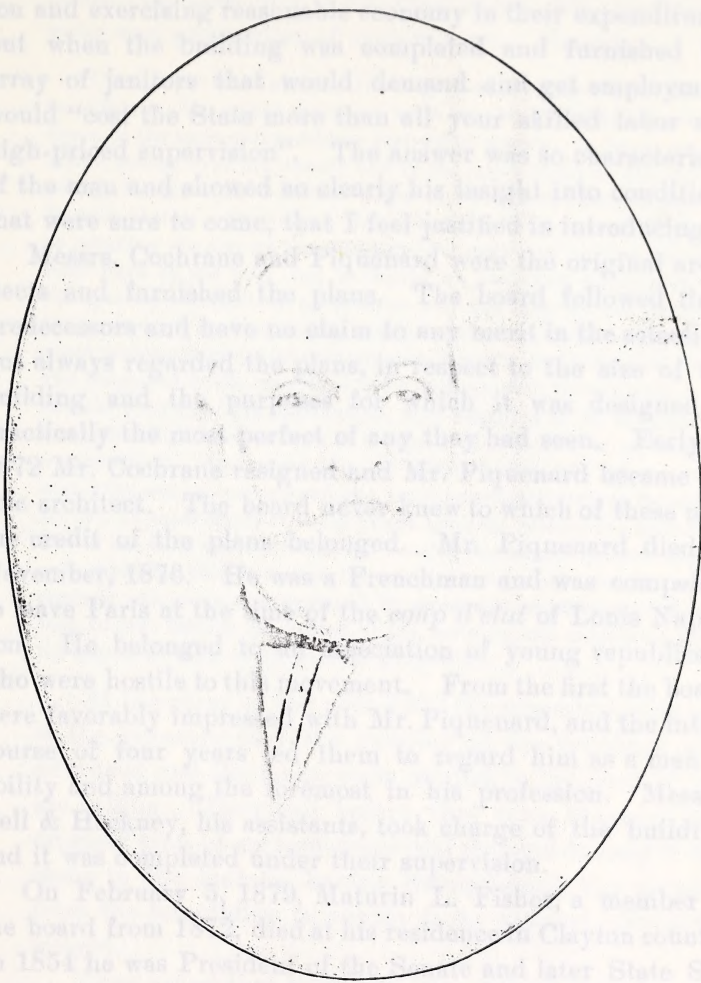
When the commissioners found it necessary to take down the cellar walls built by their predecessors they boxed the corner-stone and put it in one of the storage sheds about the building, intending to reset it exactly as it was when taken down, as soon as the walls reached that point. The 14th general assembly by joint resolution approved March 20, 1873, directed that all inscriptions of names, dates and figures be erased from the corner-stone and only the name "Iowa" and the date "1873" be inscribed, which resolution was strictly complied with. I have stated this for the purpose of correcting an impression at one time prevalent that this action was voluntary and met the approval of the commissioners.

The next thing to determine was what changes could be made to bring the cost of the building within the \$1,480,000 appropriated.

The former board, among the perplexities encountered, very soon discovered that the building could not be completed upon the plans decided upon, for the cost to which they were

limited, and they called to their assistance Edward Clark, architect of the capitol extension at Washington. He advised leaving out the basement story and the domes, making the capitals of the columns and the cornices of cast-iron and dispensing with all ornamental work. The new commission adopted Mr. Clark's views but with this difference: They reported against leaving out the basement story, realizing that the room it furnished was absolutely necessary for the future needs of the State. They decided to adhere to the plans adopted by their predecessors as far as practicable, and to put in cheap work wherever it could be replaced. Fortunately the legislature came to their relief and appropriated in 1874, \$125,000, and in 1876, \$250,000, in addition to the \$1,480,000 previously appropriated, making a total of \$1,855,000. This seemed to indicate that the policy was becoming more liberal and the intent was that the building should be made suitable for the purposes for which it was designed. From that time forward the capitol began to attract attention; it seemed to be popular, and every expenditure that would add to its usefulness or elegance was sanctioned by public sentiment, a change due to general prosperity and a conviction that the State was getting an equivalent for the expenditure. From the first the board asked for larger appropriations. The policy of the State was not to increase the tax levy and the capitol was given what remained after the state institutions were supplied.

The commissioners appealed again and again for larger appropriations. One argument they advanced was that the cost of supervision could not well be less than ten thousand dollars per year, which on an expenditure of five hundred thousand dollars was not large; on one hundred and twenty-five thousand it was. Governor Larrabee had been for many years a member of the senate. As chairman of the committee on appropriations his word was law. After listening to an appeal on one occasion he answered the argument on percentage by stating that he was satisfied that the commis-



Maturin L. Fisher

MATURIN L. FISHER.

A graduate of Yale College; a pioneer settler of Clayton County, Iowa; Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1857-58; one of the Commissioners in charge of the erection of the new capitol of Iowa, 1872-79.

one of the reports written by him on the plans suggested to reduce the cost of the building shows his devotion to the rules and proprieties of architecture. He says:

Change the cut stone cornice to galvanized iron; the cut stone capitals to cast-iron; the grand staircase from marble to iron; to put hardwood floors in the halls and corridors instead of marble; to leave out the committee rooms over the library and in the upper story of the east wing; to change the glass from French plate to French cylinder, double thick or English crystal. By making these changes, which is considered preferable to reducing the size of the building, the cost may be brought within the limit fixed by the law; but it should be distinctly understood that these changes are not made in accordance with the taste of the commissioners. They are made from necessity not from choice. The conceptions of the great architects of ancient times, embodied in the orders of architecture and displayed in the capital of the column, and in the architrave, the frieze and the cornice of the entablature, were designed to be executed in stone; a cornice of galvanized iron or a capital of cast-iron is an imitation and a counterfeit. The rooms over the library and in the upper story of the east wing can be constructed at a more convenient season hereafter; marble can be substituted at some future time for iron in the grand staircase and in the halls and corridors for wooden floors, and inferior glass can be exchanged for that of a superior quality, but the iron cornice and the iron capitals can never be replaced by stone, but must remain disfigured by rust, to mar forever the beauty of the building and exhibit to future ages the depraved taste of the present generation.

At the close of the year 1879 the commissioners reported to the governor that the exterior of the building was well advanced and the dome walls carried to the level of the senate ceiling. They had before that time changed from the original plan of an iron dome and decided to carry it up with stone to the lantern, having strengthened the substructure from the foundation to enable it to support the additional weight.

They asked that hereafter all appropriations be made for the building, not specifically for any part. They said: "the building has reached a point where the construction must be carried on systematically and on some general plan. We know of no method of securing this so advantageously to the State as to leave the appropriations untrammelled. The commissioners who for eight years have devoted time, thought

and study to the subject should be better qualified than anyone else to conduct the finish of the building and decide upon the order in which each of the parts should be finished". There was something of self-assertion or at least of self-respect in the above, and it seems from the action taken to have been appreciated by the legislative body.

A committee consisting of Messrs. Finkbine and Dey, Gen. Ed Wright, the secretary, and Mr. Bell, the architect, was appointed to consider the subject of warming the building by steam, and the plumbing. They visited the large public buildings of Michigan, Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Washington, and employed Levi R. Green of Boston to prepare plans and specifications. His plans were very satisfactory and successful and were adopted, except that the use of coils in the ventilators was substituted in place of the use of fans, thus leaving (at all times when steam was used) the building in the state of *vacuum* rather than *plenum*, the effect of which was to bring in a strong current of air whenever a door was opened or there was any place where air could get in. This was done by the action of the board against Mr. Green's protest and the writer assumes his full share of the responsibility. The ventilation of the House of Representatives in the capitol at Washington was on the fan system and the operation far from satisfactory; this probably influenced the commission.

While visiting the capitol at Lansing the members of the committee were much pleased with the library which was carried to the top of the building, and on their recommendation the board ordered the ceiling of the library in the new capitol which was in, to be taken out; thus its height was increased from 29 to 45 feet. Visitors to this room can well appreciate the benefit of the change.

The plans for the main dome and necessarily, for uniformity, the smaller domes, had never been satisfactory to the commissioners. They reasoned that the architects of the *Renaissance* period had derived the idea as well as the form

of the dome from their conceptions of the arch of the heavens. In this respect they say: "The conviction of the commissioners is that changes should be made in the dome to make it conform to those structures that have for centuries demanded the admiration of artists, architects, and the world generally, as models of beauty and elegance. It is possible that in the anxiety to attain great height many of the modern architects have lost sight of the idea of the dome and trenched upon the steeple". The dome adopted was a copy of that of the *Hotel des Invalides* in Paris, built by Mansard in about 1690, who, according to an eminent critic, "gave to this imposing edifice a complement worthy of itself. It was he who raised the dome, admirable alike for its proportions, for the excellent distribution of its ornaments and for its gilded lantern that rises 344 feet above the ground." Of about the same height is the dome on the Iowa State capitol, although the former is a few feet larger.

Governor Merrill was much interested in the capitol and attended all meetings of the board; Governor Carpenter sometimes met with the commissioners; the later governors gave it no attention unless called upon by special request. After the plans of the present dome were adopted there was marked difference in the taste of the commissioners. Messrs. Foreman and Dey insisted on gilding it; Messrs. Finkbine and Foote were decidedly opposed to gilding, assigning as a reason that gilding was an outcrop of the luxurious life and depraved taste of the period of the Grand Monarch Louis XIV. Governor Gear, near the close of his second term, was called upon to give the casting vote. He favored gilding. For some reason that I do not recall the question was again raised and Governor Sherman also voted for the gilding.

In the year 1882 after the library was finished and occupied Charles Aldrich came to the commissioners with a request that they furnish him two cases to be placed in the library in which he could put his collection of autographs and other curios that he had for many years been getting

together, and which he intended should eventually become the property of the State. He had no place safe or suitable for their preservation or accessible to the public. His request was complied with, and from this modest beginning has grown the Historical Department of Iowa; its home is a fine building and the long felt want of a place for treasures of this nature has been supplied. Mr. Arnold certainly has a claim upon the people of the State for the persistent energy and self-sacrifice with which he has devoted his life to this object.

In a paper prepared some years since for the "Annals of Iowa" entitled "Portrait of Pinkham and his Associates,"* I gave my estimate of each of the gentlemen, of their part in the work, and of their special abilities. I have no reason to change this and will not repeat.

Section 2, chapter 109 of the acts of the 21st general assembly reads as follows:

That the Governor of the State is authorized on behalf of the State to make a full settlement with the Joint Board of Commissioners, charged with the execution of those portions of the law relating to the erection of the Capitol, and every member of said board, covering the period of time from the organization of said board to and including the thirtieth day of June, 1862, and he is hereby authorized to make a full examination and investigation as to all expenditures of money made under the acts of the general assembly for the erection of said Capitol, or subject to be drawn upon by said board of commissioners and the expenditures of the same, whether honestly and lawfully made under the law and the discretion vested by the law in said board of commissioners and also to examine and investigate as to all moneys and property belonging to the State coming into the hands or possession of commissioners in any manner or from any source and as to the conduct and disposition of the same.

In compliance with the provision of the above statute, Governor La Monte, a member of the State Senate, to make the settlement with the commissioners. Mr. Arnold and his associate, Mr. Frank L. Williams

John G. Foote

JOHN G. FOOTE.

State Senator, 1862-64; one of the Commissioners entrusted with the erection of the new Capitol of Iowa, by act of the Legislature, approved, April 10, 1862.

* Annals 3d ser., vol. 2, pp. 238-242.

between with brick so that from this ceiling to the slate roof there was no material that could burn. A cornice was attached to this ceiling about five feet in depth made of wood, lathed and plastered. When this was put up there was some discussion in the board as to the propriety of introducing that amount of woodwork there. The answer was that this was hermetically sealed and absolutely protected from fire by brick and iron above, that the floors of the chamber were fifty feet below any wood to be put in, and that the entire furniture and wood in the house chamber might be burned but would create no heat in the ceiling that could possibly be dangerous. A chance resulting from causes that never were contemplated by the builders upset their calculations. The cornices were cut into for the purpose of concealing electric wires, and it is generally understood that a candle left burning in an air flue set a fire that with the draft made by the openings destroyed the ceiling and communicated to parts of the north wing. The scagliola columns around the windows were also injured. Scagliola is very popular for interior finish in public building in France and Italy, and latterly is being introduced in this country. The columns were cylinders of wood surrounded by woven wire, on this is put a preparation of plaster-of-Paris mixed with glue water; into this mixture are pressed broken crystals of the stone to be imitated and the surface polished as marble or granite. Often very beautiful effects are produced by this process. These columns in the house chamber have, I understand, been so injured that they must be replaced.

In replacing the work destroyed no material should be used that is combustible; the ceilings should be of iron or other fire-proof construction; the columns about the windows, Speaker's desk and elsewhere should be of honest marble even if necessary to build from the foundation to support them, and nothing should hereafter be used in the building that is not what it purports to be. It is true that scagliola is used in many of the finest buildings in Europe and America,

and a more remarkable instance of the use of material subject to be destroyed by fire is found in the exterior dome of St. Paul's in London, which was built by the great architect, Sir Christopher Wren, in about 1685. This dome is wood, the exterior covering of lead. The dome of the Iowa capitol is a frame, the ribs of iron arched between with brick and covered with copper. The State of Iowa has reached a point where in the future it can afford no shams.

In their final report the commissioners say in conclusion:

It may not be amiss to say a few words of themselves and their relations to the State, the public and each other during the fourteen years they have acted together. The Governor was made by law presiding officer of the board, and six different governors have met with them, otherwise there has been but one change in the membership of the board since its organization and that by the death of Mr. Fisher. The commissioners were selected from each political party and came together comparatively strangers. During that long period they have differed in many matters, these differences have never degenerated into personal feeling or diminished in any degree the profound respect inspired by the consciousness that each was honestly and to the best of his ability endeavoring to promote the best interests of the work in their charge and they will carry away with them none but the most pleasant recollections.

While there may have been mistakes made they think they can safely challenge in every particular any building in the country for a comparison in cost, in workmanship, in material, or its adaptation to the purposes for which it was intended.

In a period in which the builders of almost every important work have been severely censured and their actions impugned, the public has dealt kindly with the commissioners. No criticism from any source has been made upon their management. The public has awarded them all they could have asked, its confidence.

It is now more than eighteen years since the commissioners surrendered the building to the State authorities. The foremen of the different branches of the work (whom we knew intimately), every architect who held any relation to the building, all the commissioners except the one who is writing this article as a record for the future, are gone. Standing on the verge of life and looking back through the long vista of thirty years upon, and fully measuring, the men themselves, knowing the motives that governed them and

their fidelity to the trust committed to their charge, it is a source of satisfaction to me to remember that I was one of them and entitled to some share of the commendation they have received.

IOWA CITY, April, 1905.

NOTE.—Hon. Peter A. Dey, author of the foregoing paper, was born in the town of Romulus, Seneca county, N. Y., January 27, 1825. His ancestors came from Holland near the beginning of the 17th century, settling in New Jersey. Some of the Dey family served with distinguished credit in the revolutionary war. It was in the old Dey homestead, when Col. Theunis Dey was its occupant, that Gen. Washington had his headquarters in 1780. The mansion was built in 1720 and is in a good state of preservation. The rooms occupied by Washington are still pointed out to the visitor. Mr. Dey graduated from Geneva College in 1844. Among his classmates was a son of Cooper, the illustrious American novelist. He read law for a time with D. C. Bloomer, who was in after years a noted resident of Council Bluffs, but did not seek admission to the bar. His tastes led him in the direction of engineering. His first engagement was with the N. Y. and Erie Railroad. From that time forward he followed his profession as a civil engineer for many years. He was employed on the Cayuga and Seneca Canal, the Erie canal enlargement, the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern, the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific, the Union Pacific and several other railroads. Mr. Dey made the map upon the showing of which Mr. Lincoln designated the congressional section upon which Omaha was located as the initial point on the Union Pacific road. Mr. Dey's opposition to the action of the Credit Mobilier led to his severing his connection with the Union Pacific company. In 1878 Governor Gear appointed him one of the Board of Iowa Railroad Commissioners under the law of that year. He held the position sixteen years. The only democrat who ever served on that Board, he was appointed three times by governors, twice elected, and once defeated. In 1872 he was elected by the legislature one of the commissioners in charge of the erection of the new capitol. He continued in this work until the completion of the edifice in 1886. This was perhaps his most distinguished service. The commissioners expended three millions of dollars, erecting one of the most beautiful capitols in the United States, receiving universal praise, and incurring no hostile criticism. In 1895 he was designated by the Supreme Court of the United States as one of the commissioners to settle the boundary line in dispute between Iowa and Missouri. This was his last official service. In his later years Mr. Dey has been President of the First National Bank of Iowa City.

AN OFFER.—Mrs. L. H. Sigourney, the American poetess, has taken a deep interest in the town in Keokuk county which bears her name. She has made an offer to furnish free of charge, such schools in that township as will use them, two of her publications of school books. They are entitled "The Boy's Book" and "The Girl's Book". In addition she will give to the girl and boy, who are the best readers in the school, each a premium.—*The Iowa Citizen (Des Moines)* March 4, 1858.

CONGRESSIONAL MEDALS OF HONOR AND IOWA SOLDIERS.

BY COL. CHARLES A. CLARK.

The War Department has recently issued a roster of the holders of Congressional Medals of Honor up to and including September 1, 1904. It is a book of one hundred fifty-three pages, and shows the name of every soldier to whom a Medal of Honor has been issued, the battle, skirmish, or affair in which it was won, with the date and the ground of award.

These medals were authorized by Congress in 1862 and '63. By a later Act the Secretary of War was authorized to design and issue a rosette or knot to be worn in the buttonhole in place of the medal itself. Pursuant to this Act, the Secretary prescribed a knot of narrow silk ribbon, in the national colors, red, white and blue, to accompany the medal. This little knot is occasionally seen in the buttonhole of some old soldier, but not many of our people recognize it as a national decoration which is the equivalent of the Cross of the Legion of Honor established by the great Napoleon of France.

The last Congress passed an Act authorizing the striking of medals of a new design for which the original bronze medals may be exchanged, at the option of those who hold them. The same act authorized a new rosette or knot of a more distinctive type than that now worn.

The War Department has adopted a design for the new Medals of Honor. They will be ready for issue during the present month. The new medal, like the old, will be of bronze. The base will be a circular disc. Upon that will rest an enameled laurel wreath, and, resting on the enameled wreath will appear the original five-pointed star which constituted the first Medal of Honor. In the center of the star will be a raised head of Minerva, around which will be the inscription in block letters, "United States of America". The medal will be suspended from a bronze bar bearing the

word "Valor". Above the bar, and grasping it, will be a bronze eagle. This will be suspended from a light blue silk ribbon bearing thirteen white stars for the original American colonies, and attached to the clasp to be pinned to the coat.

The new rosette will consist of a raised six-sided medalion covered with light blue silk ribbon, upon which will also appear thirteen white stars. This emblem when worn in the buttonhole will not be mistaken for any other now in use.



NEW ARMY MEDAL OF HONOR.

FULL SIZE.

The rules governing the issuance of these medals call for special acts of valor in which the soldier or officer not only has distinguished himself by marked bravery, but has also acted upon his own initiative, as contradistinguished from merely performing his duty, or acting in obedience to orders. It was for this reason that Colonel Roosevelt as Commandant of the Rough Riders was unable, as he very much desired,

to receive a Medal of Honor for his charge at San Juan Hill. He was told that he simply performed his duty as all officers and all soldiers were bound to do, and that a Medal of Honor was not awarded in cases of this character.

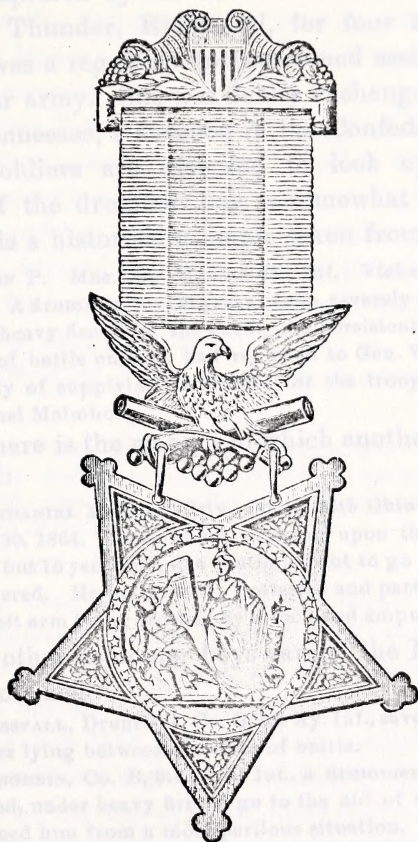
The Medals of Honor when issued by the War Department bear inscriptions in the following form:

THE CONGRESS
TO
1ST. LIEUT. HENRY I. SMITH, CO. B, 7TH IOWA VOLS.,
FOR
GALLANTRY AT BLACK RIVER, N. C., MAR. 11, 1865.

It appears from the official roster of Medals of Honor above referred to, that the total number of medals issued for acts of valor in the field up to the first day of last September, was 1,551. Of these 493 were issued to the scouts and the regular army of the United States, and several were issued in the Spanish war, and for service in the Philippines, leaving about 1,000 issued to the volunteers of the Civil War. The proportion issued to the regular army seems large, but it should be remembered that the medals are still being issued up to the present time, and that many have been issued to the regulars for Indian fighting of the most daring and desperate character. Besides this, regular officers have already had a higher appreciation of the real meaning of the Medal of Honor, and have been more careful in the official reports, upon which the issuance of medals is founded, to report instances of gallantry and daring among their officers and men, than the officers of volunteer regiments were accustomed to do during the war of the Rebellion. If proper attention had been given to the matter by volunteer officers, along the fifteen hundred miles of firing line during the four years of the Civil War, there would have been vastly more numerous distributions of the decoration among officers and men of the volunteer service. Probably the Eighth U. S. Cavalry (regulars) has received more Medals of Honor than any other one regiment.

Many interesting matters appear in the Medal of Honor list.

In at least one instance a medal was awarded to a gallant soldier who never lived to receive it. It can easily be imagined with what reverence it will be treasured by his relatives, and what a sacred heirloom it will be in his family.



ORIGINAL PATTERN ARMY MEDAL OF HONOR.

FULL SIZE.

Here is the record:

GASSON, RICHARD, Sergt., Co. K, 47th N. Y. Inf. Chapin's Farm, Va. Sept. 29, 1864. Fell dead while planting the colors of his regiment on the enemy's works.

Dr. Mary E. Walker, now deceased, who for so many years wore man's attire about Washington, is the one woman

who received the Medal of Honor. She earned it in the field, in battles of the Army of the Potomac, and in service with General Sherman's armies in the west. She was on one occasion held up by the notorious bushwhacker, Champ Ferguson, but escaped by her coolness and presence of mind. She was captured by the Confederates and held a prisoner at Castle Thunder, Richmond, for four months. At that time she was a regularly commissioned assistant surgeon of the regular army. She was finally exchanged for Dr. Lightfoot of Tennessee, a surgeon in the Confederate service.

Old soldiers are disposed to look upon the military exploits of the drummer boy as somewhat mythical. Here, however, is a historical example taken from the roster.

HOWE, ORION P. Mus., Co. C, 55th Ill. Inf. Vicksburg, Miss. May 19, 1863. A drummer boy, 14 years of age, severely wounded and exposed to a heavy fire from the enemy, he persistently remained upon the field of battle until he had reported to Gen. W. T. Sherman the necessity of supplying cartridges for the troops under command of Colonel Malmberg.

And here is the manner in which another mere lad earned his medal:

GWYNE, NATHANIEL McLEAN, Priv., Co. H, 13th Ohio Cav. Petersburg, Va. July 30, 1864. When about entering upon the charge, this soldier, then but 15 years old, was cautioned not to go in, as he had not been mustered. He indignantly protested and participated in the charge, his left arm being crushed by a shell and amputated soon afterwards.

Four other drummer boys earned the Medal of Honor by their heroic acts:

WM. H. HORSFALL, Drummer, Co. G, 1st Ky. Inf., saved the life of a wounded officer lying between the lines of battle.

JULIUS LANGBEIN, Co. B, 9th N. Y. Inf., a drummer boy of fifteen, volunteered, under heavy fire, to go to the aid of a wounded officer, and rescued him from a most perilous situation.

BENJAMIN LEVEY, Co. G, 1st N. Y. Inf., a drummer boy, went into battle at Glendale, Va., with the musket of a sick comrade, and saved the colors of his regiment from capture when the color guard were shot down.

WILLIAM MAGEE, a drummer boy of Company C, 33rd N. J. Inf. in a charge at Murfreesboro was among the first to reach the field battery of the enemy, and mounting the artillery horses brought the guns into the Union lines.

Iowa has her drummer boy hero also. Long after the War of the Rebellion, in 1900, in the relief expedition to Peking to deliver the American and other legations from the bloodthirsty Boxers, Calvin Pearl Titus, a native of Vinton, Iowa, enlisted as a musician, was the first to scale the walls of the sacred city and plant the American flag upon them. For this gallant and perilous exploit he was awarded a Medal of Honor. He returned to Vinton and was given a public reception July 4, 1900, and was then appointed cadet at West Point, where he has made a highly creditable record. He has now graduated, number 43 in a very large class, his standing being relatively as high as many of our most distinguished officers and generals. Iowa will watch his future career with the utmost interest and may well anticipate for him a record of great efficiency and valor as an officer in the regular army.

The following is his record as it appears in the official roster:

TITUS, CALVIN PEARL, Mus., Co. E, 14th U. S. Inf. Peking, China. Apr. 14, 1900. Gallant and daring conduct in the presence of his colonel and other officers and enlisted men of his regiment; was first to scale the wall of the city.

There were also "fighting parsons" in the Union forces during the Civil War. Chaplains Francis B. Hall, 16th N. Y. Inf.; Milton L. Haney, 55th Ill. Inf.; and John M. Whitehead, 15th Ind. Inf., were all awarded medals for most distinguished bravery and efficiency on the field of battle.

Lieut. James Hill, 21st Iowa Inf., seems to have combined the church militant with gallant soldierly fighting. He was a clergyman before the war, and after the act of gallantry for which he received the Medal of Honor he was assigned to duty as chaplain of his regiment.

Wm. F. Cody as guide for the Regulars in their Indian campaigns was given a medal for "gallantry in action".

Quite a number of medals have been awarded to Indian scouts: Pompey Factor, Sergeant Jim, Kosoha Machol, Rowdy, and others.

One civilian, a Mr. Docier, was given a medal for "gallantry in action and on the march during an Indian campaign in 1870 while serving as citizen guide".

In numerous and notable instances medals were awarded to non-commissioned officers and privates of the colored troops during the Civil War.

General Funston was awarded a medal of honor as Colonel of the 20th Kansas Infantry—not for the capture of Aguinaldo—but for gallantry and daring in crossing a difficult river and dislodging the Filipinos from their entrenchments.

Senator Quay of Pennsylvania received his medal for services at Burnside's battle of Fredericksburg, December 13th, 1862, on the following record: "Although out of service he voluntarily resumed duty on the eve of battle and took a conspicuous part in the charge on the Heights".

Major J. B. Pond who so long managed the American lecture bureau was decorated for gallantry in a fight with guerrillas at Baxter Springs, Kansas, October 6th, 1863.

General Horace Porter, our present Minister to France, was given a medal for his services as a volunteer aide at Chickamauga. He was then a captain of the ordnance department; he rallied fugitives and held the broken Union lines under heavy fire, thus saving batteries and wagon-trains.

General Nelson A. Miles perhaps wears his medal more proudly than the insignia of his rank as Lieutenant General. It was awarded him for services while Colonel of the 61st N. Y. Volunteers, at the battle of Chancellorsville, where he was severely wounded.

Major-General Daniel E. Sickles received a medal for his historic fight at the Bloody Angle on the second day of the battle of Gettysburg. He once in after years said to General Longstreet whom he fought there, "Longstreet, it was very mean of you to knock off my leg at Gettysburg". General Longstreet replied: "I did not intend to leave you a leg to stand on".

- BATES, NORMAN F. Sergt., Co. E, 4th Iowa Cav. Columbus, Ga. Apr. 16, 1865. Capture of flag and bearer.
- BEBB, EDWARD J. Priv., Co. D, 4th Iowa Cav. Columbus, Ga. Apr. 16, 1865. Capture of flag.
- BIRDSALL, HORATIO L. Sergt., Co. B, 3rd Iowa Cav. Columbus, Ga. Apr. 16, 1865. Capture of flag and bearer.
- BOQUET, NICHOLAS. Priv., Co. D, 1st Iowa Inf. Wilson's Creek, Mo. Aug. 10, 1861. Voluntarily left the line of battle, and exposing himself to imminent danger from a heavy fire of the enemy, assisted in capturing a riderless horse at large between the lines, and hitching him to a disabled gun, saved the gun from capture.
- BRAS, EDGAR A. Sergt., Co. K, 8th Iowa Inf. Spanish Fort, Ala. Apr. 8, 1865. Capture of flag.
- COSGRIFF, RICHARD H. Priv., Co. L, 4th Iowa Cav. Columbus, Ga. Apr. 16, 1865. Capture of flag in a personal encounter with its bearer.
- DUNLAVY, JAMES. Priv., Co. D, 3rd Iowa Cav. Osage, Kas. Oct. 25, 1861. Gallantry in capturing General Marmaduke.
- ELSON, JAMES M. Sergt., Co. C, 9th Iowa Inf. Vicksburg, Miss. May 22, 1863. Carried the colors in advance of his regiment and was shot down while attempting to plant them on the enemy's works.
- FANNING, NICHOLAS. Priv., Co. B, 4th Iowa Cav. Selma, Ala. Apr. 2, 1865. Capture of Confederate States silk flag and two staff officers.
- GODLEY, LEONIDAS M. 1st Sergt., Co. E, 22d Iowa Inf. Vicksburg, Miss. May 22, 1863. Led his company in the assault on the enemy's works and gained the parapet, there receiving three very severe wounds. He lay all day in the sun, was taken prisoner, and had his leg amputated without anaesthetics.
- HAYS, JOHN H. Priv., Co. F, 4th Iowa Cav. Columbus, Ga. Apr. 16, 1865. Capture of flag and bearer, Austin's Battery (C. S. A.).
- HEALEY, GEORGE W. Priv., Co. E, 5th Iowa Cav. Newman, Ga. July 29, 1864. Although nearly surrounded by the enemy, captured a Confederate soldier, and with the aid of a comrade who joined him later, captured four other Confederates, disarmed the five, and brought them all into the Union lines.
- HERRINGTON, PITT B. Priv., Co. E, 11th Iowa Inf. Near Kenesaw Mountain, Ga. June 15, 1864. With one companion and under a fierce fire from the enemy at close range, went to the rescue of a wounded comrade who had fallen between the lines and carried him to a place of safety.
- HERRON, FRANCIS J. Lieut. Col., 9th Iowa Inf. Pea Ridge, Ark. Mar. 7, 1862. Was foremost in leading his men, rallying them to repeated acts of daring, until himself disabled and taken prisoner.
- HILL, JAS. 1st Lieut., Co. I, 21st Iowa Inf. Champion Hill, Miss. May 16, 1863. By skillful and brave management captured three of the enemy's pickets.

- KALTENBACH, LUTHER. Corp., Co. F, 12th Iowa Inf. Nashville, Tenn. Dec. 16, 1864. Capture of flag, supposed to be of 5th Mississippi Infantry (C. S. A.).
- MAY, WILLIAM. Priv., Co. H, 32d Iowa Inf. Nashville, Tenn. Dec. 16, 1864. Ran ahead of his regiment over the enemy's works and captured from its bearer the flag of Bonanchad's Confederate battery.
- MAYES, WILLIAM B. Priv., Co. K, 11th Iowa Inf. Near Kenesaw Mt., Ga. June 15, 1864. With one companion, under a fierce fire from the enemy at close range, went to the rescue of a wounded comrade who had fallen between the lines, and carried him to a place of safety.
- MILLER, JAMES P. Priv., Co. D, 4th Iowa Cav. Selma, Ala. Apr. 2, 1865. Capture of flag.
- MORGAN, RICHARD H. Corp., Co. A, 4th Iowa Cav. Columbus, Ga. Apr. 16, 1865. Capture of flag inside the enemy's works, contesting for its possession with the bearer.
- POWER, ALBERT. Priv., Co. A, 3rd Iowa Cav. Pea Ridge, Ark. Mar. 7, 1862. Under a heavy fire and at great personal peril went to the aid of a dismounted comrade who was surrounded by the enemy, took the man up behind him on the horse and carried him to a place of safety.
- SLOAN, ANDREW J. Priv., Co. H, 12th Iowa Inf. Nashville, Tenn. Dec. 16, 1864. Capture of flag.
- SMITH, HENRY I. 1st Lieut., Co. B, 7th Iowa, Inf. Black River, N. C. Mar. 15, 1865. Voluntarily, and under fire, rescued a comrade from death by drowning.
- SWAN, CHARLES A. Priv., Co. K, 4th Iowa Cav. Selma, Ala. Apr. 2, 1865. Capture of flag (supposed to be the 11th Mississippi) and bearer.
- TIBBETS, ANDREW W. Priv., Co. I, 3rd Iowa Cav. Columbus, Ga. Apr. 16, 1865. Capture of flag and bearer, Austin's Battery (C. S. A.)
- TWOMBLY, VOLTAIRE P. Corp., Co. F, 2d Iowa Inf. Ft. Donelson, Tenn. Feb. 15, 1862. Took the colors after three of the color guard had fallen, and although almost instantly knocked down by a spent ball, immediately arose and bore the colors to the end of the engagement.
- WILLIAMSON, JAMES A. Col., 4th Iowa Inf. Chickasaw Bayou, Miss. Dec. 29, 1862. Led his regiment against a superior force, strongly entrenched, and held his ground when all support had been withdrawn.
- YOUNG, CALVARY M. Sergt., Co. L, 3rd Iowa Cav. Osage, Kas. Oct. 25, 1864. Gallantry in capturing General Cabell.

It need hardly be said that the official record set forth above is in every case a mere skeleton, and gives no adequate idea of the real acts of desperate bravery and gallantry for which medals have been awarded.

A history of Medal of Honor men has been compiled in two large octavo volumes by the Perrien-Keydel Company, Detroit, Mich., with an introduction by General H. M. Duffield. By permission of this firm, and to illustrate the deeds for which medals of honor are issued, the following account of the exploit of Private James Dunlavy of the 3rd Iowa Infantry, is transferred from that work to this article. The man who captured General Marmaduke in the face of a brigade of Confederate troopers is well worthy of having his gallant action set forth at length.

*CAPTURE OF GENERAL MARMADUKE.

The capture of a general officer in battle is a noteworthy event, but when the officer is one of prominence the act becomes of great interest, and especially when the capture is made single-handed by a private soldier; thus the capture of Confederate General Marmaduke by private James Dunlavy, Company D, Third Iowa Cavalry, necessarily takes a high place in the annals of history.

Amid the heavy roar of cannon, on the open plains of Kansas, the two contending forces met to do battle for supremacy at Little Osage Crossing on the morning of the 25th of October, 1864. The Confederate artillery was playing upon the Federal forces with fearful effect, but notwithstanding this incessant and terrific fire the Federal infantry never wavered. The safety of the Federals lay in a charge by which the enemy's guns could be captured. The movement was begun slowly at first, but increased in velocity until it swept on resistless as an avalanche. The crash of musketry, the scream of shell, the buzzing of canister and ball enthused the dashing cavalry. The charge was successful, the rebels being routed. At this juncture Private James Dunlavy was severely wounded, his arm being shattered by a piece of shell, which also struck his horse, making him wheel suddenly to the rear. Undaunted the plucky rider headed him in the direction of a brigade which he thought was his own, but which proved to be the enemy. He noticed a Confederate officer riding among the excited soldiers and exhorting them to make a stand. Dunlavy raised his carbine, aimed at him and fired. The shot missed its mark, but had served to attract the officer's attention to the doughty soldier, and dashing up to him he asked in an angry tone: "What do you mean, shooting at your own officer?" "Give me that revolver! Surrender, or I'll fire!" To say that the Confederate officer was paralyzed with surprise at finding himself at the mercy of a Union soldier is expressing it mildly. But he offered no resistance and handed over his revolver. Just then a comrade ran up to Dunlavy. "My horse has been shot. Give me that of your prisoner," he said.

Dunlavy made the officer dismount and accommodated his comrade. Then the two started for the rear, Dunlavy on horseback, the prisoner trotting along at double-quick.

The latter was far from relishing the hurried march and soon asked for a slower tempo. "I am very tired and worn out. Have been up all night," he said.

Good naturedly the cavalryman slowed down. The Confederate made still another request.

"Can't you get me a horse? I'd like to ride."

But Dunlavy was not inclined to make further concessions. Why should I give him a horse? he thought. And his reply to the question was a curt "No".

Again the silence was broken by the prisoner.

"Will you take me to General Pleasanton?" he said. "I am personally acquainted with him". Becoming more confidential, he added: "Young man, I'll tell you who I am".

He had not quite finished the sentence when Colonel C. W. Blair, of General Curtis' staff, rode up and approached the prisoner.

"I am General Marmaduke", the officer said, addressing the new-comer.

It was now Private Dunlavy's turn to be surprised. He apologized to his distinguished prisoner and with all the politeness at his disposal turned him over to Colonel Blair, who procured a horse for General Marmaduke and brought both prisoner and captor before General Curtis, who complimented Dunlavy and ordered him to the hospital.

It will be observed that the rank of the officer or soldier at the time the medal was issued is preserved on the official roster. Thus Colonels Herron and Williamson afterwards became distinguished general officers, and there were no doubt numerous other promotions among the Iowa holders of medals of honor, but the writer is unable to state them except in the case of Corporal V. P. Twombly who was afterwards promoted to Captain, Second Iowa Infantry.

This article is designed especially to put on record in the historical archives of Iowa the names of Iowa officers and soldiers to whom medals have been awarded. It may not be out of place, however, to give the names and records of the following who have long been citizens of Iowa:

RUSSELL, MILTON, now of Des Moines, Iowa. Captain Co. A, 51st Ind. Inf. Stone River, Tenn. Dec. 29, 1862. Was the first man to cross Stone river, and in the face of a galling fire from the concealed skirmishers of the enemy, led his men up the hillside, driving the opposing skirmishers before them.

RUSSELL, CHARLES L., now an inmate of Soldiers' Home, Marshalltown, Iowa. Corporal Co. H, 93rd N. Y. Inf. Spottsylvania, Va. May 12, 1864. Capture of flag of 4th Virginia Infantry (C. S. A.).

CADWELL, LUMAN L., Sergt., Co. B, 2d N. Y. Vet. Cav., now of Decorah, Iowa. Alabama Bayou, La., Sept. 20, 1864. Swam the bayou under fire of the enemy and captured and brought off a boat by means of which the command crossed and routed the enemy.

CLARK, CHAS. A., now of Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Lieutenant and Adjutant, 6th Me. Inf. Brooks Ford, Va. May 4, 1863. Having voluntarily taken command of his regiment in the absence of its commander, at great personal risk and with remarkable presence of mind and fertility of resource led the command down an exceedingly precipitous embankment to the Rappahannock river, and by his gallantry, coolness and good judgment in the face of the enemy saved the command from capture or destruction.

GENERAL L. A. GRANT, afterwards Secretary of War, resided at Des Moines for several years and was the original proprietor of a small town west of Des Moines on the Rock Island railroad. His record is as follows: Colonel 5th Vt. Inf. Salem Heights. May 3, 1863. Personal gallantry and intrepidity displayed in the management of his brigade and in leading it in the assault, in which he was wounded.

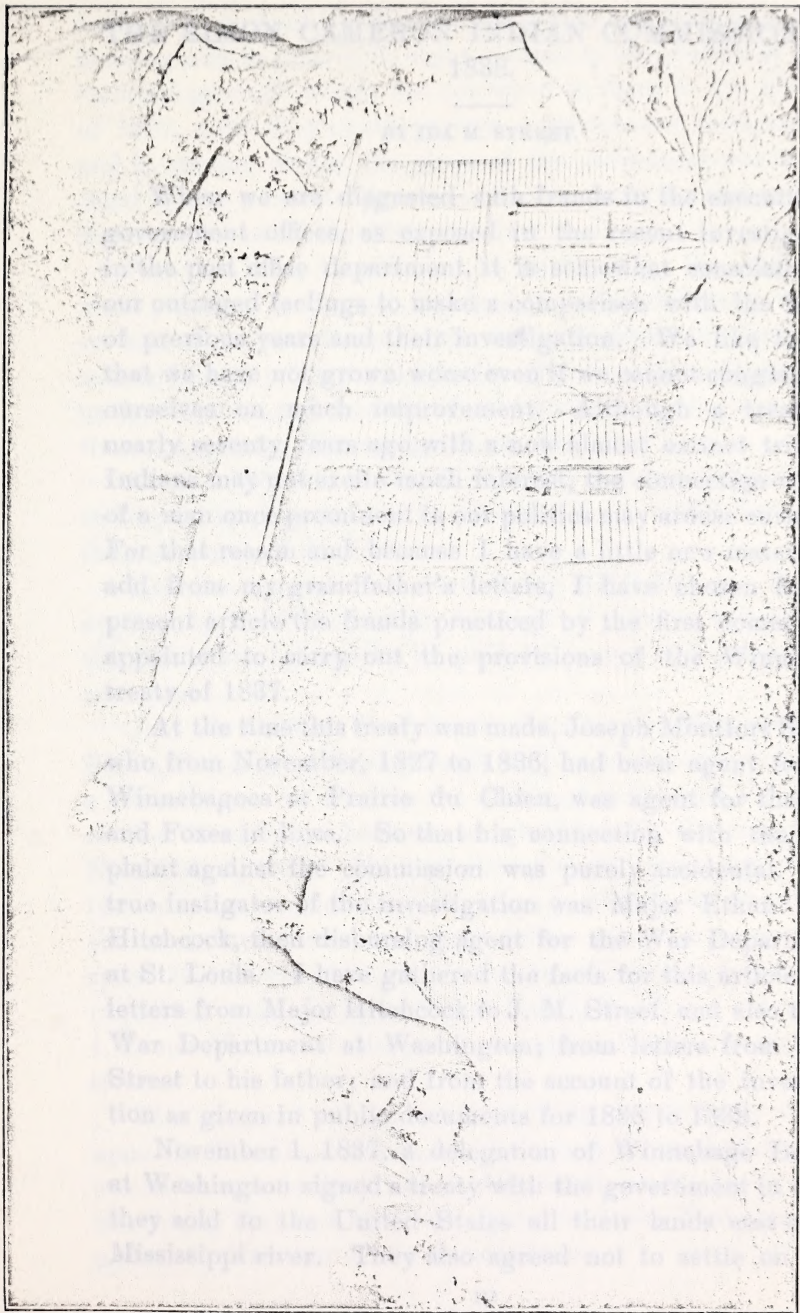
To this list should be added Major George R. Burnett, 9th U. S. Cav., now detailed as Militant Commandant of the State University at Iowa City.

His record is as follows:

BURNETT, GEORGE R., 2d Lieut., 9th U. S. Cav., Cuchillo Negro Mountains, N. Mex., Aug. 16, 1881. Saved the life of a dismounted soldier, who was in imminent danger of being cut off, by alone galloping quickly to his assistance under a heavy fire and escorting him to a place of safety, his horse being shot twice in this action.

It would be interesting to know the personal history of each of the Medal of Honor men from Iowa in civil life since the war, and it is to be hoped that details may be furnished THE ANNALS which will enable it to complete the record of this heroic group of Iowa soldiers and citizens.

CEDAR RAPIDS, IOWA, June 1, 1905.



THE OLD INDIAN AGENCY.

The official residence of Gen. J. M. Street while acting as Agent for the Sacs and Foxes. It is just below the present village of Agency City, Wapello County, Iowa. Gen. Street died here and was buried a few rods distant and near the grave of the Indian Chief Wapello. ANNALS OF IOWA, 3d ser., Vol. II, p. 104.



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THE SIMON CAMERON INDIAN COMMISSION OF
1838.

BY IDA M. STREET.

When we are disgusted with frauds in the execution of government offices, as exposed in the recent investigation in the post office department, it is somewhat consolatory to our outraged feelings to make a comparison with the frauds of previous years and their investigation. We like to feel that we have not grown worse even if we cannot congratulate ourselves on much improvement. Although a treaty of nearly seventy years ago with a now almost extinct tribe of Indians may not excite much interest, the connection with it of a man once prominent in our politics may arouse curiosity. For that reason and because I have a little new material to add from my grandfather's letters, I have chosen for the present article the frauds practiced by the first commission appointed to carry out the provisions of the Winnebago treaty of 1837.

At the time this treaty was made, Joseph Montfort Street, who from November, 1827 to 1836, had been agent for the Winnebagoes at Prairie du Chien, was agent for the Sacs and Foxes in Iowa. So that his connection with the complaint against the commission was purely accidental. The true instigator of the investigation was Major Ethan Allen Hitchcock, then disbursing agent for the War Department, at St. Louis. I have gathered the facts for this article from letters from Major Hitchcock to J. M. Street, and also to the War Department at Washington; from letters from Thos. Street to his father; and from the account of the investigation as given in public documents for 1838 to 1839.

November 1, 1837, a delegation of Winnebago Indians at Washington signed a treaty with the government in which they sold to the United States all their lands east of the Mississippi river. They also agreed not to settle on their

lands just west of the Mississippi, but to use them only for hunting and to remove in eight months to the portion of the "neutral ground" which was conveyed to them in the treaty of 1832, until they could procure a permanent settlement; and in another clause, the place of the settlement was indicated by the provision for an exploring party to survey the lands southwest of the Missouri river.

For this land, in addition to an annuity, the government promised to pay two hundred thousand dollars to traders and others mentioned in the treaty to whom the Indians were indebted. "To pay, under the direction of the President to the relatives and friends of said Indians, having not less than one-quarter Winnebago blood, \$100,000".

Another \$90,000 of this \$1,100,000 paid for the land was to be paid in presents and in provision for a model farm at the new home of the Indians.

Half the interest of the remaining \$700,000 was to be applied by the President for twenty-two years to education, the rest of the interest to be paid in money and provisions each year.

July 21, 1838, J. R. Poinsett, Secretary of War, notified Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania that he had been appointed a commissioner to examine the claims of half-breed relatives of the Winnebago Indians, as provided by the treaty of November 1, 1837. He was allowed eight dollars for every twenty miles traveled from his home to Prairie du Chien by the most direct route, and eight dollars a day for every day spent in the execution of his duties. The commission was requested to meet August 20, at Prairie du Chien. August 1, James Murray of Maryland was appointed as co-commissioner.

The payment of the trader's claims was to be by order upon the War Department, but the money for the half-breeds was to be sent to Major E. A. Hitchcock, at St. Louis, who was to pay that due both the Sioux and the Winnebagoes, under the direction of the commissioner.

There were several reasons why this treaty was not pleasing to the Indians. They were to make a double move in a few months; first to the land in Iowa, and then later on to the country southwest of the Missouri river, which was practically a desert, and which even white men with all their ingenuity have been fifty years in making habitable. The news of this dissatisfaction reached Washington in indirect ways and the Senate was not very prompt in ratifying the treaty. Yet it was finally done.

An indication of the cause of dissatisfaction among some of the traders, is given by the Hon. Henry Merrell, a trader at Ft. Winnebago, who says in his personal recollections:

The fraudulent treaty of November first, 1837, caused the Government a vast deal of trouble and expense; and very naturally engendered the most embittered feelings and recollections on the part of the Winnebagoes. . . .

General Simon Cameron and General James Murray having been appointed Commissioners, in the summer of 1838, to divide and pay out to the creditors and half-breeds of the Winnebago Indians, according to the treaty with them, one hundred thousand dollars to the half-breeds, and *one hundred thousand dollars to the traders, they repaired to Prairie du Chien for that purpose. Having business with them, I went down and found traders and half-breeds assembled there from all parts of the country; from Green Bay, and from St. Louis to the Prairie. When I got there, I was told that the Commissioners were in doubt whether they could make the payment to the traders under their instructions. I stayed there about two weeks. Still they gave out that they should have to go to Washington for new instructions. In the meantime, there was a lawyer by the name of Broadhead, who either came with the Commissioners, or followed soon after (I was told he came on with them), who proposed buying half-breed claims, and it was notorious that Mr. Cameron was with him at his office most of the time. The half-breeds becoming uneasy, and thinking they should not get anything at this time, made up their minds that they had better sell than be on expense—it costing them one dollar a day while staying there—so, many of them sold their claims at from three to four or five hundred dollars, as they could make a bargain. I made up my mind finally, from the best information I could get, that they would not pay any, but would take the papers and go on to Washington for new instructions. I could see or hear no reason why they could not

*Two as shown by the treaty; the Commissioners speak of one hundred and fifty thousand.

pay the half-breeds, so I concluded to go home as I had business pressing there. After I left, I was informed Governor Dodge went over to the Prairie, and advised the Commissioners to make payment on the evidence they had, and they concluded to do so.

The traders had had a meeting among themselves, and passed upon all claims;* but the Commissioners would not consent to be ruled by them. I left my papers with the Commissioners, requesting a friend, as I supposed, to see to them, if anything was needed, and went home. In a few days the traders from that region and Green Bay, etc., came up swearing mad. They said the American Fur Company had been awarded most of the money; and other traders, whose accounts were equally well proved, and some much better, were put off with not to exceed five per cent. of their claims. Mr. Rouse said to me: "You have been rascally treated. Your claim was better proven than any there, and you are put off with less than five per cent.; and not only that, but you will find your particular friend has cut your throat." While I was there, it was the common talk that Cameron and Broadhead were in company; and it was said when Broadhead paid a half-breed for his claim, the money was in Middleton, Pennsylvania, bills, a bank in which Gen. Cameron was said to have been interested.

The thing was so palpable, as I was informed, that Gen. Street started for St. Louis, and informed Maj. Hitchcock (I think it was) of the army, in whose hands the money was, to pay [to be paid] on the requisition of the Commissioners. So when they made their appearance, he refused to pay them any money, but went on to Washington and laid the case before the Department. He was justified, and the acts of the Commissioners were repudiated. Here was an officer of the army disobeying orders, and taking the responsibility of doing so, proving that there was one honest, straight-forward man ready to run the risk of a dismissal, in vindication of justice and exposition of rascality.

It was said, whether true or not I cannot say, that Mr. Cameron declared on the boat going to St. Louis, that he had made sixty thousand dollars in the transaction; but when he got to St. Louis I think his ideas must have had a great fall. Next year a Commissioner, I was informed, was sent on, and adopted the other Commissioners' report, and all had to submit. So, possibly, there was but one year's delay in the profits. There was not many but believed the Fur Company had to bleed freely for getting the award. This was worse, I consider, than "Credit Mobilier!"†

The report of the commissioners shows that Mr. Merrell's claim was \$2,000, and that \$100 was allowed him, and paid to Satterlee Clarke, Jr., attorney in fact.

*See the report of the Commissioners, as quoted in this paper.

†Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. VII, pp. 394-6.

Mr. Merrell's account is erroneous in one particular, when it says that Mr. Street went down to St. Louis to report the doings of the commission. What he did do was to bring up the money for the half-breeds, as a personal favor to Major Hitchcock, and when he found that the commissioners had gone, he wrote to the distributing agent telling what had been done. In a letter to Major Hitchcock about this matter, dated January 8, 1839, he says: "The information is, of course, from others, as I never saw the commissioners; and my duties with the Sacs and Foxes kept me away from this place during the whole time they were here".

His office as agent for the Sacs and Foxes was at Rock Island; but as the quarters there were inadequate for his family, they remained at the Prairie, where he owned a good house. In the summer of 1838, he was on the Des Moines river at the site of the new agency, superintending the breaking of ground and the erection of buildings, to which he removed his family in the following spring. Both disease and famine were among the Sacs and Foxes that summer, as his correspondence with Major Hitchcock shows, and in October he went to St. Louis to see about extra supplies. In his letter of March 12, 1839, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Major Hitchcock states how he happened to send the money for the Winnebago half-breeds by Mr. Street:

Gen. Street, who is so unworthily referred to by Mr. Murray, was in St. Louis when it was my wish to send the money to Prairie du Chien. I requested him to take charge of it, and convey it there. He was, however, unwilling to take the hazard of so heavy a charge in specie. We conversed upon the subject some time, alluding to the loss by theft of \$15,000 in specie, only a few weeks before, at Prairie du Chien. After maturely considering the subject, I determined to send the notes of the Bank of the State of Missouri. That bank was the authorized place of deposit for my public money. My funds were there in specie. That bank has never refused payment in specie for her notes, since she went into operation.

In order, however, to protect the half-breeds, I requested the cashier of the bank to furnish me with notes of one denomination, (20's) for the whole \$100,000, explaining to him that I could not send the specie for the reason stated above. He accordingly fur-

nished me with \$100,000 in 20-dollar notes of the Bank of the State of Missouri, the specie for which was in the vault of the bank, subject to the call of whoever might hold the notes.

As upwards of \$200,000 in specie had but a few weeks before been paid by the Indian Department on the Mississippi river, I naturally supposed that a large portion would fall into the hands of traders, who would gladly exchange it for the notes sent for the Winnebago half-breeds; and the following letters of instruction were given by me in reference to the payment of the Winnebago half-breeds:

Under date of Oct. 16, I addressed Dr. J. C. Reynolds:

"Sir: I send by the hands of Gen. Street, Indian Agent, \$100,000 for payment to the Winnebago half-breeds, under the 4th article of the treaty of 1837.

"This money will be paid to the particular individuals who shall be required by the United States commissioners (Messrs. Murray and Cameron) for the examination of claims under the treaty. You will please pay the exact amounts required (not exceeding the whole amount) to the particular individuals for whom required, taking such evidence as is necessary in the payment of annuities.

"It is presumed as much specie can be procured, in exchange for notes, as will be necessary for satisfying the claims of those who may be unacquainted with the nature of paper money; for all others, bills of one denomination (20's) are furnished; and especial care will be taken, in all cases, to explain the value of the money, and that it is receivable in the land office."

To Lieut. McKissack I wrote, under the same date, as follows:

"I have sent, by the hands of Gen. Street, \$100,000, to Dr. Reynolds, for payment to the Winnebago half-breeds. Should Dr. Reynolds have left Prairie du Chien, I request you to receive from Gen. Street the money and open the letter in his charge from this office, to the address of Dr. Reynolds, and execute the instructions therein contained."

After thus sending the money to be paid at Prairie du Chien, I was astonished, on the 5th of November, to find Lieut. McKissack at St. Louis, with the whole amount.

As Mr. Murray (or Mr. Cameron) lays much stress upon my expressing regret to Lieut. McKissack that the money was not paid at Prairie du Chien, I must observe that I made the remark alluded to, not as regretting the non-payment of the drafts of the Commissioner, but I regretted that the half-breeds themselves had not been paid. All of my letters and reports on the subject of half-breed money will show to what my regret referred.

If I had desired the payment of the drafts, it was the expressed opinion of the commissioners that I not only had authority to make the payment, but that I was required to make it; and if it was really

so, whether my agent paid the money at Prairie du Chien, or myself at St. Louis, was a matter of indifference.

On the evening of the 5th of November, I called to pay my respects to the Commissioners, who had arrived at St. Louis the same day with the money, but in another steamboat. The subject of the mode of payment determined upon by the Commissioners was discussed more than I desired in a public reading-room; and I insist upon it that much argument was then and there wasted, to prove that the half-breeds were dispersed and could not be found by the paying agents of the Indian Department.

In the evening of that day I prepared the report of the 6th of November. I had not, up to that time, heard of any particulars in relation to the proceedings of the Commissioners, except that the mode of payment determined by them set aside the principles which all my letters will show I deemed indispensable. Your letter of instructions to me of the 20th of November (1838), approving my conduct, will show that I was correct as to that principle.

Under the impression that this departure from the principle of a direct payment to the half-breeds might be overlooked by the Department, unless there should be reason to fear that the half-breeds had been duped and cheated, I gave my opinion to the claimants that the drafts might ultimately be paid; and this fact makes a part of my letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs of the 6th of November.

My letter of the 7th substantially repeats this; for, by requesting authority to require bonds from trustees, I virtually intimate my expectation of orders to pay the drafts.

I have now to add a few words in explanation of my intercourse with Gen. Street, which has fallen under the severe censure of Mr. Murray. It gives me great pleasure to do an act of justice to a high-spirited, intelligent, and conscientious man, who has attained years and respectability, but neither honors nor fortune, in a life spent in the public service.

It will be recollected that Gen. Street undertook to convey, and did convey, \$100,000 to Prairie du Chien for the Government. This was an extra-official act; and by this voluntary act, for which he received no compensation, his passage in the steamship even not being paid, he saved to the Government not less than \$300 or \$400, which it would have cost had I employed a special agent to perform that service.*

The commissioners in their report of December 15, 1839, to Mr. Crawford, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, state that they met August 29th, as low water prevented their earlier arrival at Prairie du Chien. Upon their arrival they had

*Ex. Doc., 25th Cong., 3d Sess., p. 109.

published a notice in the various papers at Dubuque, Iowa, Mineral Point and Green Bay, Wisconsin, and at Chicago and Detroit, requiring all persons having claims against the Winnebago Indians under the 4th article of the treaty of November, 1837, to present them.

The words of the report are as follows:

Very soon after its publication (the notice) we learned from many creditors of the Indians at Prairie du Chien that it would be impossible to furnish the evidence required by the Department, that it was then a matter of deliberation among them, whether it would be expedient or not to file their claims before us; and it was the last day limited by the notice that a large proportion of the claims were presented.

It was soon apparent to us, that if we required proofs of the sale and delivery of particular articles to the Indians, nothing could be done, and that we should have to return home without effecting the objects for which we were sent to the country, and thus leave a large body of angry claimants among the Indians, who were already a good deal excited upon the subject of the treaty, and who could, as we were informed, influence them to any course they might think proper.

It became necessary, therefore, to examine, if it would be possible, by a liberal interpretation of the instructions, to effect the object of our mission and do substantial justice to the parties concerned.*

The report goes on at length to explain that as the Indian traders—with one or two exceptions—did not or could not keep books, they could not follow out the instructions of the Indian Commissioners at Washington.

So they adopted a plan suggested by the creditors† who held a meeting to adjust their claims among themselves. In accordance with the plan they took testimony of the capital employed by different traders, the amount usually sold on credit, and the proportion of credits generally remaining unpaid. They say:

The examination satisfied us that about one-half of the sales were generally made on credit, of which from one-half to one-third

*Ex. Doc., 25th Cong., 3d Sess., p. 151.

†Mr. Merrell stated that they disregarded the suggestion of all the traders. This must have been a meeting of the Am. Fur Co. traders alone.

were never received; and we adopted this proportion, as coming nearer the truth than any other, and were strengthened in our opinion of its fairness from finding that it accorded with the views of the traders themselves, as expressed in their private adjudications among themselves, before referred to. Particular cases, where the testimony warranted, were of course made exceptions to this general rule.

The Commissioners further state that claims to the amount of \$528,219.33 were put in; that they were considered as proved to the amount of \$160,886.30; and that a pro rata distribution of .93 17-100 on a dollar was made which was paid to the creditors in full of their demands. "Before payment, the register was submitted to the Indians in council, and approved by them in writing".

This was the method used to determine the claims of the traders. It does not, however, seem to have been satisfactory to Mr. Merrell as shown in his account, nor to Mr. Thos. P. Street, a trader at the Prairie, who in a letter to Major Hitchcock, June 3, 1839, explains the method as he understood it.

Dear Sir:

Having seen a communication from D. M. Broadhead to the Secretary of War, dated 16th February last, in relation to the conduct of the Commissioners sent out to settle the claims against the Winnebago Indians, under the treaty with said Indians of 1st November, 1837,—in which my name is used disparagingly—I beg leave to trouble you with the following communication setting forth the reasons which induced Mr. B. to attack me.

Shortly after the arrival of Mr. Broadhead and the Commissioners last summer, and a few days after the Commissioners had commenced examining claims, Mr. Boilvin, who was an intimate friend of Broadhead's, came to me and asked me who I had employed to attend to my claim before the Commissioners. I replied that I should attend to it myself. He said, you had better have some one, a lawyer, to do it for you, and I think you had better employ Mr. B.; he is well acquainted with the Commissioners, and will be of great service to you in getting your claim allowed. Accordingly I spoke to Mr. B. to attend to the claim. He told me he would and charge me a mere trifle for it. Mr. B. then went on to say to me that he had several claims confided to his management and should bring them before the Commissioners last or after all others had been examined, that the Commissioners would be governed in their ad-

judications of claims by the report of J. W. Edmonds; that he had been furnished with a copy of such report, and was the only person in the place who had such information; that the counsel employed by other claimants were not in possession of the above information, and therefore would not know the kind of proof and other particulars necessary to sustain their claims; the object of which communication was to prove to me that he was the only person possessed of the necessary information to prepare and sustain a claim before the Commissioners, and that I had not been badly advised nor acted unwisely in employing him. I then went to work and made out a claim against the Indians from my books and memorandums and attached an affidavit stating that the account was just and correct. This paper I filed with the Commissioners, and was promised that due notice would be given me of the time when the claims would be taken up.

Some weeks afterwards Gen. C. and Mr. B. called me into the street before Taintor's Hotel and told me it would be necessary for me to present my books of original entry for the inspection of the Commissioners. This I at first declined doing, stating as a reason that I had filed an account which was a transcript from the books. Gen. C. then said, "If you do not present your books we can allow you nothing." Upon which I promised to do so. And accordingly collected all the books and memorandums in which charges were kept against the Indians and took them up to the Commissioners' office one evening about 8 o'clock. I then asked Gen. C. to show me the accounts which I had filed. An anxious search through the office was made, but my account could not be found. I was directed to make out a new one, which I did on a re-examination of my books and filed again, leaving the books in the charge of the Commissioners; there they remained some four or five days. Before I left the office this evening Mr. B. came in and commenced a private conversation with me, in which he said, "Street, I know one reason why the Commissioners are opposed to your claim." I asked him to tell me the reason, that I might have an opportunity of explaining the matter to them. He said he could not then, but if I would call at his room in the hotel at 9 o'clock next morning I should know all. Agreeably to this appointment I called. Mr. B. took me aside and said to me in substance, as well as I can recall literally, "Street, keep quiet, say nothing. Your claim is already allowed to the full amount," but said he, "Say nothing to any one. It would be highly improper for such a communication to be made public at this time." This was, I am certain, three and I believe four or five days before any publicity was given to the decision of the Commissioners. I then, and I believe afterward, asked Mr. B. if I could get my books, or whether the Commissioners had finished their examination of them. He said, "You will get them in time; the Commissioners have never even looked into them nor will they examine them at

all." I then felt perfectly satisfied and waited till the decision had been made public. I found that Mr. B. was correct, my claim had been allowed to the full amount. Mr. B. and Gen. C. were very intimate and very frequently together, and I was induced from the manner and conversation of the former [to believe] that he was an especial favorite with the Commissioners and did religiously believe that Mr. B.'s secret influence was sufficient to sustain my claim, although other evidence was produced. It seemed Mr. B.'s constant object and desire to impress on my mind the fact of his peculiar and strong influence with the Commissioners. And I did then and now believe, and have heard the remark made by many persons in this place, that they felt certain all claims entrusted to Mr. B. would be allowed, and that belief was grounded on the intimacy and supposed influence which existed between Broadhead and Gen. C.

The communications made to me by Mr. B. as above stated were entirely gratuitous and were unnecessary. All I asked of him was to present my claim in proper shape, but I never knew of his having done the least thing in a public manner in relation to it. I prepared it myself, with the assistance of a friend (Mr. Burnett), and I always supposed that Mr. Broadhead's secret influence had caused it to be allowed its full extent without any examination of the books, which were so eagerly sought after.

Thos. P. Street's claim as shown by the commissioners' list was \$1,068.98, and was allowed in full to Jos. Moore, attorney in fact. Mr. Moore was Mr. Street's partner and was sutler at Ft. Crawford. Later papers show that Mr. Street paid Broadhead fifty dollars for his services. This was a small fee compared with others demanded and there must have been other reasons for granting the account in full. In the first place his account was carefully kept and could be used as evidence in a future complaint against the commission (it was to satisfy themselves of this, perhaps, that they asked for his books); second, his partner was the army sutler; third, his father was an Indian agent, well known for his honesty, and at that very time with Commissioner Fleming at Rock Island adjudging similar debts, against the Sacs and Foxes under the treaty of October 21, 1837.

It was perhaps natural that Thos. Street should fee Broadhead, but Agent Street did not like the part his son.

had played in this affair; he could not bear even the shadow of a doubt cast upon his family honor. Major Hitchcock refers to Mr. Street's feelings in the following letter:

ST. LOUIS, June 11, 1839.

Dear General:

I send you a copy of the letters I have sent to Mr. Crawford in relation to you. At Prairie du Chien I heard the most insolent language from Dousman and I thought I could not do less than caution Mr. Crawford on the subject.

As Thomas told me he paid Broadhead \$50 I could not make out my letter without alluding to the transaction in the way I did. You were mistaken in the case and I could only understand it as I have expressed it in the letter. These matters will always have some unpleasant features and we must get along with them the best way we can. Pray, how did you understand that Thomas had not feed Broadhead? Have I explained it correctly, that the matter was a secret and that Thomas held it until Broadhead attacked him?

But the greatest stir was made over the half-breed claims. In regard to them the report says:

*Entire strangers in the country, having no knowledge of the mixed breeds, of their present or previous standing, ignorant of their history, so far as related in any manner to the discharge of this delicate duty, and limited in time, we were thrown for information upon the community of Prairie du Chien, and such strangers as happened to be there, and who had some knowledge of the service and standing of the Indians of mixed blood, for all information to govern us in the distribution of this large fund. . . .

The safest course, they thought, would be to call upon the most respectable and disinterested of the old settlers, to make a classified list of the half-breeds, according to their own knowledge of their merits; and upon this list, after an examination of the proofs, to make their decision. This course was adopted, the result submitted to and ratified by the Indians in council and the commissioners have every reason to believe gave universal satisfaction.

The commissioners say that they called upon "the most disinterested of the old settlers". According to their own witnesses in the trial before the House of Representatives Committee in 1839, four of them, Dousman, Rolette, Lawe and Irwin, were American Fur Company agents. Of these

*Ex. Doc., 25th Cong., 3d Sess., p. 19.

Lawe and Irwin were at Green Bay. Lockwood was a merchant and Justice of the Peace at Prairie du Chien and H. S. Baird of Green Bay was Attorney General for the Territory of Wisconsin. The fifth person on their list was John H. Kinzie, former agent for the Winnebagoes and but for his previous partiality to the American Fur Company was a disinterested person. In my previous article I have emphasized the fact that Mr. Street was one of the few Indian agents who dared to oppose the American Fur Company. Of these witnesses cited by the Commissioners, Baird and Kinzie, judging from all accounts, were not present during the sitting.

The report goes on to say:

No bonds being required from guardians or trustees, the Commissioners determined, after consultation on the subject, that it would not be proper to require them; and in many cases it is presumed they could not have been given without great trouble and delay, in consequence of the distance at which some of the parties lived from the place of sessions, and if security had been required, the commissioners could have no knowledge of its competency.

In all, or nearly so, both of debt and half-breed cases, the parties appeared by attorneys in fact, whose powers were regularly executed and filed with the secretary. No doubt existed in the minds of the commissioners that the parties had a right thus to appear and give full authority not only to attend to the cases before the board, but to receive from them the allowance awarded. In the case of the traders, we presume no doubt can be or is entertained, and in the case of the half-breeds, who are understood to be free citizens in Wisconsin Territory, it appears to the commissioners there can be little doubt. If the claims had belonged to white citizens, of education and standing in society, it would not have been at all a matter of surprise that they should appear by attorney, it being certainly the most convenient and best course. The business, though not conducted according to the strict course of courts of justice, was, nevertheless, governed necessarily by prescribed forms, with which the half-breeds would not generally be presumed to be familiar, although some of them were tolerably educated, and most of them highly respectable. Their right so to appear was not in any case questioned, and the instruction did not forbid it. The powers, therefore, were in all cases respected, and the business better conducted, as the commissioners conceived, than it could have been in any other manner. The money, too, not having arrived in time, no course remained but to give drafts; and many of the

half-breeds not living on the spot, to whom could the drafts have been given, or who could receipt for them but the attorneys? If a different course had been adopted the claimants would have been put to much unnecessary trouble and expense.*

This sounds rather plausible; but what does Major Hitchcock, who had been several years stationed in the Indian country, and most of the time at Prairie du Chien, say?

To understand more clearly the position of the accusers in this case, let us go back in our narrative to the point where the Distributing Agent for the War Department has sent the money for the Winnebago half-breeds to Prairie du Chien by his personal friend. Mr. Street left St. Louis October 16, and arrived at Ft. Crawford about November 1. He states in a later letter that it was the day after the commissioners had left. They nowhere state at what time they closed their sitting. Mr. Murray in his later defense says that they were nearly a week going to St. Louis and that they were there November 6. Major Hitchcock says that they arrived the afternoon of November 5, and that the same day by another boat Lieut. McKissack, the paymaster at Ft. Crawford, came with the money, and also he received by that boat a letter from Mr. Street dated November 1, in which he explains his disposition of the trust placed in him. This is the first intimation the Distributing Agent had that things were not straight at Prairie du Chien. The condition that Mr. Street found when he arrived is stated later in a letter to Major Hitchcock, dated February 4, 1839. He says that when he returned home November 3,† a Mr. Campbell, who married Sophia Palen one of the half-breed beneficiaries of the treaty, came to his house and inquired what part his wife was to have of the \$100,000, and when it was to be paid. Street answered, "I have just got home, and know nothing of the business done by the commission. They left here, I learn, yesterday. I brought up the \$100,000 from Major

*Ex. Doc., 25th Cong., 3d Sess., p. 20.

†This must be a mistake as his letter to Maj. Hitchcock evidently written the day of his arrival, is dated November 1.

Hitchcock to Dr. Reynolds, and the money is now here in the room. Dr. Reynolds is at St. Peters. The money will I presume be paid on his return, as I have sealed letters from Major Hitchcock to him".

Mr. Street's paper says further:

Mr. Dousman then came in and asked me if I had brought the \$100,000 for the relations of the Winnebago Indians. I replied I had and made the same statement about Dr. Reynolds. Mr. D. then set to to persuade me to take or send the money back to St. Louis. I utterly refused to do either, on any consideration, and remarked it would be useless, for the money is to be paid at this place to the half and quarter bloods. Mr. D. said the relations had mostly all sold their dividends, and the drafts had gone along with the commissioners, the day before, to St. Louis. I replied, I don't think the orders of half and quarter-breeds will be paid. The money will only be paid to the relations and guardians, who will be required to give bonds and security. That I could not understand how the dividends of minors could be paid to order; who can give the order, and who acts for them? Mr. D. answered, "All that has been settled by the commissioners, and all we want of you is to get the money to St. Louis."

I then remarked upon what Mr. Campbell said of classification of claims, that they were in three classes—Nos. 1, 2 and 3—and No. 1 was the largest amount and No. 3 the smallest, and yet some of half-blood were in No. 3 and some of quarter in No. 1. I said the Indians declared their intention was to get the names of all their relations of not less than quarter blood, and divide the \$100,000 between them equally, share and share alike. Mr. D. replied, the commissioners acted by the special order of the Secretary of War, who directed the classification as it was made.

I then remarked, I will get rid of this business myself, but I do not think the money will be paid to attorneys of half-breeds. I can, with an open letter in my possession, hand the money over to the quartermaster, Lieut. McKissack.

I went with the letter and money immediately to the fort, and handed them over to Mr. Mc. Mr. D. and Gen. Brook came into the quartermaster's office while I was paying over the money; and Gen. B. remarked to Mr. M. that he would give him an order to go to St. Louis that he might take that money down to meet the drafts that had gone. . . .

Mr. Campbell expressed much dissatisfaction at the amount granted him (\$600), and still more at the charge of half by Mr. Dousman, and persisted that he had given no authority to any man to receive it for him. How he and Mr. D. ultimately settled it, I

know not. Mr. Campbell returned home, where I can, by inquiring, know more of that transaction.

That in the case of Mr. Peon, he (Peon) had a claim for goods formerly sold the Winnebagoes, amounting to \$700. That by advice of Mr. D. and Mr. Boilvin, he employed Mr. Broadhead to advocate his claim, as he was assured if he did not employ Mr. B. he could get nothing. On the claim he was allowed the full claim of \$700. Similar remarks were made to several other claimants; and they were assured that if they did not employ B. they could get nothing. That these opinions were well known to be circulated by the commissioners I am constrained to believe, from the concurring opinion of so many persons.

A slip of paper was left in the commissioners' quarters purporting to be part of a docket of cases of applications as half and quarter breeds, and that on said docket every application to which Broadhead is marked as counsel for claimant, the claim is in the first class, and at the highest rate allowed. This paper is now here preserved.

Another fact. Mr. Broadhead said that Gen. Cameron and himself had brought on \$40,000 or \$60,000 with them. Mr. F. [Featherstonebaugh], the secretary, also said the commissioners did not care whether the disbursing agent paid their private draft, for that the commissioners had brought on a large amount of money, and the money paid out here was on a bank of which Gen. C. is president. What could all the money be brought here for by the commissioners and Mr. Broadhead?

JOS. M. STREET.

The natural answer to this last question was that the money was to buy up the half-breed claims at half price. Although, as shown by a later report, February 16, 1839, they objected to Major Hitchcock paying in Missouri State Bank notes instead of specie; they came prepared to buy the claims and did buy them with notes on a bank in Pennsylvania of which one of the commissioners was cashier. Surely State Bank of Missouri money was more suitable for transactions on the Mississippi river.

Later the half-breed Peon made the following affidavit:

JAN. 2, 1839.

Mr. Broadhead first offered me six hundred dollars for the claims of my two children, stating they were only quarter-blood, and would be allowed very little. I refused to take it; but said, after being repeatedly urged, that I would sell for eight hundred (\$800) dollars.

Col. Broadhead finally agreed to give it. The action of the com-

missioners, however, in reference to my children, entitled them to thirty-two hundred dollars. On hearing this, I became dissatisfied, and went to Mr. Broadhead, informing him what I had been assured, when he agreed to give me three hundred dollars more, making eleven hundred which my children received, instead of thirty-two hundred dollars.

My son's name is John Baptiste, and daughter's Angelique.

JOHN BT. PEON. (his X mark)

Done in presence of

Jos. M. Street, Ind. Agent.

D. Lowry.*

Frederick Oliva, who was a half-breed, stated to Mr. Street that Mr. Broadhead and Mr. Boilvin, came to see him two or three times, on the subject of purchasing his half-breed claims. When he finally told them that he did not wish to sell his claim, but would abide the decision of the commissioners; upon which he was solicited by Mr. Broadhead to manage or present his claim, for which Mr. Broadhead would charge him ten per cent., assuring Oliva that if he did not receive \$1,500 he would not charge him anything for his trouble. Oliva consented and received a draft for \$1,500 for which he paid Mr. Broadhead \$150.00. Mr. Street further states from information gained from Oliva that Antoine Grignon and John Roy sold their claims to Broadhead for \$800 each. The treaty donations gave them \$2,000 each and the papers of the commissioners show that Broadhead received certificates for \$1,600 for each of these claimants.

In his defense, dated February 14, 1839, Mr. Murray says:

On our passage down the Mississippi at the rapids of Des Moines (where our boat was detained) we were overtaken by a boat in which Lieut. McKissack, quartermaster at Ft. Crawford, and in charge of the half-breed money, was a passenger. It was then and there proposed to me, and I suppose also to Gen. Cameron, that the drafts should be paid at once. This proposition was made me by Mr. Broadhead. I had no authority as a commissioner to control this matter. But did I advise it? Mr. Broadhead, if called on, will, I am sure, do me the justice to say that I advised against it, upon the ground that it was not a proper place for the transaction of such business; and that, as the drafts were drawn on Major Hitchcock, he had better pay them.†

*Ex. Doc., 25th Cong., 3d Sess., p. 57.

†Ex. Doc., 25th Cong., 3d Sess., p. 98.

This shows that Mr. Murray had some scruples against barefaced robbery.

Before detailed news of these transactions could have reached Major Hitchcock and as soon as the commissioners arrived in St. Louis, the Distributing Agent writes to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs as follows:

OFFICE MIL. DIS. AGT. INDN. DEPT.
SAINT LOUIS, NOV. 6, 1838.

T. HARTLEY CRAWFORD, Esq.,

Comr. of Indn. Affrs.

I have been compelled from a sense of duty to suspend payment of the Winnebago half-breed money until I can receive your instructions.

I was directed to pay the half-breeds; on the "requisitions of the commissioners." The usage of the Department, under similar instructions, as understood by me, has been for the persons authorized to make requisitions to require the payment to be made to the proper claimant. (Form No. 1, Rev'd. Reg's. No. 3.) If the claimant is a white man and disposes of his claim, it is his business and his right so to do is not disputed. In the case of the Indians the rule is different, the 31st par. Rev'd. Reg's. No. 3 being explicit on this point.

Half-breeds are neither white men nor Indians as expressed in their name—and the proper treatment of them is neither defined in the regulations nor perhaps established by usage. If it is said they are not Indians and must therefore be treated as white men, it may more plausibly be said they are not white men and ought therefore to be treated as Indians, as they unquestionably have been in almost all treaties containing stipulations in their favor—(Art. 1st treaty 4th Aug., 1824, Sacs and Foxes; Arts. 6 and 11 treaty June 3d, 1825, Kansas; Arts. 3 and 6 treaty Oct. 6, 1838, Miamis; Art. 3 treaty 23, Oct., 1826; Art. 4th treaty Dec. 29, 1838; Art. 2d treaty Aug. 29, 1821, Ottawas, Chippewa, &c., last part of the Art.; Art. 2d treaty 18 Feb., 1833, Ottawas, &c., &c., and especially the spirit of the 6th Art. treaty 28th March, 1836, Ottawas and Chippewas.)

It is against all knowledge, although there may be exceptions, to suppose the half-breeds are acquainted with the nature of powers of attorney and bills of exchange, and to discuss the questions concerning them upon a presumption of their moral responsibility to our laws and usages is, to my mind, an absurdity.

Premising thus much, I have to state that the fund for the payment of the Winnebago half-breeds was not received by me until the 9th ulto. I availed myself of the first boat and first opportunity (which occurred on the 16th) and sent it from this city to Prairie

du Chien to be paid to the persons whom the commissioners might designate as the proper claimants.

But the commissioners had decided to require payment, not to the individual claimants, but almost exclusively to third persons, and principally to a monied man who traveled from Philadelphia with a large amount of Philadelphia bank notes (doubtless for some *lawful* purpose), upon his procuring *powers of attorney*. I do not wish to question the motives of this monied man in following the commissioners to Prairie du Chien with his bank notes, but I cannot sufficiently express my regret that the late date at which the half-breed money was remitted has given him the opportunity of purchasing, with his rags, the claims of a miserable body of ignorant half-breeds totally unacquainted with the nature of the business in which he was engaged.

Another class of persons in whose favor the commissioners have required payments are called guardians and trustees, not one of whom has been required to give bond for the faithful disposition of the money.

To pay these people without requiring bonds will scarcely be even a form of payment and to suppose that 10 per cent of the money thus paid, can ever benefit the proper claimants is to defy all experience.

The commissioners who are now in town, observe on this point that they had no instructions to require bonds and that therefore their doing so "would not be legal," but I do not see the sequence.

One among these selected trustees was arrested for debt in this city last spring—another I have been creditably informed dared not come here on account of his debts, and a third is a most notorious gambler. Two of these I venture to say could not borrow a thousand dollars to save them from the county jail.

It is from no disposition to retain the money in my hands that I suspend this payment. I had already sent it to Prairie du Chien, and my sending to the Sioux half-breeds their hundred and ten thousand dollars without instructions as reported by my letter of the 9th Sept. will show my readiness to disburse the public money when I am satisfied with the occasion, but the well known and enormous frauds upon half-breeds of other tribes impose upon me a duty in this case, and I cannot pay this money to the Winnebago half-breed claimants without instructions based upon a knowledge of the circumstances doubtless unexpected to the Department, growing out of the fact that the money was not at Prairie du Chien until the commissioners had closed their labours.

I enclose herewith a list of claimants as ascertained by the commissioners with their requisitions attached to it, which I request may be returned to me. I also send copies of individual orders or drafts which will explain the manner of receiving payment.

I cannot close this letter, long as it is, without observing that

the Department thought proper to indicate a distinction between the claims of white persons and those of half-breeds, by paying the former in Washington, while the money was sent for the latter. It appears to me the distinction thus drawn was not without meaning, extending as it did to all the tribes on the Upper Mississippi.

Since writing the foregoing I have seen and conversed with the commissioners. They urge that they were expected to distribute the money and that they only are responsible. I answered, that their instructions were given under the presumption that the money would be on the spot to be distributed by them to the proper claimants; but the money not being there presented a contingency not anticipated and that in point of fact their duties could not be executed and should have been determined on the knowledge of that contingency.

I have also seen some of the claimants, one of whom has held out a threat of protest—but this was merely done to test the strength of my determination.

I hope, in considering this matter you will do me the justice to bear in mind that I have already shown my willingness to pay the money by sending it to Prairie du Chien.

I have remarked to the claimants that I presumed the drafts would ultimately be paid, but that in my belief they were given under circumstances not contemplated in the instructions of the commissioners and that the circumstances were of a character that required a higher sanction for the payment than my own, and, in short, that the Department could bear better than myself the responsibility of payment.

Very Respectfully,

Yr. Obt. Servt.

E. A. HITCHCOCK,

Maj. M. D. Agt.

P. S. The importance of the list of claimants referred to has induced me to retain it until I can prepare a copy, which I will transmit tomorrow.

E. A. H.*

From this letter it will be seen that Major Hitchcock objected to paying the claims because they were paid not to the half-breeds but to an attorney. The whole arrangement appeals to him as contrary to the spirit of the treaty, which was to pay the money into the hands of the half-breeds themselves.

The boat which brought down Lieut. McKissack brought several citizens from Prairie du Chien and also a letter from

*Ex. Doc., 25th Cong., 3d Sess., p. 7.

Agent Street. Between the evening of the 5th, when Major Hitchcock talked to General Cameron and Mr. Murray in the hotel and refused on general principles to pay the drafts, and November 8, he had had time to learn more of the dissatisfaction at the Prairie over the award of the commissioners. Accordingly he sends another letter to Commissioner Crawford at Washington.

OFFICE MIL. DIS. AGT. IND. DEPT.

SAINT LOUIS, Nov. 8, 1838.

T. HARTLEY CRAWFORD, Esq.,

Comr. of Indn. Affrs.

Sir: It was not my intention, as certainly as it was not my wish, to occupy your time with another communication on the subject of the Winnebago half-breed money, but as new circumstances come to my knowledge I must write to do justice to the subject, to myself and to others.

I have crossed the purposes of a band of greedy speculators and brought upon myself the maledictions of many who will pretend an infinite degree of sympathy for the very half-breeds whom they have cheated and almost robbed by what will boldly be put forth as a legal proceeding. Be the consequences what they may, I rejoice that I have for a few weeks at least suspended the execution of this business.

I have now to inform you, that I know an instance where a man, selected by the commissioners as a "trustee," received in that capacity an order for \$1,800 who has in this city offered it in payment of a note of his own due last summer and which note was dishonored and paid by his endorser and the amount suffered to remain a debt due the endorser to this day. Can this man be worthy of the trust reposed in him and is it possible that instructions could have contemplated the payment of money in trust to such person, without taking a bond for its faithful appropriation.

I am informed and have not the slightest doubt of the fact, that every possible exertion was made to deceive the half-breeds into the belief that the Government was without money; was not disposed to pay the half-breeds; and that if they permitted the opportunity of selling their claims to pass they would never receive anything, and that one claim of \$1,800 was actually thus sold for \$400. Can such transactions pass in review without condemnation because it may wear the *color* of law. It is monstrous, and, if lawful, the law is a scourge to the innocent.

It will be urged upon you that actual claimants have been refused money in their proper persons and subjected to great losses. I am not so blind as not to see the use intended to be made of a farce en-

acted in my office when an artful "attorney in fact" and "trustee" brought into my presence a half-breed named Oliva—one of five only who received requisitions in their own names—for the purpose of making a case upon which to complain of hardship. I request you to examine the list of claimants as shown on the copy forwarded and you will see but five of the whole body have had the wit and strength to withstand the influence brought to bear by the cupidity of white men and receive certificates in their own name. Oliva, one of the five referred to, will not suffer. The wit that secured him at Prairie du Chien will not abandon him here, and he is the only one that I have heard of as having come here except by "attorney in fact" or by "trustee."

It is in vain to attempt to smother the grossness of this proceeding. Why were not the certificates of claim simply recorded in favour of the original and proper claimant, if the commission must needs go through the form of payment? Was it because such certificates were not drafts? Was it because the "attorneys in fact" could not press their claims under purchase with half the show of right they now pretend?

I beg of you to examine attentively the list of claimants forwarded yesterday. You will see the names of but five original claimants reported as having received orders on me. This was known to the commissioners, who, when I suggested the propriety of making payment at Prairie du Chien, immediately informed me that claims for nearly the whole amount were already in this city. I grieve to say it, but the impulse is irresistible and I must express my apprehension that the form of payment was acquiesced in for the security of the purchaser, and not for the benefit of the claimant, and that in this proceeding the commissioners yielded their duty of guardianship of the half-breeds to a seeming compliance with the forms of law for the protection of "attorneys in fact."

There has been great eloquence wasted in an argument to prove that the proper claimants are scattered and beyond the reach of the paying agents of the Indian Department, but this is all a waste of words. If they live with Indians they can be found with them. If with white men, their blood will distinguish and publish them; and I for one, as a Dis. Agt., do not thank the commissioners for an attempt to save me from the performance of a duty appertaining to my situation. If "attorneys in fact" can find the claimant, so can the officers of the Indian Department. If it be said that they have paid the claimants already, and are not expected to find them, the assertion truly characterizes the whole proceeding and shows in what manner these "attorneys in fact" became invested with the confidential trust they have filed with the commissioners.

The powers of attorney were purchased, and for the most part by an utter stranger, a man entirely unknown to the half-breeds and having not the shadow of claim upon their confidence but

through the contents of his purse. The commissioners inform me that they have no knowledge of the sale of claims, yet they inform me that the claims were nearly all here. In the first assertion they must speak in a technical sense and can only mean that the powers of attorney do not show the sale; while in the second, they know, in another sense, all about the claims; where they are and how they were procured. I do not wish to be disrespectful to the commissioners, but I must think they were not selected at a great distance from the scene of their duties at \$5* per day at congress traveling days, and their expenses all paid besides, to act with two species of knowledge and shield themselves from a high moral responsibility by "keeping the law on their side." I was officially informed that their sittings were to have been held in the Indian country where all the expenses were to be paid by the Government, in order to secure justice to the claimants and drafts on the Government for upwards of \$5,000 are now in motion besides the per diem due the commissioners, on account of expenses incurred by their commission, and yet by a seeming fatality the half-breeds have been cheated and abused under their eyes and they "don't know it."

I recommend that payment be ordered to the original claimants; that the list reported by the commissioners be regarded only as a schedule like that embraced on page 588 of the Book of "Treaties to 1837," except that "trustees" be paid on giving proper bonds, and the half-breeds can then refund the amounts advanced to them by "attorneys in fact."

Very Respectfully,

E. A. HITCHCOCK,

Maj. M. D. Agt.

P. S. I have just been informed that the claimants at Prairie du Chien, on hearing that the money for them had actually been sent to the Prairie, contrary to assurances given them, sent to this place a protest against the proceedings of the commissioners to stay the money in my hands, and it has been intimated from a respectable source that the agent had been bought to silence. Time may disclose something on this subject important to the honor of the Government.

November 10, 1838, Jos. M. Street writes to Major Hitchcock as follows:

You will hereafter learn the course pursued by the commissioners. I have no leisure or heart to detail the shameful and corrupt course represented to me. Lockwood and Dousman, in conjunction with a Mr. Broadhead (the latter with the commissioners, and bragged that he had made \$60,000 out of claims and half-breeds), decided the cases, and the commissioners only confirmed their acts

*Instructions of the War Dept. show that \$8.00 per day was paid.

officially. Let any man of common sense and honesty look at the treaty, and then place the half-breeds in classes, if they can; and that, too, has no relation to half or quarter-blood, but they are classed by *favor*. A quarter-blood is the first class and a half in the third class. If the case was represented by Mr. Broadhead, or Mr. Dousman, or Lockwood, strongly, it was in the first or second class; if not advocated by either of these potent characters, the case went in the third class. On expressing my surprise at any classification under the language of the treaty, Mr. Dousman replied that special instructions were given to the commissioners to make the classification.

You will no doubt hear from other sources of the conduct of the commissioners, as represented to me. Not one cent ought to be paid upon such decisions. Had the commissioner under the Sac and Fox treaty been guilty of such conduct, I am confident he would not have been permitted to proceed. I had some idea of their conduct from claims sent against the Sacs and Foxes, and promptly rejected.

A month later he writes:

In the case of the half and quarter-breeds, much more depended on the employment of Mr. B.; yet a man of plain common sense and common honesty would declare that there was no need of a lawyer, for it must alone depend, under the treaty, upon one simple fact—whether they were related to the Winnebagoes as near as half or quarter blood. If they were, they were entitled to a share; if not, they ought to be wholly excluded. The only question that would arise under the treaty was between the amounts to be granted half and quarter-breeds; whether half-breeds should draw the same as quarter-breeds, or if half-breeds would not be entitled to full shares, and quarter-breeds to half shares. But no one, from reading the treaty, will say that the commissioners, or the Indians who made the treaty, intended anything but the equal division amongst all their relations not further off than quarter-blood, of \$100,000, share and share alike. The idea of any classification of the relations was never thought of by the Indians; and a classification which has grown out of this measure, giving to a quarter-blood a full share, and to a half-blood less than half the amount given to the quarter, is monstrous, and to the Indians, and especially those who made the treaty, unsatisfactory. True, in some cases, the influence operating upon the Indians, and the constant stream of intoxicating drinks, freely given, to keep up that influence, prevent anything from being said; still the language of the treaty remains, and gives color to the charges from every quarter, of *partiality in the classification of the relations of the Indians*; and if inquired into, it is found to rest, as I have said, upon the fact of the employment of Mr. Broadhead. If Mr. B. was *well feed* to his satisfaction, the relation was placed in the first class, and entitled to the largest share; if not so well feed,

in the second class, with a proportionate deduction of dividend; and *if not feed at all*, in the third class with the smallest dividend. This classification, too, had no relation to blood, whether of half or quarter, but was graduated by the fee paid to Mr. Broadhead.

Long before any claimant could understand the fate of his claim, Mr. Broadhead could tell all about it; and in some cases, the claimants, by employing him when their claims were reported to them to be rejected for want of proof, got them allowed by employing Mr. B. Some, too, who were informed by the commissioners that most of their claims were rejected, and but a small part granted, gave Mr. B. his full fee and found their claims confirmed at the largest amount they claimed, ultimately. In most cases Mr. B.'s fee was such a per cent upon the amount allowed, and secured to him out of the claim.

The impression has obtained currency here, that the commissioners brought Mr. Broadhead with them, upon a bargain, to share profits obtained through him of the claimants and half-breeds; and that they have made at least \$20,000 apiece; that is, Mr. B. declared his fees amounted to upward of \$60,000. Persons have calculated differently, and think his fees near \$80,000. These fees, too, were as good as cash in hand, being a per centum upon claims and shares. . . .

In the case of the claims, to have the advocacy of Mr. Broadhead, Mr. Dousman, and Mr. Lockwood, was sufficient to ensure the passage of the claim. And Mr. Boilvin was a most potent advocate, and doorkeeper for the commissioners frequently; indeed, most frequently they acted with closed doors; and Mr. Boilvin in most cases acted as doorkeeper and turned gentlemen back who were coming into the commissioners' office on business with them. Was it not strange, passing strange, to have a board decide on the claims and report to the commissioners (who in all cases confirmed their decision) composed of two traders, themselves having large claims, and one of them the largest trader with those very Indians? To me it was astonishing. As I said in my former letter, if the commissioner at Rock Island had appointed Davenport or any of the traders to examine claims, there would have been such discontent that I should have expected that the proceedings would have been forcibly stopped.

Concluded in next number.

With the blessing of God, I will war and war continually against the abandonment to slavery of a single foot of soil now consecrated to Freedom.—*James W. Grimes.*

STEAMBOATING ON THE DES MOINES.

DES MOINES, IOWA, March 18, 1904.

EDITOR OF THE ANNALS:—My father, the late C. F. Davis, of Keokuk, had among his papers a card of invitation to a dance given at Fort Dodge May 23rd, 1859, in honor of the landing of the first steamboat from Keokuk to Fort Dodge. As I am informed, this was practically the only boat which ever made that trip. The boat was loaded with groceries belonging to the firm of Chittenden, McGavic & Co., of Keokuk, of which firm my father was a member. The card [a facsimile] is in the following language, and bears the endorsement herein set forth:

SOCIABLE SORRY.

We Dance at Masonic Hall,

THURSDAY EVENING NEXT.

WILL YOU COME?

—MANAGERS:—

MAJ. WM. WILLIAMS,	HON W N MESERVEY,	J D STROW,
HON. J M STOCKDALE,	" THOS SARGENT,	GEO. W. REEVE,
" C. C. CARPENTER,	A. M. DAWLEY,	W. W. WHITE
" L. L. PEASE,	ISRAEL JENKINS.	

FLOOR MANAGERS:—JAS B. WILLIAMS, A. F. WATKINS, H. D. MERRITT.

... Fort Dodge, May 23d, 1859.

The following endorsement is on the back of the card:

Arrived at Fort Dodge on S. B., "Charles Rodgers", Monday, May 23d, 1859, and the dance was given in honor of the arrival of the 1st S. Boat from Keokuk to Fort Dodge.

C. F. DAVIS,
Super-Cargo.

During the latter years of my father's life he gave some attention to collecting the history of early settlers of Iowa, and left an autobiography in which there is an account of the trip made by this steamboat. Believing that this may be of some interest in a historical way in Iowa, I am attaching hereto the original card, and the history of the trip as described in the autobiography left by my father.

Trusting that you will consider this of enough importance to give it a place in your collection, I am,

Yours sincerely,

JAMES C. DAVIS.

THE VOYAGE OF THE FIRST STEAMBOAT FROM KEOKUK TO FORT
DODGE, BY C. F. DAVIS, DECEASED.

Occasionally during the summer months small steamboats navigated the Des Moines river (it having been improved to lock and dam as far up as Bentonsport) going as far as Des Moines, or "Raccoon Fork", as it was then called, charging for freight to that point from fifty to seventy-five cents per hundred pounds. At such times merchants in the interior took advantage of low freight and bought largely. In this connection I relate the following account of the first boat passing above Des Moines:

In May, 1859, our firm (McGavie, Chittenden & Co.) chartered the steamboat "Charles Rodgers", a small craft of about fifty tons, we agreeing to load her to her full capacity, destination Fort Dodge, on the Des Moines river, rate of freight through fifty cents per hundred pounds.

We loaded the boat with sugar, coffee, molasses, tobacco, salt, flour, etc., and I went on board as Super-Cargo. We left the landing at Keokuk, Wednesday, May 18th, 1859, at six o'clock in the evening, and entered the mouth of the Des Moines river before dark. The boat had no cabin, only the pilot-house on the hurricane deck. We ate and slept on the lower deck, just back of the engine and boiler. The boat was laid up at the bank whenever night overtook us, only running in daylight, warping through the locks at Bonaparte and Bentonsport. One of the pilots was a violinist, and at several places where we tied up to shore for the night, with the assistance of the neighboring belles and beaux, we had old fashioned dances.

Our cargo being billed through to Fort Dodge we made no stops for way business, and arrived at Des Moines Friday evening, where we remained all night. Saturday morning we left Des Moines, and our boat being light draught and the river a good stage of water, we passed over the dam at Des Moines, and arrived that evening at the Boonsboro land-

ANNALS OF IOWA

I NOW all men by these presents that I William B. Carter
of the County of Tensas and Commonwealth of Virginia
for and in consideration of the Sum of two Hundred and
fifty Dollars to me in hands paid by Isham Keith, at
or before the sealing and Delivery of these presents the
Receipt Whereof is hereby Acknowledged, have Bargained
and Sold and by these presents doth fully, clearly and
Absolutely Bargain and Sell unto the said Isham
Keith his Muttatto Boy named Jack, to have and to
hold the said Boy unto him the said Isham Keith
his Heirs Executors and administrators forever
And I the said William B. Carter, for myself my
Heirs, Executors Administrators and every of us, do
give and grant the said Boy Jack, unto him the
said Isham Keith his Heirs and assigns forever against
the Claim and Demand of all and every person or
Persons Whatsoever. In Testimony Whereof I have here
unto set my hand and Seal this twenty fifth day
January One Thousand Eight Hundred and Eleven
Signed Seal and
Acknowledged in presence of
Charles G. Ford

Wm B Carter

BILL OF SALE FOR A MULATTO BOY, NAMED "JACK".

From the private papers of the grantee, Isham White, one of the first Board of County
Commissioners of Van Buren County, Iowa. Presented by
Edgar R. Harlan, of Keosauqua, Iowa.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

BUILDING THE NEW CAPITOL.

Our leading article is a faithful record of the erection of the New Capitol, from the pen of Hon. Peter A. Dey, one of the State's chosen commissioners after the first board was superseded. The first board, consisting of eight members, in addition to the Governor, who was *ex officio* president, and included some of the most eminent men in the State, was found to be too cumbrous, and the next legislature provided for a commission consisting of the Governor and four practical men. It was wisely provided that the board should be a non-partisan body, a conclusion which met with universal approval. Messrs. Peter A. Dey and Maturin L. Fisher were the democratic members; Messrs. Finkbine and Foote, republicans. Mr. Finkbine was an architect by profession, and Mr. Foote a business man whose methods invariably led to system and exactness. Mr. Fisher, then a farmer, was a man of thorough education, a graduate of Yale college, a former superintendent of public instruction, than whom no one stood higher in public confidence. Mr. Dey was an educated engineer and had had many years of active experience, especially in the building of railroads, and thoroughly understood the nature and value of such materials as would enter into the construction of the new State House. The qualities needed in servants entrusted with such high responsibilities were most admirably proportioned. When their labors finally culminated in the completion of the edifice it was proudly and justly claimed that not a single dollar had been diverted from its legitimate purpose. The people of Iowa were proud of the New Capitol, and that feeling has never suffered any abatement. Commissioners have come

from other States to admire the edifice and hear the story of the processes whereby such desirable results were achieved.

In Vol. IV, pp. 241-246, we gave Hon. John A. Kasson's admirable paper on "The Fight for the New Capitol." In that contest Mr. Kasson was the chosen leader of that large portion of the people of Iowa who desired the erection of a new capitol in place of the insufficient pioneer structure which was already lapsing into decay. It will doubtless seem strange to many readers that there could have been any opposition to a work of such obvious necessity. But the opposition was bitter, wide-spread, and led by some of the ablest men in the State. The causes which inspired opposition were various. Some good people may have honestly believed that the State could not afford the contemplated expenditure of money; others may have hoped for the removal of the seat of government to a different location; while something like demagoguery doubtless inspired the action of others. Common consent pointed to Mr. Kasson as the one available and competent leader in this sharp contest. How it was fought to a successful conclusion in the legislature he has told in his own admirable style, and his paper will remain the final word on that subject as long as it shall interest our people.

Mr. Dey sets forth with great clearness and entire truth, the qualifications of his associates. Those who still survive from that time will agree with us that a more competent board, or one which could have inspired a higher degree of confidence, could not have been found in the State. So far as the personnel of the board was concerned, there was no complaint on the part of the press or the people. Its members enjoyed the largest measure of public confidence from the beginning to the end of their labors, and a most generous estimate of the value of their services still exists throughout Iowa and neighboring states. The historical papers of Messrs. Dey and Kasson leave nothing further to be said. They complete the history of the movement for the New Capitol.

GENERAL JOSEPH MONTFORT STREET.

During the publication of this series of THE ANNALS, we have presented several articles referring in one way or another to this distinguished pioneer, whose life closed at Agency City, Wapello county, May 5, 1840, where he was buried in a little enclosure a few feet from the grave of the Indian Chief Wapello. He was especially distinguished for his friendship to the Indians. He spared no effort to protect them from the rapacity of thieving agents who came among them to prey upon their substance and demoralize them with intoxicating liquors. He wished to improve their condition by establishing schools among them, and instructing them in farming and other arts of peace and prosperity. He had fierce contentions with the "grafters" of that day. His well intended efforts were not rewarded with the fruition they deserved. The Indian traders were too powerfully represented at Washington to admit of the success of a single unsupported philanthropist. As Iowa was for some time the theatre of his operations, his memory should ever be precious to our people and all possible light thrown on his career.

The articles which have appeared in THE ANNALS have been to a large extent the inspiration and work of his granddaughter, Miss Ida M. Street, a sometime resident of Des Moines, but latterly of Milwaukee, where she has attained a high reputation as a teacher. We give considerable space in this number to one-half of her latest article, which is largely a compilation from official letters and documents touching the frauds which were sought to be perpetrated upon the Winnebago tribe of Indians, by a commission appointed for their protection by the general government. Some of this matter has been published heretofore, and may be found in the transactions of the Historical Society of Wisconsin, while a portion of it is now printed for the first time. The article will be concluded in the next number of

THE ANNALS. We bespeak for it careful consideration by all who are interested in the history of the Indian tribes when they were disappearing from the Territory of Iowa.

Quite recently the son of George Wilson and a grandson of Gen. Street, who now resides at Lexington, Mo., has signified his desire to bring the remains of his father and mother from Missouri, and have them reinterred in the little burying ground near the old Agency building. This work will no doubt be carried out during the next year. In the meantime, the legislature should make provision for the permanent care of the little cemetery. We are glad to know that this subject elicits the friendly consideration of sundry distinguished citizens of Wapello county.

IOWA MEDALS OF HONOR.

Col. Charles A. Clark's article on "Congressional Medals of Honor and Iowa Soldiers," shows a proud record for those of our civil war soldiers who distinguished themselves by special acts of heroism, outside of the line of duty. The cause or causes which led to each of these awards he explains by extracts from the official army records, giving also a synopsis of the acts of Congress upon which this system of national recognition is based. This article will not only be read with interest upon its appearance, but will be often consulted in the libraries of the State. Its information is all the more valuable, as presented by Col. Clark, because it is not accessible to the mass of readers. He presents a full list of our Iowa Heroes who have been thus honored, pointing to sources of information where the interesting subject may be further studied. He also enumerates those from other states who have become residents of Iowa. This catalogue is a fitting companion to that of the Iowa graduates from West Point and Annapolis which appeared in THE ANNALS, Vol. VI, pp. 594-617. Gradually information relative to our Iowa soldiers is thus "in books recorded," where it can be readily consulted.

nificance to the nation's life and history that easily enthrall the mind, and the minutiae of local life seem petty and uninteresting in contrast. But are local laws intrinsically less interesting and instructive than are national life and institutions? Are not the laws of growth and evolution the same in the units as in the grand aggregate? Of necessity such is the case.

The laws of physics, the law of gravitation, apply to the pebble as well as the planet. Action and reaction are coequal in social life as in physical or chemical phenomena, and this law finds constant illustration in local life no less than in national life. The great science of Biology has not been built up exclusively out of the conclusions of studies of the stately mammalian species, but equally out of data gathered by patient investigators of the phenomena of the amoeba and jelly fish, of the frog, the crayfish, and the grasshopper. Moreover, the intrinsic interest of the less complex forms of life is not a whit less than is that of the larger species or grand aggregate. The fragrance of the solitary rose on the prairie, the bloom of the lilacs in the cottager's door yard, are not less entrancing than the subtle essences exhaled from the masses of bloom in the conservatories of suburban palaces. So it is with local life and history. Here at home we find at every turn in the road countless illustrations of the universal laws of life and evolution. The data and the laws of sociology, of the economic, political and social sciences may be investigated successfully in the hamlets and villages, in the towns and cities of Iowa precisely as our students study the phenomena of physiology and disease in our hospitals and laboratories.

Which is the more important, which is the more interesting, national or local history? This is the question that it is difficult, if not impossible to answer. Indeed, we suspect that no answer is needed. Local life makes up the content of national life. Local forces and factors, local customs and institutions, local interests and prejudices determine national

life and government. *Per contra*, national forces and conditions, and interstate relations and interests, international relations and foreign policies, react forcefully upon local life and condition its development. We can not understand one without a knowledge of the other. Neither state nor nation can act free from a consideration of the interests and welfare of the other. Which is the more important—one or the other of the halves of a pair of scissors?

In saying this we perhaps do Professor Johnson an injustice. With the most of what we have just said he doubtless would agree. In the paper referred to he was making a direct appeal to our educators, students and citizens to take an active interest in local institutions, to undertake investigations and studies of local history here in Iowa. To arouse such interest he had first to overcome our traditional indifference to things near at hand because of the nearly universal assumption that local life is unutterably dull and prosaic. To disturb this persistent prejudice he points out the vital connection of local history with the currents of national life, and seeks through the common interest in national affairs to create an intelligent interest in our communal life here at home; and to secure sympathetic interest he lays the emphasis chiefly on the national phase of the subject.

F. I. H.

INFORMATION WANTED.

A contributor to THE ANNALS desires to obtain the nativity, occupations, ages, and legislative experience of Iowa pioneer law makers. In 1854 the legislature published a "census" or "register" of the members giving such data, but no other such lists seem to have been included in the legislative documents prior to 1860. We have the list for 1838-39. Any reader of THE ANNALS knowing of such lists, or any publication affording such information, will confer a favor by communicating with the Editor.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Iowa: The First Free State in the Louisiana Purchase; From its Discovery to the Admission of the State into the Union, 1673-1846. By William Salter. Illustrated with Maps and Plans. Pp. 289., Chicago, A. C. McClurg & Co., 1905.

Within the covers of this attractively bound volume, Dr. Salter gives us an interesting account of the beginnings and of the development of Iowa's government prior to the State's admission into the Union. In a rapid, easily flowing narrative he takes his readers along the routes traveled by the noted French and American explorers, *ad interim* introducing them to the aborigines, and exhibiting more or less of the varying experiences of the French, Spanish and English governments in their attempts to grasp and to control the vast reaches of territory beyond the Father of Waters. The major portion of the volume is taken up with the evolution of the forms of governmental control, with the methods of procedure and the chief incidents in their establishment and transition from one to another under the rule of Congress. Thus in concise, compact chapters we may trace the growth of the State while the land and the pioneers were under the jurisdiction of Louisiana, Indiana, Missouri, Michigan and Wisconsin. As the author was especially familiar with the chief men of the State, during the first twenty-five years of its admission to the Union, one wishes that the narrative could have been extended down to the close of the career of Senator Grimes. We have, however, no sympathy, and but little patience with the notion that these pages are less valuable or less interesting because they relate the story of a dim and distant past, but little considered by the hurrying workers of the present. We can not appreciate the vigorous development of to-day unless we know the origins and conditions of growth, the streams of influence, the character of the stocks that entered into and constituted the fibre and stature of the State in its primitive days. If we would know the man we must understand his ancestry, infancy and youth.

Dr. Salter deals with the personal and political elements dominant and conspicuous in our territorial history, rather than with the growth and character of institutions or with the gathering, flux and differentiation of social forces and aggregates. The evolution of laws and constitutions, the influence of climate, soil and topography, of ancestral traditions of religion and industry are only matters of incidental consideration with him, as they may serve to illuminate the motives or to determine the conditions of success or failure of the chief men of the dominant movements in the upbuilding of the State. The struggles of the pioneers for their new homes and their economic advancement, the contests of politicians for office and preferment, the play and counterplay of immediate human interests, constitute the vital energy of laws and institutions. We can not understand the nature of institutions unless we know the character of the

men chiefly concerned with the conduct of the State. Between them, action and reaction are continuous, although in the constant variation the personal or political factors seem to be the more important. Perhaps this is so because human interests center chiefly in the personal element. Because Dr. Salter was a pioneer and knew the life of the men who formed the territory, because he was the intimate friend and counselor of Senators Dodge and Grimes, these pages are rich in personal reminiscences that are both instructive and interesting.

This narrative is not marred by the constant intrusion of "big talk" about the State and her citizens. The author does not insist *ad nauseam*, as so many of our chroniclers do, that Iowa is the greatest, the richest, the best State in the Union, that her climate is perfect, her soil the most fertile, her scenery incomparable, her people the sons and daughters of the elect in character, ability and achievement. He does not lack an abiding faith and buoyant pride in Iowa and her institutions, but he does what the true artist does, he makes you feel the grandeur of the State and the splendid character of the pioneers and their work by the telling force of his narrative.

The author does not indulge himself or his readers in the consideration or exploitation of controverted questions. He does not debate whether Joliet and Marquette or Groseilliers and Radisson first saw Iowa. No more does he bother himself concerning the particular spot whereon Joliet and his companion first set foot in the State. He contents himself with conclusions that have been more or less commonly held. When his narrative comes down to the times in which he himself played a part, he shows somewhat the inclination of his prejudices and sympathies, but only slightly. In the title he has given this volume he indicates his attitude towards slavery; and he shows frankly that his sympathy was with those who opposed the extension of the iniquitous institution. We suspect that Dr. Salter had, and still has, some vigorous antipathies respecting men and measures in the State's formative period, but his readers must be lynx-eyed to detect them and they can do so only by inference. His intimate friendship with the leaders of the two great political parties that differed so seriously on the one vital issue doubtless taught him to reserve harsh judgments respecting motives of conduct. Persons whose character or conduct he dislikes he is wont to leave alone, but if he says anything he is prone to refer to their commendable traits or accomplishments. He seldom puts forth adverse criticism. In the case of Governor Lucas, however, he does record a somewhat unfavorable judgment. He sides wholly with the legislature in the controversy over the Governor's vetoes; and he gives the impression that the Governor was needlessly perverse and stiff-necked in his course. In this it seems to us that he does not deal fairly with our first executive.

Another interesting phase of this history is Dr. Salter's reticence relative to the "views" and "works" of recent historians and investigators. He mentions them almost not at all. It cannot be that he knows them not for the readers of THE ANNALS and the HISTORICAL RECORD know that he

FORTHCOMING BOOKS.

Hon. W. W. Merritt, of Red Oak, Iowa, has been for sometime engaged in collecting materials for the History of Montgomery County. Some preliminary steps have been taken to show what the work will be when it is issued a few months hence. We have read some of the advance sheets, and have examined a model of the book, which is intended to show the quality of the work both of the author and publishers. So far as we can now judge, this will be the best county history that has yet appeared in our State. Mr. Merritt, who has resided in the county since 1857, has labored long and earnestly in collecting his materials. Of most of the facts he has been personally cognizant—"all of which he saw, and part of which he was." He possesses the ability and the culture which enable him to make the best use of his materials. His style is pleasing and he manifests a degree of discrimination and impartiality which will make his labors permanently valuable. So far as the printing and binding are concerned, it is only necessary to state that they are the work of the Thomas D. Murphy Company of Red Oak, who rank with the most tasteful publishers in the United States. We have had a marked advance in the quality of Iowa county histories during the past decade, but we do not doubt that in point of real excellence this will lead them all. One single feature will go far towards convincing the reader that this will be a genuine, praiseworthy book of Iowa history, and that is the fact that while it will contain 100 fine portraits, these will be placed within its pages upon the judgment of the author and publishers and no payment will be sought or exacted for their publication. Only those—largely the pioneer settlers—will be thus honored who deserve this distinction in the annals of Montgomery county. The man who gets into books by paying liberally for his portrait has been eliminated. The work is going through the press under most favorable auspices.

Mrs. Ona Ellis Smith, of Guthrie Center, has written "A Child's History of Iowa," which she hopes to see largely used in the schools of this State. The manuscript is still in her possession, and has not yet been in the hands of any "reader" for publication. We hear, however, that it has been examined by persons qualified to judge of its merits and that it has met with their hearty commendation. Mrs. Smith has worked long and earnestly to produce a good book and we trust her efforts will meet with success. There is abundant room for such a work.

NOTABLE DEATHS.

DAVID RYAN was born in Washington county, N. Y., March 15, 1840; he died in Des Moines, Iowa, June 19, 1905. He came with his parents and four brothers and three sisters to Jasper county, Iowa, in 1857, and settled on a farm about two miles south of Prairie City. He was educated in the common schools of New York and Iowa, and at the Central University at Pella. He left college in 1861, and enlisted as a private in Company E, Eighth Iowa Infantry; in September, 1861, he was made First Lieutenant of his company, and in 1863, was promoted to the rank of Captain. He participated in every battle in which his regiment was engaged, and was captured at Shiloh, spending six and a-half months in rebel prisons. When the civil war ended, he had attained the rank of Colonel. Returning to the college, he graduated in 1867, and the following year was graduated from the Iowa Law College, now the law department of the Iowa State University. Settling at once at Newton, in Jasper county, he began a practice which he conducted for twenty years, part of the time alone, and part of the time in partnership, first with Judge Lindley, then with his brother, Robert Ryan, and later with W. O. McElroy. He was elected to the House of Representatives of the Eleventh General Assembly, in which he served with credit to himself and to his constituency. He was then elected to the district bench, which position he filled with credit for twelve years. At the expiration of his third term, he removed to Des Moines, where, with Judge William Phillips and his two sons, J. B. Ryan and W. L. Ryan, he formed the firm of Phillips, Ryan & Ryan, which on the subsequent death of Judge Phillips, continued as the firm of Ryan, Ryan & Ryan up to the death of Judge Ryan. In 1867, he married, in Washington county, N. Y., Miss H. M. Hurd, of an old Vt. and Eastern N. Y. family. Beside his two sons, who were associated with him in the practice of law, they have one daughter, Mrs. E. E. Faville. To these children he gave an education in the Iowa State College at Ames, of which he was an earnest supporter, and also at the State University of Iowa, where the two sons graduated in the law department. He was successful at every point in his useful career and personally an excellent Christian gentleman. He had many friends wherever he was known. When the country needed his services, he proved himself an ideal soldier, whether in camp, on the firing line, or when imprisoned in a rebel prison. He was successful and universally respected as a lawyer, and made a just and able judge. As a business man, he had also succeeded quite as well as in his profession, or on the bench. He was a Mason and Knight Templar, a member of the Vestry of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Des Moines, a member of the G. A. R., and of the Loyal Legion, in all of which he was earnest and active, and at the time of his death was president of the Des Moines Bar Association, and a member of the Iowa State Bar Association. His death came suddenly from apoplexy, his illness lasting not longer than half an hour. His funeral was very largely attended, many friends and members of the bar coming from distant parts of the State, and from other states to pay their tributes of respect.

BARLOW GRANGER was born in Cayuga county, N. Y., May 31, 1816; he died at his home near the city of Des Moines, June 7, 1905. He attended school until he reached the age of thirteen years, when he entered the office of *The Courtlandt Advocate*, as an apprentice. He migrated to the city of New York in 1835, and was a resident of that city during the great fire of that year. He became an expert journeyman printer, and was connected with newspaper offices in New Haven, Albany, Hudson, Cleveland, Detroit and New York City. He came west in the spring of 1847, at first becoming associated with *The St. Louis Republican*. He came to Des Moines in

August, 1848. The city was then but a small village, a trading and army post. He very soon decided to make Des Moines his future home. At first he was connected with a land office, buying and selling real estate. A party had attempted to start a newspaper here but had given it up and Mr. Granger entered into that business, calling the paper *The Iowa Star*. The first number was dated July 26, 1849. It was thoroughly democratic, Mr. Granger declaring his firm adhesion to that party. He remained a democrat to the end of his days. He published *The Star* until February 20, 1850, when he was succeeded by Curtis Bates and Luther D. Johnson. After his newspaper work, Mr. Granger was admitted to the bar, and for some years practiced law in Des Moines. At one time he sat upon the bench, and was once elected Mayor of Sevastopol, which was a separate organization, and later on of Des Moines. He built his home on the bluff across the valley southeast of the Iowa capitol, and resided there the remainder of his life. He retired many years ago from active business in the city and gave his attention to his farm. He was a man of much versatility of talent, possessing the finest social qualities—a man of many friends. His death occurred from old age, and he had been active until a short time preceding it. His funeral, which was largely attended, was taken in charge by the Octogenarian Society of Des Moines, of which he had been the first and only president. Rev. A. L. Frisbie was the officiating clergyman, and he paid a high tribute to the characteristics of the deceased. He was followed in generous appreciation by Father J. F. Nugent, who was a warm friend of Mr. Granger. The burial took place at Elm Grove cemetery, three miles southwest of his residence, a spot he had long before selected to be his burial place. The Historical Department some years ago secured from the widow of Curtis Bates a file of *The Iowa Star*, which included several years of that weekly. It was a well edited paper from the start and contains much valuable historical material.

WASHINGTON MATTHEWS was born at Killiney, near Dublin, Ireland, July 17, 1843; he died at his home in Washington, D. C., May 2, 1905. His father was a well-known physician of Dubuque, whither Washington came with the family prior to 1860. The son was educated in the common schools and also graduated from the medical department of the State University of Iowa in 1864. That institution conferred upon him the honorary degree of LL. D. He was appointed an assistant surgeon in the U. S. Army, serving from 1864 to 1889, when he was retired on account of disability contracted in the line of duty. He had attained the grades of Captain and Major in the regular army. He was on duty in the Army Medical Museum at Washington from 1884 to 1890. He became quite noted from his successful investigations in the ethnology and philology of the Navajo Indians and other tribes. He was also a member of several learned societies, and the author of many publications relating to the Indians. His bibliography includes several elaborate volumes, many pamphlets and monographs. One of his most important works was "The Mountain Chant: a Navajo Ceremony", published in 1887. In 1897 he published a work on the "Navajo Legends". He also wrote "The Prayer of the Navajo Shaman"; "The Gentile System of the Navajo Indians"; "The Catlin Collection of Indian Paintings" and "The Night Chant, a Navajo Ceremony". He had resided many years at 1262 New Hampshire Avenue, Washington, D. C., where he led a very retired life. He retained an interest in Iowa to the end of his days, sending his many publications to the Historical Department and other institutions. His works promise to live long in the annals of American science.

JAMES D. SPRINGER died in Chicago, Feb. 17, 1905, at the age of sixty years. His parents resided at Iowa City during the early fifties, where the

father had been for some time employed as a laborer in a flouring mill owned and operated by Governor Samuel J. Kirkwood. The family removed to Webster City and settled on a farm where James grew up to about the age of fourteen. In December, 1859, he came to Des Moines as a candidate for messenger or page in the State senate. Appealing to Governor Kirkwood on the ground that he wished to earn money for the purpose of attending school, the governor took his case in hand and largely through his influence James was elected. He appeared to be such a studious, excellent boy that he won the hearty friendship of George W. McCrary, a State Senator from Keokuk, who afterwards became a federal judge and Secretary of War. Mr. McCrary took James home with him at the end of the session, and the young man studied law in his office. He was a bright student and became a very successful lawyer. He was also connected with several railroads in the west. He practiced law some years in Ft. Dodge, finally removing to Chicago. His career was a brilliant one. To native ability of a high order, he united great industry, and a genial, kindly nature. He was to a great degree self-educated, and all things considered his success was remarkable.

JOSEPH BENSON HARRIS was born in Belmont county, Ohio, July 14, 1859; he died at Boone, Iowa, April 29, 1905. When he had reached the age of nine years, his mother having become a widow, removed to Chariton, Iowa, with her two sons and a daughter. Five years later he entered the employ of the C. B. & Q. R. R. Co., as a messenger. While so occupied he learned telegraphing, working in several towns along that line. At the age of twenty-one he resigned and entered Simpson College, at Indianola, to prepare himself for the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He spent three years in this institution before entering upon his life work. He was at various times pastor of churches in Lewis, Audubon, Denison, Indianola, Des Moines and Boone. He was for one year President of Simpson College. His services were highly acceptable to his various congregations and to the students. His loss was deeply deplored by his people wherever he had been known. Among those who attended his funeral were Hon. Messrs. L. M. Shaw, Secretary of the U. S. Treasury, and Ex-Senator W. H. Berry, of Indianola, who paid eloquent tributes to his memory.

JAMES J. DOLLIVER was born Nov. 28, 1816, in Saratoga co., N. Y.; he died in Washington, D. C., April 28, 1905. His parents removed to New Jersey when he was a boy. He was educated in the country schools, paying his way by teaching as soon as he was qualified. He migrated to Ohio in 1836. A few years later he was converted, joining the Methodists, and bending all his energies towards becoming a preacher. In 1844 he went to West Virginia, residing in Kingwood and Morgantown. He became a typical circuit rider, traveling thousands of miles on horseback, and participating like others of his class in the usual round of conferences, quarterly meetings and revivals. He was especially distinguished by his war on slavery and intemperance. In 1881 he came to Iowa, settling in Fort Dodge. He spent much time in Washington, D. C., where he was an especial favorite of Presidents Harrison, Cleveland, McKinley and Roosevelt. He was the father of Hon. J. P. Dolliver, the present junior U. S. Senator from Iowa.

WILLIAM C. EVANS was born in Delaware county, N. Y., June 24, 1822; he died in West Liberty, Iowa, April 11, 1905. In 1834 he removed with his father's family to Ohio and assisted in making a home in what was then the far west. He afterwards worked for a time in Illinois and the lumber camps of Wisconsin and with a portion of the earnings thus ob-

tained he attended for two terms the seminary at Kirtland, Ohio. In 1852 he purchased a fourth interest in the site of the town of West Liberty, Iowa. In 1856 he located in that place and has ever since been identified with its interests. For years he was a member of the board of supervisors. He was a member of the 13th and 14th general assemblies. During the war Governor Kirkwood appointed him one of the commissioners to superintend the drafting of soldiers in Muscatine county. He was for six years a trustee of the hospital for the insane at Mt. Pleasant.

HENRY H. WRIGHT was born in Wayne county, Indiana, February 26, 1840; he died in Centerville, Iowa, April 28, 1905. He located in Appanoose county in 1861. He served through the civil war in Co. D, 6th Iowa Infantry, as corporal, sergeant, and finally second lieutenant. From 1866 to 1874 he was sheriff of Appanoose county. His National Guard record was notable; he enlisted in 1878 and was elected 1st sergeant of Co. E, 2d regiment. He was successively promoted and finally commissioned brigadier general 1st brigade. Co. E of Centerville and what is now the 55th Iowa, owe their organization and success to him. He was appointed adjutant general of Iowa in 1896 by Governor F. M. Drake, with the rank of major general. At the time of his death he had ready for the press a history of the 6th Iowa infantry. Gen. Wright is represented in portraiture on the Iowa Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument.

LORENZO D. TRACY was born in Knox, Albany county, N. Y., July 5, 1829; he died in Jessup, Iowa, April 13, 1905. In 1859 he was ordained an elder in the Methodist church but poor health obliged him to abandon the work of the ministry. He came to Iowa in 1861 and in 1862 located in Grundy Center. He held the offices of county treasurer, county recorder, county judge, coroner, county superintendent of schools; was a member of the board of supervisors, justice of the peace, and was three times elected mayor of Grundy Center. He was a member of the 11th and 15th general assemblies. For many years he was editor of *The Grundy County Atlas* and afterward of *The Argus*; later he edited *The Cedar Falls Gazette* and *The Iowa Falls Sentinel*.

DELANO T. SMITH was born in Litchfield, N. Y., November 6, 1830; he died in Marshalltown, Iowa, May 10, 1905. He was admitted to the bar in Albany, N. Y., in 1852. After practising for a time in Dixon, Ill., he removed in 1855 to Minneapolis, Minn. He was a member of the House in the 8th Minnesota territorial legislature, and a member of the senate in the 1st State legislature. In 1861 he was appointed to a clerkship in the treasury department at Washington; in 1863 he became U. S. tax commissioner for Tennessee. From 1865 until 1869 he resided in New York and with his brother promoted the first subway in that city. In 1869 he again removed to the west, in search of health, and located in Marshalltown, where he had since resided.

MRS. RACHEL J. WILSON ALBRIGHT was born in Philadelphia, June 16, 1812; she died in Ft. Madison, Iowa, April 18, 1905, at the advanced age of ninety-two years. She came with her husband to Ft. Madison in the spring of 1841 and had since resided there. She was a granddaughter of Betsy Ross, who made the first United States flag. Mrs. Albright herself devoted her time to making copies of that first national flag, for which she found ready sale. The Historical Department of Iowa purchased one of these beautiful mementoes of our early days which she had made but a few weeks before her death. Her descent from Betsy Ross no less than her own fine social qualities, had made her widely known and highly esteemed.

DANIEL P. STUBBS was born in Preble county, Ohio, July 7, 1829; he died in Fairfield, Iowa, May 2, 1905. He settled in Fairfield in 1857 and soon after formed a law partnership with U. S. Senator James F. Wilson, which continued for five years. Mr. Stubbs became eminent in his profession and was especially successful in criminal practice. He served as mayor of his city in 1859 and 1860, and was in the State senate during the 10th and 11th general assemblies. He afterward identified himself with the "greenback" party and was a candidate at different times for the offices of governor, congressman and U. S. senator. He was a member of the board of trustees of Parsons College and president of the Jefferson county State bank.

JAMES BLAKENY PEASE was born in Washington county, Pa., January 24, 1817; he died in Ft. Madison, Iowa, May 9, 1905. In 1851 he removed with his family to Lee county, Iowa, where he purchased a large farm. In 1865 he sold it and settled in Van Buren county, where for the next fifteen years he engaged in agricultural pursuits. In 1880 he purchased a home in Ft. Madison, in which place he afterward resided. He served as member of the Iowa house of representatives from Lee county in the 6th general assembly, and as senator from Van Buren county in the 15th and 16th general assemblies. For forty-five years he had been an elder in the Presbyterian church.

CHRISTIAN SLAGLE SHAFFER was born in Washington county, Pa., March 6, 1823; he died in Abingdon, Ill., while visiting a daughter, April 1, 1905. He was one of the pioneer residents of Fairfield, Iowa, coming to the town in 1844, where for several years he was engaged in the mercantile business. In 1850 he took the overland trip to California, remaining on the Pacific coast for several years. The rest of his life was spent in Fairfield. The arrangement of the fine natural history exhibit in the Fairfield library, collected for the most part by his distinguished brother, Dr. J. M. Shaffer of Keokuk, was largely his work. He was one of the oldest Masons in the State.

A. J. ANDRES was born in Troy, New York, September 29, 1829; he died in Tabor, Iowa, October 8, 1904. He was admitted to the bar when 19 years of age, and for a time practiced law in the state of Illinois, where he had a business acquaintance with Abraham Lincoln and his partner. In 1825 he removed to Iowa and began the study for the ministry of the Methodist church. Two years later he took charge of his first appointment, which was in Red Oak. In 1876 he became presiding elder for the Boone district, which then embraced 29 churches. At the time of his death he had become one of the best known preachers in the Methodist church of this State.

RUFUS S. BENSON was born at Madison, Ohio, June 3, 1842; he died at Florence, New Mexico, March 15, 1905. In 1857 he located with his family in Franklin county, Iowa. He served throughout the civil war, for a short time in the 1st Wisconsin Infantry, afterward as 2d lieutenant and then captain of Co. H, 32d Iowa Infantry. In 1866 he was elected clerk of the district court; in 1873 county treasurer. He was a member of the house of the 19th, 20th and 21st general assemblies. 1885 he was appointed inspector general of the Iowa national guard. In the late eighties, having acquired business interests elsewhere, he removed from the State.

ROBERT E. BENTON was born in Dayton, Ohio, March 3, 1823; he died near Morning Sun, Iowa, May 20, 1905. He had lived in Louisa county for more than fifty-five years, and he died on the farm which had been his home for over fifty. He was a member of the 16th general assembly. He had been a man of studious habits and a lover of nature throughout his life.

SABRET T. PATTERSON was born in Marion county, Mo., July 4, 1831; he died in Keokuk, April 23, 1905. In 1837 he came with his family to West Point, Iowa; in 1846 they located in Keokuk. Mr. Patterson was a member of the firm of Patterson Bros., which executed large contracts for the government on the upper Mississippi river. He had been a resident of Keokuk for nearly fifty years, and was a son of Col. William Patterson, one of its most distinguished citizens, and a member of the 1st territorial legislature of Iowa, and of the constitutional convention of 1857.

S. H. WATKINS was born in Clark county, Indiana, August 4, 1831; he died in Libertyville, Iowa, April 12, 1905. He came with his father to Jefferson county in 1849. In 1863 he enlisted in Co. H, 30th Iowa Volunteer Infantry, and soon became captain of his company. He was a member of the 24th and 25th general assemblies. In 1898 he was elected a trustee of the State Agricultural College and served six years. He was a member of the State commission to locate monuments to Iowa soldiers on the battle fields of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge.

ROBERT B. PARROTT was born in New Brunswick in 1829; he died in Des Moines, Iowa, August 25, 1904. In the fifties he was a prominent member of the bar in Osceola, Clarke county. In 1858 he was elected district attorney for the 3d district and served one term. He removed to Indianola about 1876, where he practiced law. About 30 years ago he went with others to the west prospecting for gold. He discovered valuable deposits, and the famous Parrott mine of Butte, Montana, was named for him. He had resided in Des Moines for some years.

P. HENRY SMYTHE was born in Washington county, Va., March 10, 1829; he died in Cleveland, Ohio, March 21, 1905. He was admitted to the bar in Henry county, Tenn., and practiced for a time in Cleveland, Ohio. In 1857 he removed to Burlington, Iowa, where he became one of the best known members of the legal profession in the State. In April, 1874, he was appointed by Governor C. C. Carpenter district judge of the first judicial district, to fill a vacancy. In 1900 Judge Smythe returned to Cleveland, where he had since resided.

ISAAC M. CHRISTY was born in Trumbull county, Ohio, April 18, 1844; he died in Phoenix, Arizona, April 1, 1905. He came with his parents to Clarke county in 1854, where they settled on a farm. He served throughout the civil war in Co. I, 15th Iowa Infantry and was in the battles of Shiloh, Corinth, the siege of Vicksburg and the Atlanta campaign. In 1871 he engaged in business in Burlington. He located in the southwest some years ago and was treasurer of the territory of Arizona at the time of his death.

WILLIAM G. KENT was born in Centre county, Pa., Aug. 10, 1837; he died in Fort Madison, Iowa, Feb. 20, 1905. He came with his parents to Lee county in 1842. For many years he resided in Jefferson township, but in 1898 removed to Fort Madison. He had served as county superintendent of schools, township clerk, and in other minor offices. He was a member of the house of the 21st general assembly, and was in the senate during the 22d, 23d and 24th general assemblies.

ELIZA MILLER was born in Akron, O., Jan. 2, 1834; she died in Des Moines, Iowa, Jan. 8, 1905. She removed with her husband, John Stover, to Lena, Ill., in 1854. The family came to Tipton, Iowa, in 1875, removing to Des Moines in 1883. She united with the Lutheran Church during her residence in Illinois, and was soon recognized as one of its most active and useful members, especially in the field of missionary effort. She was for many years president of the Ladies' Aid Society.

ALMON R. DEWEY was born in Mantua, Ohio, October 1, 1845; he died in Washington, Iowa, April 15, 1905. During the civil war he served for a time in the 103d Ohio regiment, and later in the 150th. On Jan. 1, 1868, he arrived in Washington, Iowa, and began the study of law; he was admitted to the bar in 1869. In 1890 he was elected judge of the sixth judicial district and was reelected in 1894. Judge Dewey was one of the most prominent Masons in the State.

W. J. LANEY was born in Columbiana county, Ohio, April 15, 1827; he died in Davis City, Iowa, May 4, 1905. He obtained a medical education in the Willoughby, Ohio, Medical College. In 1851 he came to Iowa and for two years remained in Van Buren county. In 1853 he settled in Leon and became the pioneer physician of Decatur county. He represented Decatur county in the 7th general assembly. In 1886 he removed to Davis City, where he had since resided.

T. J. PREVO was born in Fountain county, Ind., Sept. 1, 1836; he died in Bloomfield, Iowa, Jan. 19, 1905. In 1837 his parents came to Iowa, locating first in Van Buren county. In 1842 they removed to Davis county. For many years Mr. Prevo had been engaged in mercantile business in Bloomfield. He had served as a member of the board of supervisors, and of the city council. He represented his county in the 30th general assembly.

HARTLEY BRACEWELL was born in Yorkshire, England, March 3, 1822; he died in Corydon, Iowa, April 4, 1905. He came to America in 1849, and located on a farm in Wayne county, Iowa, in 1854. In 1868 he removed to Corydon, where he had since resided. He was a member of the 8th and 9th general assemblies. In early life he became a minister of the Methodist church and was frequently called upon to fill the pulpit as a local preacher.

A. W. MCCLURE was born in Lebanon, Ohio, June 10, 1828; he died at Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, May 20, 1905. Dr. McClure came to Mt. Pleasant in 1855 and began the practice of medicine. For years he served as trustee of the State hospital for the insane at Mt. Pleasant, and was also for some time a member of the board of commissioners of insanity for Henry county. During the civil war he was for two years surgeon of the 4th Iowa Cavalry.

STURGIS WILLIAMS was born in New York, June 1, 1837; he died in Sidney, Iowa, Jan. 18, 1905. In 1856 he settled on a farm near Percival, Fremont county, where he resided until shortly before his death. He served four years in the civil war, marching with Sherman to the sea. He was at one time a member of the board of supervisors of Fremont county, and was a member of the 25th and 26th general assemblies.

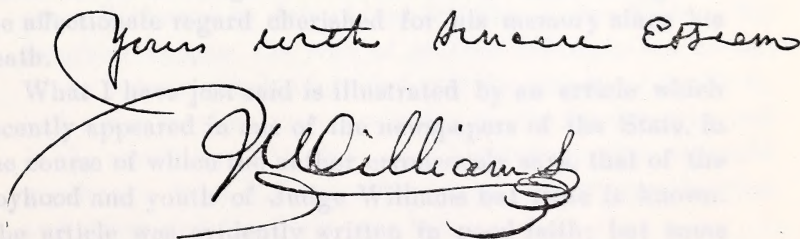
JOSEPH I. EARHART was born in Pennsylvania in 1812; he died in Bloomfield, Iowa, June 24, 1904. In 1841 he removed to Iowa and settled in Davis county. He had voted at every election since the county was organized. In 1847 he was elected a probate judge of the county and reelected in 1849; he also served as justice of the peace in the town of Bloomfield.

M. L. CREW was born in Crewsville, Hanover county, Virginia, June 13, 1835; he died at his home near Salem, Iowa, March 5, 1905. He came to Iowa with his parents in 1850. The family settled on a farm near Salem, Henry county, which remained his home to the time of his death. He was a member of the 19th general assembly.

JUDGE JOSEPH WILLIAMS

BY HON. EDWARD H. STELLER

Of the early judges who served on the bench of the Supreme Court of Iowa the memory of none has been so keenly kept alive as that of the subject of this sketch. By reason of his strongly marked individuality he was always a center of interest and observation with the people of his own time, and traditional influences have in later measure perpetuated that interest down to the present. Instances illustrating his unique traits, his versatile talents, his varied accomplishments, his keen sense of humor, his easy transition from the grave to the gay, his amusing anecdotes, his charming presence, his delightful talk, what he did and said on certain occasions, and even what others said about him, his strong sense of justice, his unbounded generosity, have been variously told and retold, orally and through newspaper and periodical for half a century. And while it is likely that some of these narrations and incidents were exaggerated, or fictitious, or colored by personal or political considerations, I am firmly of the opinion, that, taken altogether, the characteristics thus sketched are a true and valuable record of the selection in which Judge Williams was made and while living and the all-around regard for him which he enjoyed to his death.

Yours with sincere esteem


JUDGE JOSEPH WILLIAMS,

Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of Iowa Territory, 1838-1846; Chief Justice, June, 1847 to January 5, 1855.

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BY HON. EDWARD H. STILES.

Of the early judges who have adorned the bench of the Supreme Court of Iowa the memory of none has been so keenly kept alive as that of the subject of this sketch. By reason of his strongly marked individuality, he was always a center of interest and observation with the people of his own time, and traditional influences have in great measure perpetuated that interest down to the present. Instances illustrating his unique traits, his versatile talents, his varied accomplishments, his keen sense of humor, his easy transition from the grave to the gay, his amusing anecdotes, his charming presence, his delightful talks, what he did and said on certain occasions, and even what others said about him, his strong sense of justice, his unbounded generosity, have been variously told and retold, orally and through newspaper and periodical for half a century. And while it is likely that some of these narrations and incidents were overdrawn, or fictitious, or colored by personal or political considerations, I am firmly of the opinion, that, taken altogether, the characteristics they exhibit largely account for the great popular esteem in which Judge Williams was held while living and the affectionate regard cherished for his memory since his death.

What I have just said is illustrated by an article which recently appeared in one of the newspapers of the State, in the course of which the author erroneously says, that of the boyhood and youth of Judge Williams but little is known. The article was evidently written in good faith; but some of the statements therein contained, to point out which

would serve no useful purpose, were founded on mere hearsay, which is not admissible in a court of justice even when only the most trivial rights are concerned, and in this case must have been without any foundation in fact upon which to rest, as I think will clearly appear from the considerations hereinafter presented.

It was my good fortune to become acquainted with Judge Williams when I was a young man, more than forty years ago. I have ever since been interested in his personality, and have intended for a long time to give my impressions of him, from both a personal and legal standpoint, to THE ANNALS. The spirit of history, whether of individuals or events, must be the spirit of truth, and in sketching him now, it is my endeavor to draw as true and faithful a picture of him as my poor ability and limited space will permit. He was born in Huntingdon, Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, as were his brothers William and Robert. The first of these became Major William Williams—a name as familiar as a household word in Iowa—who went with the United States troops in 1850 to establish a fort where now stands the city of Fort Dodge; who, after the troops removed, purchased the site upon which that beautiful city was built, laid out the town, gave it the name it now bears, and labored a quarter of a century in its upbuilding. Through the deeply packed snow-drifts of the trackless prairies, and in the face of the most difficult conditions, he led the troops that went to the relief of the settlers at the time of the Indian massacre at Spirit Lake, and was subsequently appointed by Governor Kirkwood to defend that frontier of the State. His daughter became the wife of another distinguished Iowan, whose name is closely identified with the history of the State, and whose services were invaluable in its development and in the moulding of its laws and institutions, that splendid gentleman, John F. Duncombe, one of the strongest lawyers and ablest men the State ever had.

The other brother mentioned, Robert Williams, also removed from Pennsylvania to Iowa in an early day and for

many years was an honored citizen of Muscatine, where he died some years ago. From the daughters and a son of Robert, still residing in Muscatine, and from the only surviving child of Judge Williams, Mrs. William C. Brewster of New York, I learn, through the kindness of Judge W. F. Brannan of Muscatine, whose name and long judicial services are well known to Iowa lawyers and whose high character is a perfect guaranty of the reliability of the medium, that Joseph was born in 1801; that he was the junior of William and the senior of Robert; that their father died in 1822, when Joseph was about twenty-one years of age, and that the latter had lived at home and under the direction of his father until that time; that the children were devotedly attached to the father and he to them, and that Joseph was always distinguished for his kindness and affection.

As to just what his educational training was I am unable to say. It probably did not reach beyond that furnished by the common schools, rounded off, perhaps, by a term or two at the Academy, but in any case it must have been reasonably good, judging from the correct and virile use he made of the English language in his published opinions, in his utterances from the bench, in conversation, and on all occasions; and judging also from the fact that he was deemed sufficiently equipped to enter as a law student, soon after his father's death, the office of Chauncy Forward, one of the most celebrated lawyers in Pennsylvania. In this office he found for a fellow-student Jeremiah S. Black, who afterward became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and later Attorney-General of the United States, and established an enduring national fame as a great lawyer and a great man. Between these two students there was formed a strong personal friendship that lasted and grew stronger to the end. For a number of years after their admission they were rivals in practice at the Somerset bar, one of the strongest in the state, and that Mr. Williams was considered a formidable one by Mr. Black will be clearly shown farther along.

It is proper to note that we now see Mr. Williams in a situation most favorable to legal learning and development; his school, the office of a distinguished lawyer; his instructor, that lawyer himself; his fellow-student and friend, one of the most talented young men of the nation. How could a student as bright and intuitive as young Williams fail to legally thrive under such circumstances? That he did thrive is shown by his years of successful practice in Pennsylvania before the President placed him upon the Supreme Bench of Iowa, and by the regard in which he was held as an able lawyer by such a distinguished man as Judge Black.

After the death of that great man, his daughter, Mary Black Clayton, prepared and published a book entitled "Reminiscences of Jeremiah Sullivan Black." In this she states that her father commenced to write an autobiography which was never finished, but from which she quotes as follows: "My competitors were exceedingly formidable men; half a dozen of them achieved great reputation in public life, and some of them were well known for their talents. I need not give you any extended account of them, but I will enumerate them and mention some of their characteristics". He then proceeds to mention, first, Chauncey Forward, next, Charles Ogle. I now quote from what the daughter herself says, which comes immediately after what her father has said of Ogle in the autobiography referred to:

The next person mentioned as a rival at the Somerset bar is Joseph Williams, afterwards Chief Justice of Iowa. Many years after they had lived together in Somerset, he called on the Chief Justice of Pennsylvania at a New York Hotel. Not finding him in, he left on his table the following:

"Salutations of the Chief Justice of Iowa to the Chief Justice of Pennsylvania.

"Oh, Jere, dear Jere, I have found you at last,
Now memory, burdened with scenes of the past,
Restores me to Somerset's mountains of snow,
When you were but Jere, and I was but Joe."

She then quotes from the autobiography what her father had set down therein concerning Judge Williams as follows:

"Joseph Williams was a practising lawyer whose ready tact was very dangerous to an opponent, and he was well up in the books. After he left Somerset he became Chief Justice of Iowa, and later he was a federal judge in Kansas. He never got over his fondness for fun, but he performed his judicial duties worthily and well for he was a sincere lover of justice. These are the men whose competition I had to face; my seniors and superiors in everything that makes practical power."

In 1856 David Paul Brown, the then great criminal lawyer of Philadelphia, prepared and published a book entitled "The Forum", contained in two volumes. His references were mostly to men who had gained a reputation at the bar. From pages 375 and 376, Vol. 2, I quote the following to show that Mr. Williams was regarded as one belonging to that class, as well as to illustrate Mr. Williams himself in the role of a practitioner:

Before Mr. Williams was appointed United States Judge for the territory of Iowa, he was defending a client in the interior of Pennsylvania, against the claim of a quack doctor who professed everything and knew nothing, and who had instituted a suit for surgical services, and had marked the suit to the use of another, in order to become a witness. The following was the cross-examination.

Mr. Williams—"Did you treat the patient according to the most approved principles of surgery?" Witness—"By all means—certainly I did."

Mr. Williams—"Did you decapitate him?" Witness—"Undoubtedly I did—that was a matter of course."

Mr. Williams—"Did you perform the Caesarian operation upon him?" Witness—"Why, of course; his condition required it, and it was attended with great success."

Mr. Williams—"Did you, now Doctor, subject his person to an autopsy?" Witness—"Certainly; that was the last remedy adopted."

Mr. Williams—"Well, then, Doctor, as you performed a post-mortem operation upon the defendant, and he survived it, I have no more to ask, and if your claim will survive it, quackery deserves to be immortal."

I have thus particularized, not only for the purpose of throwing light upon the personal history of my subject and properly sketching him, but to remove doubts which have sometimes been expressed by the uninformed as to whether a man so variously gifted that he could play the violin, the

flute, the fife, sing well, lecture entertainingly, tell funny stories, and charm every company he entered by his conversation and wit, could really have had the time or inclination to become much of a lawyer before he was elevated to the bench. I do not myself think he was a plodding student, or as described by Milton, "Deep versed in books, but shallow in himself;" but that he was a well equipped and well read lawyer, there can be no manner of doubt. Judge Black put it as we have seen, that he was "well up in the books." Certainly every lawyer and presumably every layman knows what that means. Not only this; Judge Black in the unfinished autobiography referred to, declares him to have been one of the most formidable rivals he had to contend with. The foregoing would seem sufficient to forever put a quietus upon any doubts that may have been entertained on the subject of his prior qualifications.

Let us now turn to his career on the bench. Upon the organization of the territory in 1838, President Van Buren appointed as the Judges of the Supreme Court, Charles Mason, Joseph Williams, and Thomas S. Wilson, Mason being named as the Chief Justice. As the subject of the length of service of these judges and their immediate successors seems to have been somewhat mixed in the different narrations, I will quote what Judge Mason says concerning this in a manuscript relating to the Bench and Bar and Leading Public Men of Early Iowa, which he was kind enough to prepare and send to me when he learned I was collecting material for future publication on that subject. Judge Mason says:

The first information I had on the subject was that the bill organizing the new territory had passed and that I had been appointed by President Van Buren, Chief Justice, with Joseph Williams of Pennsylvania and Thomas S. Wilson of Dubuque as my associates. We were all reappointed in 1842 by President Tyler and again in 1846 by James K. Polk.

Upon the organization of the state government in December, 1846, the condition of the parties in the legislature was such that it was found impossible to elect judges or senators, and accordingly under a provision of the state constitution, which had been adopted, the territorial judges

held over as judges under the state government. In May, 1847, however, I resigned my office and Judge Williams succeeded me as Chief Justice, the vacancy being filled by the appointment of John F. Kinney, as an associate. In December, 1848, the deadlock having been removed, senators and judges were elected and Joseph Williams thereby became Chief Justice with John F. Kinney and S. C. Hastings as his associates. A new election of judges was held two years later and Joseph Williams, as Chief Justice with John F. Kinney and George Greene as his associates, became the judges of our supreme court.

I must be pardoned for saying a word, *en passant*, of that tribunal as thus constituted. Charles Mason was a man of towering intellectuality; Thomas S. Wilson, though the youngest of the three, was a decidedly able and well trained lawyer, and Joseph Williams we have already had a glimpse of. They were all men of dignified bearing on the bench, typical gentlemen of the old school. I venture to state that not any of the numerous territories organized by the government, ever presented a court more prepossessing in character and appearance or more able and efficient in execution. Their services were invaluable in the formative period of Iowa and none of them should ever be suffered to lapse into oblivion.

Joseph Williams served as Judge of the Supreme Court from 1838 to 1855, a period of about seventeen years, and the last eight years of this period as Chief Justice, when he was succeeded by Judge George G. Wright. His opinions will be found in the Reports of Morris and Greene.

After my own connection with the Supreme Court as the Reporter of its decisions had been terminated, I prepared and gave to the profession a Digest of all the decisions of that court from the earliest territorial period to that time. It became my duty to digest with care every opinion that had been delivered and published in the Reports. And I can say without hesitation and with emphasis, that if there be any one who doubts that Judge Williams was a clear-headed and able judge, let him study that judge's opinions as closely as I did in the course of that work, and his doubts will be thoroughly dispelled. Taken as a whole, they dis-

play acumen, clearness, learning and force, and some of the more important ones, remarkable intuitiveness and wonderfully quick appreciation of the points presented and the conditions surrounding them. I personally know that this estimate has been held by some of the best lawyers Iowa has had. For instance, during a recent visit to Iowa, I met at Ottumwa my old friend and co-worker, William McNett, who is well known as one of the ablest lawyers of the State. In our conversation we touched upon Judge Williams. He thereupon remarked that he had in hand an important case in which was involved a difficult question; that to properly solve it he had gone to many decisions and authorities and at last had found one that went to the bottom of the matter and contained a clearer solution of the question involved than all the others, and this was an opinion by Judge Williams in Third Greene's Report. He also recalled an incident, of which we were both witnesses, that occurred at the opening of the Supreme Court room of the new Capitol at Des Moines. Many visiting lawyers were present. Among them was Judge Samuel F. Miller of the United States Supreme Court, the greatest constitutional lawyer the nation ever had, excepting, always, John Marshall. He made some remarks on the occasion, in the course of which he referred in the most earnest and touching manner to Judge Joseph Williams. He said he regarded him as one of the clearest, most intuitive, and best judges that had ever graced the bench of the Supreme Court of Iowa, and that his decisions had operated as an important factor in properly moulding the jurisprudence of the State. What higher compliment could any judge wish for than that?*

*NOTE.—Since writing the above I have received the following letter from Mr. McNett in reply to one I wrote him on the subject, which I deem it proper to set forth in this note:

MY DEAR STILES:

I have your letter of the 23rd instant. The case I refer to is the first case in 3 G. Greene, *Taylor v. Galland*, page 1, and the particular feature of the opinion to which I was attracted, will be found on pages 20 to 25 inclusive.

Here he considers and states one of the main important principles of the law of evidence, as I conceive it, in as clear and terse a manner as it ever has been stated anywhere. You will appreciate this by consulting the leading case of *Seitz v. Breisters' Refrigerator Co.*, 141 U. S., 510.

I cannot recall with much distinctness what Justice Miller said about Judge

Of him Judge Mason says in the manuscript hereinbefore referred to, "Judge Williams was one of the most companionable and entertaining men I have ever known, and although perhaps not what would be termed a very close student, was a man of exceedingly quick parts and arrived at just conclusions as if by intuition."

In 1857 he was appointed one of the federal judges for the territory of Kansas and continued to act in that capacity until the state was admitted. He was also appointed by the President in 1863 judge of the court established at Memphis under military authority. In these positions his duties were discharged with ability.

I distinctly remember the announcement of his death before the Supreme Court in 1870 by Henry O'Connor, who was the Attorney-General of the State. In the course of his remarks, Mr. O'Connor said:

His character was above even the eulogy of gratitude. The simple story of his life is his highest eulogy. An able and learned lawyer, a just and upright judge, a patriot beyond the reach of suspicion, a citizen above reproach, an honest man, and a friend whom adversity did not frighten. It may be said of Judge Williams what can be said of few men, that he made a friend of every one with whom he came in contact and that he never lost one by desertion or neglect. His reputation and fame were national. The sunshine of life seemed to be in his keeping, and in every company of which he formed a part, he dispensed its light and warmth with a hand as lavishly generous as its sources were inexhaustible. He had no thought of the morrow, cared not what he should eat or wherewith he should be clothed. His faith in humanity was less only than his faith in God.

Judge George G. Wright on behalf of the court said:

By the aid of conversational powers unsurpassed, and social qualities which charmed and captivated the high and the low, the learned and the unlearned, and yet making no one the less mindful of the sacred duties and obligations of life, he made impressions which will last while the State endures, and left monuments which will remain so long as our judicial

Williams at the dedication of our new Supreme Court room, and do not remember, and have no data to refresh my recollection, as to just when that was.

I do remember of his speaking of Judge Williams in very high terms, as a man of culture and high legal attainments. He also spoke of his comprehensive grasp of legal principles, and the clear and terse manner in which he stated them in his opinions. I do not think there was any one of the Iowa judges to whom he referred in higher terms of praise and commendation than to Judge Williams.

Yours truly,

WM. MCNETT.

records shall be read. Such a life is a proud part of our State and professional inheritance.

A multitude of amusing stories have been told about him which will be reserved for a more appropriate occasion. I cannot refrain, however, from relating one that illustrates his kindness of heart, and another, the charm of his conversation and manners. This one is from Judge Brannan:

The term of the Supreme Court had closed at Iowa City, Judge Williams had paid his hotel bill and had left barely enough money to take him to Muscatine. Travel was then by stage and passes were unknown. A man whom Judge Williams did not know, came to the Judge in apparent distress and asked him to give him money to go to Muscatine, saying that it was necessary that he get there at the first opportunity. The Judge looked at him for a moment, put his hand in his pocket and handed him the money he needed for his own passage, and then proceeded to borrow the amount he had just given to the other man.

This is the other one. The appointment of the judges in 1838 was but for four years. When that period had expired John Tyler had become President by the death of General Harrison. As some opposition was being made to the reappointment, Judge Williams was sent to Washington to look after the matter. It was before the days of railroads and the way was made partly by boat and partly by stage. One morning in the latter part of the voyage he found seated opposite to him in the stage a handsome and charming lady. During the long journey they naturally became acquainted, or engaged in conversation. They were congenial and, in a social sense, mutually attractive, in so much that the Judge disclosed to her his name and the object of his visit to Washington; but when the lady reached her stopping place, Baltimore, and they parted company, the Judge had not learned her name and did not know who she was. After reaching Washington, he sought an interview with the President who received him with great cordiality, and proceeded to converse with him in the most affable manner. The Judge was embarrassed at this unexpected effusion and personal kindness, but after a while ventured to suggest the nature of his business. "Oh that matter has already been attended to and my

secretary will hand you your commission," said the President. "But," said Williams, after recovering himself sufficiently, "I should not want the position unless my associates were also reappointed." "Oh, that has been attended to also and their commissions will be handed you along with your own," said the President. "And, by the way," he resumed, "there is a lady acquaintance of yours in the next room who would like to see you." Whereupon the folding doors were opened and Judge Williams was led into the presence of Mrs. Tyler, who was delighted to meet him again. She had arranged matters in advance with her husband, the President, and the Judge went his way home rejoicing.

The fact is, Judge Williams, by reason of his great versatility, was a genius, and if time and space would permit, I could more thoroughly demonstrate it. It has been said that the drafts which genius draws upon posterity, although they may not always be honored so soon as they are due, are sure to be paid with compound interest in the end, and if I have in this limited attempt even faintly verified the truth of that statement, I shall be content. Joseph Williams was not only an able judge who served well the State, but a kind and compassionate gentleman, whose sweetly fragrant memory will be affectionately cherished by the few cotemporaries who still survive him, and by them and through their efforts be wafted to their posterity. Of him may be fittingly said what was said of Charles York, Lord Chancellor of England: "His moral and intellectual worth and legal renown, and, more than all, his gentle goodness and attaching qualities of heart, will shed a calm and placid light over his memory, like the pure ray of some distant star which the mists of earth for a time obscured from our view."

KANSAS CITY, Mo., August 1, 1905.

NOTE.—Mr. Stiles, author of the foregoing article, was Reporter of the Iowa Supreme Court, 1867-74. See note on p. 624, Vol. III, 3d Series, ANNALS OF IOWA.

THE SIMON CAMERON INDIAN COMMISSION OF 1838.

BY IDA M. STREET.

(*Concluded from July Annals.*)

On January 8, 1839, Mr. Street writes more fully to Major Hitchcock as follows:

The cases of Messrs. Peon and Oliva will show the amount shaved off the sums allowed them by Mr. Broadhead; and I will add another case of a discharged soldier, named Vunk. I am unable to say how much Vunk was allowed by the commissioners, yet a reference to the name in their returns will show. This case of Vunk* is on the information of Mr. Sam Gilbert, a very respectable citizen of this place, and well known to you. Vunk came to this place, sometime in July, with a Winnebago squaw, who had a half-breed child born previous to the treaty of 1837, and lived in an old dilapidated house belonging to Mr. Lockwood, next door to Mr. Gilbert.

Vunk was subject to hard drinking, and told Mr. Gilbert he came to get a part of the \$100,000 given to half-breeds by the Winnebagoes for his child; that he had sold his claim to Mr. Broadhead, and would go as soon as the commissioners decided on the claim; that he was to get \$400, to be paid in Mr. Lockwood's store, and as soon as he could get it, he intended to leave the squaw and go off. Mr. Gilbert saw Vunk getting goods afterwards at Lockwood's, and V. came to T. P. Street's store with orders from Lockwood for goods. Vunk was frequently drunk, and about the time the commissioners left here, V. quit the place, leaving the squaw and child with the Indians; nor is it known where Vunk went. The squaw and child are dependent for food and clothing on their own exertions, and are with a hunting party of Indians on Turkey river. Every cent of the sum divided to this half-breed child is lost forever to the child; the claim, and the money paid to him he drank out or carried away, abandoning the squaw and the child to the care of her people. What good has this done a half-breed?

There are doubtless many similar cases; but as most of the half-breeds live at Green Bay and the Portage, I have been unable to see them, and no information can be obtained by letter, for few of the half-breeds can write, and a letter would be carried to some trader, or to Boilvin, who is too much involved in the frauds to suffer any information to be given.

I am promised a few leaves from a docket, found in the quarters occupied by the commissioners here after their departure, which I

*This is Ponk on one list and Vark on another, and the amount is \$600.

will enclose if I can get them. On them may be seen, I am told, that every case to which Mr. Broadhead is marked as attorney for the half-breeds, is in the first class, and of course entitled to the largest amount. The classification of the claims was certainly, in itself, unjust, and at once furnished the means of the most shameful speculation. If there had been no classification, the half-breeds, ignorant as they are, could have counted up their numbers, and, by dividing the \$100,000 into that many parts, would see how much would be coming to each one; but placed in three classes, made by arbitrary distinctions unknown to the half-breeds, they and every other person (not in the confidence of the commissioners) were alike in the dark. Some of the first class were quarter-bloods, some still farther off, and some of the third class were full half-bloods.

The commissioners pretended to class them in proportion to their *ability to be useful to the Indians*; this, too, depending upon such information as they could get from Dousman, Lockwood, Boilvin, and Rolette, who are mostly engaged in the same speculations and impositions upon the half-breeds. Mr. Marsh, (a respectable merchant of this place) partner of Bugbee, said to me that he knew not many persons of the half-breeds, but that one, a minor, was allowed \$6,000, and, he understood, had sold his or her claim to Mr. Broadhead. Mr. Marsh further said, that when half-breeds first came to this place to attend upon the commissioners, the general opinion expressed by them was, that each one would get about \$1,000 of the \$100,000 to their share. They said there was about a hundred persons of the relations. But very soon he heard of the classification and the arbitrary rule of classing, by the commissioners—not on the principles of the laws of the United States, according to blood, but according to the possible usefulness that the person might be to the Winnebago tribe, to be judged by the commissioners, dependent on information obtained from the before mentioned *packed* source. This confounded all calculations amongst the relations and the whites (except those in the confidence of the commissioners) the initiated few. The consequence was, the relations who were in the *dark* were persuaded by Broadhead, aided by Dousman, Brisbois, Boilvin, Lockwood, etc., that they would get *very little*, and strongly urged by all these advisers to sell to Broadhead; and the same management deterred merchants and other capitalists from coming into contact with a man domiciled with the commissioners at private lodgings, who appeared the confidential friend and adviser of the commissioners, and, if he chose, could and occasionally did, let persons know the decisions of the commissioners long before they were known to any other person. So deeply were the half-breeds and many other claimants impressed with the belief that the commissioners and Mr. Broadhead were acting in concert, that they generally spoke of Mr. Broadhead as one of the commissioners.

One evening Mr. Broadhead came into a boarding house with the commissioners and sat for some time figuring on a paper, and exclaimed: "Not a bad business; they amount to \$60,000, which divided by four, gives \$15,000 to each—not a bad business." Mr. Broadhead did not explain further, possibly as there were several other persons in the room; but Marsh suspected from all appearances, he meant himself, one or both the commissioners, and Messrs. Dousman and Lockwood; if the commissioners were concerned, Dousman, Broadhead, and the commissioners; if Cameron alone of the commissioners, then Dousman, Broadhead, Cameron and Lockwood made the four. Boilvin and Brisbois were evidently merely used, and found their account in the passage of such accounts as they laid in against the Indians, or got some small sop; and with this last class Lockwood may be numbered as being bought by something in proportion to their limited headpieces.

Mr. Marsh, though, thinks \$60,000 was too small an amount, if Mr. Broadhead purchased *all* the half-breeds; so he thinks there were four persons engaged in Broadhead's speculation, amounting to \$60,000, and that Dousman and Lockwood had made speculations separately. At this place I can certainly hear of but one case unsold;* that is a half-breed, named Mitchell, for whom Dr. Moore drew as agent, and the draft was placed in my hands by T. P. Street, to be used by me to refund some money advanced by me for Moore & Street, and assigned to Pratte, Chouteau & Co.; this is \$600.† The half-breed lives with Dr. Moore, and is about eight or nine years old. The case of Mrs. Campbell (late Sophia Palen) is drawn to Dousman, agent for Palen, or Campbell, and Dousman said is for \$600; and in my hearing he told Campbell he could let him have but \$300; for, said Dousman, "If I had not attended to your case you would not have got a cent." Moore and T. P. Street are merchants trading as Moore & Street.

The information given is, principally, from the following sources, to-wit: Peon's case from Mr. Peon, the father, and Mr. Oliva, all living here. Oliva's case from Oliva. The other cases given by Oliva. Vunk case, Sam Gilbert, Palen or Campbell's case, of my own knowledge; Campbell and wife, Lower Rapids. Broadhead's declaration of the \$60,000, Mr. Marsh, living here. The other information is from Mr. Marsh, and the general suspicions of the speculations of the commissioners from various persons here, who all seem to think that from all appearances B. and the commissioners were concerned and acted together.

The secretary, Mr. Featherstonehaugh, said that the commissioners did not care a fig whether the disbursing agent paid their drafts for expenses or not; Gen. Cameron had brought upwards of \$60,000 along with him, of his own money. Mr. B. made a similar

*That is, unsold to Broadhead.

† The exact amount in the award.

declaration in Mr. Boyd's presence. What could this \$60,000 be brought here for? And does not the amount strangely correspond with Mr. B.'s soliloquy about the \$60,000 divided by four making \$15,000—"not a bad business?" One thing is certain: \$100,000 was to have been distributed to the half-breeds. Drafts for the whole amount have been made and to whom? And who has the legal right over this large amount? The half-breeds? No. Mr. Broadhead, Mr. Dousman, Mr. Lockwood, etc. Some few thousand dollars in notes of a bank in Middletown, Penn., of which S. Cameron is cashier, were paid for these claims to half-breeds here; and I can hear of no other obligations even for the payment of any more here. This is a strange disappearance of \$100,000. Mr. Dousman said to me that there was not \$1,000 of the drafts for parts of the \$100,000 in Prairie du Chien, for they went to St. Louis on the same boat as the commissioners. Mr. Dousman further said today (8th Jan., 1839): "Major Hitchcock did wrong to suspend the payments, and he will be made to see it, and feel it, too. I have ordered all my cases to be protested legally, and have no doubt about it I will get the accounts and expenses of protest." This was said in my hearing, in presence of several gentlemen. At the same place in a conversation with Mr. Rolette, he said: "It would have been well enough to take security of persons to whom the money of half-breed minors was paid; for at St. Peters, in paying half-breed Sioux, some \$5,000 was paid to Stambaugh, but little of which will ever go to the half-breeds." I did not reply.

The request made in a former letter, that the information given should remain with *you only*, proceeded from a desire not to subject myself to the persecution it might raise, without any benefit to the half-breeds, and not from a want of evidence of the truth of the information. Now if anything can be done to obtain justice for the half-breeds, I freely give you leave to use whatever I have written, in such a way as may best subserve the cause of justice and right. To me it seems base and unpardonable, that men chosen by the president, and sent at a great expense so far, to see justice done to the Indians and to the half-breeds, should suffer such speculations to go on under their noses, as it were, by a lawyer coming with them from the same portion of the country they inhabit, and living all the time with the commissioners and in close intimacy with them. Even if the commissioners were not interested in the speculations, to suffer it, and in such a way, too, is monstrous. Yet, the only money paid out was the notes of the Middletown bank, of which Gen. Cameron is cashier; and his friend, the secretary of the commissioners, boasted Gen. C. had brought on \$60,000; and no other bank notes were flush about this place at this time, but miserable depreciated paper of Wisconsin.

I regret that Mr. Marsh went into the country and I failed to see him, as I expected today; when he promised, if practicable, to

get the leaves of the docket and hand them over to me. If I cannot see Mr. M. before the mail closes, they shall come in the next mail, three days hence. In my conversation with gentlemen here about the commissioners, they unite in an opinion that there was too close an intimacy between Mr. B. and the commissioners for them to remain ignorant of Mr. B.'s speculations; and they think Mr. B. knew too much of the state of their decision before being known to any other persons, for the commissioners to be free from some interest in the business carried on by Mr. B.; at least, such seems decidedly the case as to Gen. C. Mr. Murray is described as a nervous hypochondriac, of extremely singular manners, and of unequalled irritable mind, though generally distant and gentlemanly in his deportment. Public mind here seems to favor the opinion that Murray was innocent, possibly, of any pecuniary interest in the speculations; but, from his disposition declined prying into Gen. C.'s conduct, or thrusting himself forward as an upright man would have done to save a parcel of ignorant fellow creatures from being so cruelly fleeced by Gen. C. and Mr. B.

The half-breeds, too, thought there was no relief—the offers of Mr. B. or nothing. These were men sent by the president, stood high in his favor, and what they did would be approved. Besides, the Sioux commissioners came down at the time, and the whites who had been up to prey upon them, all united in approbation of the plan of classification, and some declared in my presence that this (the classification) was made in obedience to the orders of the secretary of war, which Mr. Dousman assured me he had seen. All this taken together by unlettered, ignorant half-breeds, brought them to the conclusion to take anything Mr. B. offered; for they considered it was that or nothing. Many had come more than 100 miles and remained here on expense for a long time, and had no money to pay; they were forced to sell to get away. The time taken to simply divide \$100,000 between less than 100 half-breeds was out of all reason, and there is no apology for making the half-breeds remain here until the claimants for debts should come in and their claims be decided upon. The half-breeds might have been acted upon, and their business completed in a few days; and yet, the commissioners kept them here, and their cases undecided, near 70 or 80 days. They did not even know what they were adjudged to receive until a few days before the departure of the commissioners from this place. When they learned (partially at last) how deep they had been shaved, they began to murmur so loud that Mr. B. in Peon's case, had to plank up \$300 in addition to the sum he had given him for the two claims of his children (two minors), who may or may not get the \$1,100 given by Mr. B.; yet the commissioners gave their certificate to pay Mr. B. \$3,200 for those two claims.

P. S. A few days past, Mr. Lockwood said he felt perfectly sure his part of the \$100,000 would be paid; for when the commissioners got to Washington, they would induce the Secretary of War to have all paid, for, said he, Mr. Broadhead has too deep a stake in the half-breed claims for the commissioners to see him suffer. I feel no fear for the event.

JOS. M. STREET.

The classification which Mr. Street so severely criticised was really in accordance with the instructions of the Secretary of War, as shown by the following from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Sioux Commissioners, and quoted to the Winnebago Commissioners:

"In determining the amount which each claimant (half-breed) shall receive, your attention will be directed to the following considerations: The degree of relationship, and the value and extent of services or supplies rendered to the Indians, or the capacity, disposition and intention, to render them in the future, as these constitute the entire foundation for this provision in the treaty."

There could be no objection, *legally*, to the classification. Nor do the Commissioner of Indian Affairs or the Secretary of War make any.

On November 19, Major Hitchcock writes to Mr. Crawford, stating that his duties as a distributing officer close at the end of the month, and asking for leave to come to Washington.

It is my wish to pay a short visit to my relatives and friends in Mobile, Alabama, where a short furlough was voluntarily relinquished for services in Florida in 1835, since which time I have been constantly and laboriously on duty.

In view of the preceding facts and considerations, I respectfully request that my continuance here be authorized until I can collect my vouchers, which periods I will terminate by my certificate on honor; and that then I be called to Washington to settle my accounts, with leave to travel by the way of Mobile on a visit of two months to that place.

Should you deem your own authority insufficient for this, I hope you will not think it unreasonable that I request you to apply to the Hon. the Secretary of War for the necessary instructions.

Very respectfully,

Yo. Obt. Servant,

E. A. HITCHCOCK.

Maj. 8th Infy.

Major Hitchcock's letters of November 6 and 8, called forth an order from Mr. Crawford that the payment of the half-breed claims be stopped. This is shown by Major Hitchcock's letter of December 3.

OFFICE DISBG. AGT. INDIAN DEPT.

St. Louis, Dec. 3, 1838.

To

T. HARTLEY CRAWFORD, Esq.,

Commr. of Indian Affairs.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21st ulto. directing that no payments be made from the fund for Winnebago half-breeds without further instructions and requesting me to communicate any further information I may have on the subject of the mode of payment directed by the late commission at Prairie du Chien.

Since my reports upon this subject, there has not been time to communicate with any one at Prairie du Chien; but I have a letter from General Street, dated at that place November 1st after the commission had left there and before he could have heard of any proceedings. General Street says, in reference to the Winnebago commission: "The course pursued by the commission has been very different from that of Mr. Fleming at Rock Island. From the statement of correct persons here the most shameful bribery and favoritism has been practiced."

In a matter of so much importance, involving the reputation of gentlemen honored with the commission of the government for the execution of a high trust and effecting the interests of many individuals who have confided in the integrity of the government agents, it is of the utmost consequence that nothing should be received as decisive to the prejudice of such interests without the fullest assurance of necessity.

I mention this consideration to show that I am aware of the responsibility under which I express my satisfaction with the order of the 21st ulto. and recommend that it be continued until definite reports can be received from the parties interested at and in the neighborhood of Prairie du Chien. There is, however, one claimant living in this city to whom I had sent the order of the 20th with the notice of my readiness to pay him in his own proper person. Should he make his appearance good faith will require me to make the payment. This I presume may be done without injustice to any one. Those who received drafts in their own right might also be paid the amounts awarded them, for they cannot be entitled to less, though it is possible they should receive more.

I have the means and shall employ them of procuring accurate

information from Prairie du Chien and the results will be reported without delay.

I am very respectfully,

Your Obdt. Servt.,

E. A. HITCHCOCK,

Maj. M. D. Agt.

There was a further effect of this complaint, for January 28, 1839, T. Hartley Crawford wrote to Hon. J. R. Poinsett, Secretary of War, objecting to the acceptance of the Commissioners' report. As to the excuse that they could not find books kept by the traders, he says, "other commissioners have found proofs and no difficulty imposed itself that was not overcome." He further shows that the traders who were to profit by this loose way of granting claims were the ones who suggested this method to the commissioners. In regard to the half-breed claims he says:

There is a vital particular in which, in my judgment, the instructions are not wholly violated, but which, if this branch of the report could be sanctioned, would divert \$100,000 from the quarter-blood Winnebagoes, and put it in the pockets of white men! The instructions point plainly to the payment of the money to the Indians, and if they did not, it seems to me the appearance by attorney in fact, and the granting of certificates to those representatives opened so wide an entrance to fraud that I cannot repress expression of my surprise that such a course should have been deemed proper. The money was to be paid to the respective persons entitled to it, except in instances of minors, orphans and incompetents. The execution of the treaty, in either its spirit or letter, forbade any other procedure, and yet, out of 92 Indians of mixed blood, the report shows that only 13 received certificates for their own money, either by themselves or parents; of the remaining 79, certificates were granted on 60 claims to attorneys in fact, and only 19 to trustees. Where was the necessity for these attorneys? Are they not assigners of these claims? I have no doubt of it. . . . The Indians probably received a mere pittance for undoubted rights, previously ascertained, about which no agency was necessary nor service required, and must not be deprived of the benefit intended them by the treaty.

This is endorsed by the Secretary of War and the statement is made that a new commission is to be appointed.

February 16, 1839, the commissioners present a defense, the chief point of which was that they had done exactly as

the Sioux commissioners did, and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs had accepted those reports.

In reply to the charge of paying money to an attorney instead of to the half-breeds themselves, the commissioners say that as the half-breeds were not many of them present the money had to be paid to somebody and that the parties to whom they were paid were respectable. No facts are given, however, to prove how many half-breeds were really present. So that this excuse has no support in fact. Moreover, both Mr. Street and Mr. Merrell speak as if all half-breeds entitled to money were present.

The report says further:

Under ordinary circumstances, we should have thought that, in a new and wild country, the claimants were fortunate in being so respectably represented. But the commissioner says that they were assigners of the cases they represented. We ask, where is the proof to sustain this assertion? We have seen none. And here we take occasion to assert, in the most unqualified manner, that until after the awards were made in favor of the mixed bloods, and the certificates delivered, we had no knowledge that speculations had been made by attorneys in fact in those claims, and we challenge contradiction.

But, suppose the fact had been known to us; what power had we to prevent it? It may be said that we might have cut down the sum awarded to the sums paid by the speculators. But all cases, without exceptions, as far as we remember, were in the hands of attorneys in fact; and the instructions required that all the money should be distributed. Besides, if it was necessary to employ attorneys, it was also necessary that they should be paid.

This is certainly a naive defense and worthy one of the brainiest politicians of his time.

To the charge that they paid in certificates, they answer that the money was not there. It does not occur to them that they might have given the certificates to the half-breeds instead of the attorneys, and had the money sent up at once from St. Louis as they were going down there. Of course, the commissioners were ready to swear to anything to shield themselves. They produced affidavits from men in the west to the effect that Dousman and others concerned were hon-

est men. Dousman was a partner in the American Fur Company. He could find plenty of interested parties to swear for him. They also produced statements from men in the Indian country stating that the half-breeds concerned were voters and intelligent men and could sign away claims if they wished. And Simon Cameron obtained letters from his secretary, Mr. Featherstonehaugh, and Messrs. Satterlee Clark, Jr., and Mr. Boilvin, as to the justice of his awards at Prairie du Chien. These men were his partners in this business.

Mr. Boilvin says: "I have received letters from Prairie du Chien since I left; they all manifest their satisfaction of your proceedings with the exception of Major Boyd and T. P. Street, with whom the commissioners had some personal difficulties."

What these difficulties were does not appear from the letters on either side, nor is there any other reference to them.

By the way, this letter of Mr. Boilvin's is written in a good style and without mistakes in spelling or use of capitals, and is dated at Washington city, while one written by him to Thomas Street and given in this article verbatim from the original is of a different style. Could this letter have been written by a better scholar and signed by Mr. Boilvin?

In answering the question, "Who were the attorneys in fact?" the commissioners reply, "We have no list before us at present; but we are under the impression that they were men of the highest standing in the country—the attorney-general of Wisconsin (H. S. Baird), a lawyer of eminence from Mackinac, another from Philadelphia (Broadhead), a person holding a responsible employment under the War Department at Ft. Winnebago (Clark), and another at Ft. Crawford (Dr. Moore), and as well as we recollect, one or two intelligent and respectable merchants."

The list, however, shows that the attorneys in fact were Boilvin, Broadhead, Dousman and Satterlee Clark. Baird's name does not appear on the list; and Moore was trustee for one case only, that referred to by Mr. Street.

Major Hitchcock in defense of his action in not paying the money at St. Louis as demanded by the commissioners, says in a letter to the Department dated at Washington, March 12, 1839, that although he had not the money on hand for the purpose on September 11, he sent from another fund the money for the half-breed Sioux to St. Peters as there might not be another chance to transmit it. The Winnebago money had not come and he did not supply it, as he thought boats were going so frequently to the Prairie that it could be sent at any time.

He says in his instructions to Mr. Pfister, the special disbursing agent at St Peters, September 10, 1838:

The commissioners have been directed to decide upon the half-breed claims under the Sioux treaty, . . . it seems important that payment should immediately follow the decision; otherwise the claimants may disperse. . . . You will therefore place in the hands of Lieut. Whitehorn \$110,000 in specie, for payment, under 2d Par. 2d Art. of the treaty with the Sioux of 1837, advising him that it is the express directions from this office that no part of this money be paid to any proxy, to any person holding a receipt, or pretending in any manner to represent a claimant. That the money be paid only to a claimant in his own person, and then only on the requisition of the commissioners, countersigned by the Indian agent.

He knew that these conditions had not been observed at Prairie du Chien and he refused to pay attorneys or third parties. Mr. Cameron in his defense says that he cannot see how the money could have been distributed except through attorneys. Major Hitchcock, as distributing agent, seems to know how it could be placed through government paymasters in the very hands of the claimants. The commissioners do not seem to have had sufficient confidence in the regular officers of the Indian division of the War Department to trust any money to their charge. It would seem natural that men whose official duties kept them in the Indian country would know more about the half-breeds and to whom the money could safely be paid, than commissioners who had spent only two months there, and an attorney who lived in Pennsylvania.

While in Washington the winter and spring of '39, Major Hitchcock interested Horace Everett of Vermont in the matter. Mr. Everett, in the House of Representatives February 19, 1839, offered the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Secretary of War be directed to lay before this house a statement of the proceedings of the department in the execution of the 1st and 2d provisions of the 4th article of the treaty of Nov. 1, 1837, with the Winnebago Indians and copies of all correspondence relating thereto, and also a statement of any information received relating to any speculations or alleged misconduct of any person or persons employed in the execution of said provisions; and copies of all correspondence relating thereto.

Amended as follows:

And that the report made on the subject by the commissioners of Indian affairs and decision of secretary therein be referred to a committee.

Mr. Bell was chairman of this committee, and March 1, the papers were placed before them.

It is very natural that these men who had been caught in a scandalous transaction should attack their accusers. Mr. Street, who was only an Indian Agent, had nothing but his reputation as an honest man to back him. He practically stood alone at Prairie du Chien, which was little more than an American Fur Company trading post.

When feeling ran highest over the matter in Prairie du Chien, Major Hitchcock, in a letter from Washington to Mr. Street, dated March 17, 1839, says:

Your uninvited sentiments and views in relation to the proceedings of the commissioners has given you a standing in the opinions of both (Sec. of War and the Com. of Ind. Affairs). I took care to let them know that your first two letters to me—parts of which I have furnished—were the results of your individual feelings.

In your subsequent formal reports, which are on file and in course of printing by order of the *House*, you are severe upon sundry people about Prairie du Chien.

You and myself must sustain the brunt of the war against the corruptions at the Prairie, but we have the President, Sec. and Com. (of Ind. Affairs at Washington) and I verily believe all of Congress to sustain us. We can afford to be assailed. As to the white claimants, I know nothing and have never said anything; but for the half-

When aroused by an act of injustice, Mr. Street's indignation glowed at white heat, and he was liable to do rash and impolitic acts. Hence Major Hitchcock's injunction to keep cool.

What Marsh intended denying as stated in this letter, was explained in a letter from Agent Street to the *Missouri Republican*, July 25, 1839:

I presumed he [Dousman] had engaged with Mr. Broadhead in purchasing half-breed claims, as B. in a soliloquy had spoken of "\$60,000 divided by four makes \$15,000—no bad business."

Although Mr. Marsh certifies he was too sick to be at Taintor's tavern during the stay of the commissioners at Prairie du Chien and that, in our *social conversation* he had not mentioned Mr. B.'s soliloquy, no one will for a moment believe that I manufactured the statement. I will not be positive, but I think Mr. M. told it as coming from some person boarding with Taintor at the time.

I appeal to the returns of the Com'rs to sustain the opinion I have put forth in relation to the half-breed claims, and to the evidence I have in my correspondence adduced, and which is not denied.

Apropos of Mr. Dousman's connection with this affair, Gen. H. H. Sibley, formerly an agent for the American Fur Company, says in his memoirs of Hercules L. Dousman, in the Minnesota Hist. Coll. Vol. III, p. 197, that the Hon. Simon Cameron when acting as Commissioner to settle the debts of the Winnebagoes received material aid from Mr. Dousman in settling these accounts. He also quotes a eulogy on Mr. Dousman which Senator Cameron delivered upon the floor of the Senate.

Major Hitchcock also says in the letter of June 11, "Gen. Brooke is not pleased with your inference that Dousman had been talking with him about the money, but you only gave opinions and could not have intended disrespect."

It appears from a letter to Thos. Street from J. M. Street that he thought Gen. Brooke was to blame for sending the money intended for the half-breeds back to St. Louis. It will be remembered that he speaks of Gen. Brooke coming into the office of McKissack with Dousman, when the money was delivered to the quartermaster.

Agent Street says:

As to Gen. Brooke I have every respect for him as a brave soldier and feel pained that he happened to be mentioned in such company. Yet in giving the details of fact, as to the disposition of the \$100,000—it became necessary to screen a subordinate officer into whose hands I paid the money, from censure in taking the money to St. Louis which had been ordered to be disbursed at Prairie du Chien, and was turned over to him, to be disbursed (under Major Hitchcock's instructions to Doc. Reynolds) which instructions I handed with the money. I certainly did not intend any disrespect to Gen. Brooke, but detailed the facts as he and Mr. McKissack will remember they occurred. In giving my supposition on the facts, if I *erred* I regret it as to Gen. Brooke. Though if he ever makes oath that he was not operated upon by Mr. D. in the order to Mr. Mc. from what cause did he give that order? The Sec. of War ordered the money to be disbursed to half-breeds and agents at Prairie du Chien. Major H. sent it for that purpose to P. du C. and I paid it as money belonging to the Ind. Dept. to the Quarter Master and the Military Commander directed the Qr. Master to take the money back to St. Louis. And Gen. B. and Mr. D. coming together induced my conclusion. Now was not this a natural conclusion when Mr. D. had just been with me endeavoring to induce me to send the money to St. Louis, which I refused. And how did Gen. B. know I had brought the \$100,000 and *that* the money, the \$100,000, I was paying to Mr. Mc.? I had only arrived a few hours before, and went to Mr. Mc.'s office and for the first time disclosed the fact to him a few minutes before; gave him Maj. H.'s letter and proceeded to pay over the money. How then could Gen. B. know what money it was, and why send it back to St. Louis if not induced to do so by some information from Mr. D.?

The fight did not stop with the adjournment of Congress, as shown by the following letter from Thos. Street to his father, August 5, 1839.

Dear Father:

Since my last letter to you I have heard some matters which are important to you, particularly in the controversy between Dousman, Lockwood & Co., and yourself.

Gov. Horner (John A. Horner, late Sec. of the Ter. of Wis.) came here a few days since and in a conversation with me informed me that Maj. Hitchcock had written a letter to a friend at Green Bay last spring, requesting that friend to collect evidences of fraud in the settlement of the claims by the Comm'rs, Cameron and Murray, and that this person had employed Horner to take 5 or 6 affidavits wh. were sent to Maj. Hitchcock some time since. The affidavits

were from half-breeds at Green Bay and go to charge *Boilvin*, Broadhead, and the Com. with improper acts, implicating also H. L. Dousman in a positive manner as a speculator.

One was the affidavit of Jos. Pauquette, a relation of the late Pierre Pauquette; the substance was as follows: Boilvin came and told him that he had better sell to Broadhead, that the money would not be here for a long time, that the half-breeds would all be classified and the probability was that he would get but little unless he sold, and he finally agreed to take one-fourth, which was about \$1,000 or \$1,500 for [in place of] about \$4,000 or \$4,500. He (Pauquette) was then sent to Dousman, who paid him the money, principally, if not entirely, in his Wisconsin Bank notes. He then made a power of attorney authorizing Broadhead to receive the money which should be awarded to him and went before Messrs. Cameron and Murray in company with Broadhead. The power of att. was exhibited, the matter talked over and Pauquette was informed that all was right by the Com'rs themselves. The other affidavits state something near the same thing though as I am informed stronger matters. . . .

Dousman, Lockwood and all hands are waiting for the Comm. (Mr. Fleming) who has not yet arrived; they are now too busy to say anything further on the *claim* subject or against you.

As stated in the report of the Secretary of War in January, 1839, a new commissioner was appointed to look over the half-breed claims. This was Mr. Fleming, who had acted as Commissioner in the Sac and Fox adjustment the year before. There had been no complaint then; with Agent Street and George Davenport at Rock Island he had been guarded from the kind of temptation that would assail him at Prairie du Chien. Mr. Street in a letter to his son, September 6, 1839, says:

Fleming is a correct and clean man and will do what he thinks right.

And in another place:

Dousman is a wily dog and will deceive Fleming if he is not guarded. I suspect Maj. Hitchcock is at Ft. Winnebago on a court martial and will be at Prairie du Chien (when the Com. arrives). He is a sterling man and can be depended upon.

Now from what source could Dousman obtain the remark as to my expecting the Com. appointment? I never did; nor could anything I said be so construed.

Mr. Street was wrong in his suspicion that Major Hitchcock would be at Prairie du Chien when Mr. Fleming was

there. Whether Major Hitchcock was at Ft. Winnebago in September, and did not stop at Prairie du Chien on his way down I have no means of knowing, but the commission closed this sitting October 14, and October 17, Major Hitchcock writes from Washington to Mr. Street:

My Dear General:

I had a long conversation today with Mr. Crawford and took occasion to speak of the efforts made by your enemies to injure you. Being myself acquainted with some of the particulars, I went into detail and had the pleasure of hearing Mr. Crawford express his entire satisfaction. I told him the circumstances relative to the \$100 referred to by Lockwood, for I very well remember the matter, as General, then Colonel, Taylor explained it to me four or five years ago. I also explained the particulars regarding the Sac and Fox half-breed money and told him the bond was in his own office, which could speak for itself. I am confident you have no occasion to give yourself a moment's concern. It is doubtless unpleasant to have the papers bandying one's name about, but I have heard numberless people speak of the Winnebago affair and of the part you took in it, and at the same time sneer at the efforts made to injure you, and have never heard a single individual express a doubt of your integrity. The only wonder expressed in regard to the business was that you had the courage to brave a parcel of sharpers who "as a matter of course" would attack you.

The following account of the new Commissioner's proceedings is interesting, as showing how futile "investigations" were; not very different from some of them now:

PRAIRIE DU CHIEN, Oct. 28, 1839.

Dear Father:

The commissioner Mr. Fleming closed his business on the 14th inst. and left that evening for Washington or home. He re-examined the half-breed claims, made his award, and had the money paid to each person entitled to receive it. Broadhead's brother received the amounts paid last year with an average advance of 15 per cent. In the claim* cases he received and filed such as were presented together with the evidence and determined not to decide upon them here, but took them with him for the purpose (as I suppose) of submitting them to the Com'rs of Ind. Affairs before he makes his decision. This I do not know, as I do not think he made known his intention with regard to them. Having now stated briefly the heads of the matter I proceed to particulars.

The most of the claimants in both cases arrived here early in July and waited anxiously for Mr. Fleming until nearly the last of

* Traders' claims.

that month, when a notice was received and posted up, stating that he would be here and ready to commence business on the 6th of Aug. He did not, however, arrive until about the middle or last of that month. As soon as he came he commenced receiving claims in the half-breed cases and continued that matter until it was finished, or the awards were made. It then became necessary to wait a few days for the Indians to come in, and that interval was employed in receiving debt claims, and receiving proof, etc. On the 16th of Sept. the Indians assembled at the office of the Comr. and the half-breed business was resumed by submitting the names of each half and qt.-breed on the list to the Indians separately. They agreed to all on the list except 3 or 4 who they declared were not their relations, and not entitled to receive money. These cases were Kuthoko, Caroline Harney, her daughter, Mary Gunn and one other that I do not now recollect. The Com., however, in making his award afterwards included these persons. I presume he had proof enough to satisfy his mind, notwithstanding the desire of the Indians. It may be well here to notice an incident which occurred this day (Sept. 16) in the council. So soon as the Com. explained to the Indians the object for which he had assembled them, one of the chiefs arose and made a speech, the substance of which was that Boilvin was appointed by them last year to look after their interests. They wished him to do so this year, and they desired the Com. to give them a list of the names of all the half and qt.-breeds that they might get Boilvin to look over and read it to them, and they would assemble again tomorrow and settle the business. The Com. replied that if they demanded such list he felt bound to give it to them and they might get Boilvin or any other gentleman to read it to them, but strongly urged upon them the propriety of acting on their own judgment, and to beware of the influence of each and every person in settling the matter. After a few minutes of reflection they waived the demand and proceeded to pass upon the names as read by the Com. The Comr. took no notice at that time of the request that Boilvin should act.

From the 16th of Sept. to the 28th was taken up in classifying and arranging the amount due to each person. During this time there was much maneuvering. I have seldom seen a time of more excitement according to the number of persons here. Broadhead's brother John H. was using every means to get [back] the money paid out by his brother; sometimes endeavoring to intimidate the claimants by threats of legal process; then coaxing, and all the time in perfect fever. Boilvin was busy, Lockwood was hanging to the skirts of every claimant that passed his door. Several others were assisting. The general outcry among this party was "Pay Broadhead or he will make you suffer severely for it." At this time was it that Mr. Fleming issued a notice requiring every claimant who

had received an award last year to produce and give up the certificate issued in his or her case by the Com. Cameron and Murray, or failing to do so no money would or could be paid to them. Then commenced the triumph of Broadhead and the party; the whole matter was in their own hands, they could laugh securely at the puny efforts of the claimants and the counselors. The claimants, however, did not yield without some struggling. The most of the claimants from Green Bay assembled, directed their lawyer to draw up a protest against the notice and requisition of the Comrs. and set forth therein the fraudulent manner in which their claims were obtained. This paper they signed after it had been fully explained to them, but 2 or 3 days after being intimidated by Broadhead and others, and the arrival of the deputy marshal of the territory (whom Broadhead had sent a special messenger for to Mineral Point) and the pending of the Comrs. notice the combination of circumstances was too powerful—they gave up the unequal contest, desired their lawyer to withhold the protest and most of them had their names erased, and finally all settled with Broadhead on the terms stated in the first part of this letter. For the Green Bay portion see paper herewith marked "A"—drawn up by John S. Horner. For the portion of half-breeds near Rock River and elsewhere see paper "B" drawn up by John Catlin, which met the same fate ultimately.

We now come to the 28th Sept. (Saturday). This day the payment of the half and qt.-breeds commenced. It was made in the office of the Am. Fur Co. by Mr. Haverty—Dis. Agt., in presence of the Comr., Gen. Brooke, Mr. Lowry and some others whom I do not know. The room next the office was filled with persons of the *proper kind*, to-wit, Boilvin, Clark,* Broadhead and Co. Broadhead received his money as before stated; the persons who were of what we call the other party or opposed to the cheats and frauds of Broadhead contented ourselves perforce in walking about the store room and casting a wistful look at some fellow as he passed out with a box or bag of dollars in his arms. The payment was not finished this day, but postponed to Monday, Sept. 30. That day there appeared the following notice on the counter of the store: "Gentlemen are requested not to come inside the counter." We had therefore to remain outside still more remote from the scene of action. Some fellows passed in, however, who I suppose considered themselves *loufers*, not gentlemen. Same arrangement in inner and outer rooms as first day. Same persons present. This day Dr. Moore rec'd the award of Mary Ann Mitchell, \$1,000, by giving security—he had previously filed his indentures of apprenticeship.

Oct. 1. Payment continued this day and finally closed. This morning they adjourned to the Com. office to finish. A great dispute arose between Broadhead and Boilvin. Boilvin had taken Mad.

*Satterlee Clarke, Jr.

Myotte's certificate last year, had sold it to Broadhead, received the money, used it, and now wanted Mad. Myotte to come forward and claim it *herself* and not let Broadhead have it. So soon as she would have obtained it, Boilvin intended to go to her and take it, and then realize a double portion. Broadhead kicked up at this; here was rogue to rogue opposed and a hard time they had of it. But Broadhead was too hard for Boilvin. The Com. called Boilvin up and under oath examined him as to his claims upon the money and asked him whether Mad. Myotte owed him; this took him aback, and he was *unprepared* and stammered out some almost unintelligible words,—in fact, he stood convicted of falsehood and knew not what to do or say. Those few moments while under examination must have been exquisitely painful to him. The matter was finally settled by the commissioners determining to carry the money to Washington and end the dispute there.

From this time forward a change came over Boilvin's spirit. Dousman and he quarreled. D. told B. he was a liar. B. retorted by calling D. a liar. They bartered such like epithets for a short time, but the affair "came off" *bloodless* and I presume neither much *worsted* in character. It reminded me of a somewhat vulgar saying about a pot and kettle. A few days after this (the Comr. had now commenced examining debts) an affidavit subscribed by old Menard, one of the persons who had an award last year, was filed with the Com. The substance of which was that Boilvin had cheated him out of nearly if not quite half his award; that Mr. B. told him the draft was only so much—being only half the real amount, and that B. took M. to Lockwood's and there sold L. the draft, and L. gave M. a note for the one-half. Both L. and B. told M. that the amount of the draft was only one-half what in reality it was. I regret my inability to send you a certified copy of this affidavit now, but will in a few days, as I consider it important. . . . This affidavit remained a few days in the Com. hands; on the 10th of Oct., however, Boilvin, John Kinzie and others of that same class were seen to talk earnestly with Menard, shortly after which M. and Boilvin came to the Com. and asked to withdraw the affidavit. Menard stated that he was unwilling to prosecute his claim further and wished to withdraw his affidavit and stick to the award of last year. The Com. consented, handed him his affidavit and Menard left the house, frightened almost out of his senses. Boilvin had told him that the charges contained in the affidavit were such as would subject him (Menard) to a suit for defamation of character and heavy damages, the old man was pale with fright. The die was cast, however, the party had determined to sacrifice Boilvin, too much fraud had been developed. A scape-goat was necessary, and by common consent they pitched upon Boilvin. A few days after the quarrel with Dousman, Antoine Grignon (the company's interpreter) served out a writ of attachment against Boilvin for \$1,690, being a part of

the \$2,000 given to Grignon under the treaty of Nov. 1, 1837, and the same matter about which the quarrel arose between B. and Dousman. The sheriff went to Taintor's and took all Boilvin's trunks and *even* his wife's trunks of clothing (Mrs. B. was here all summer). After overhauling them the sheriff gave them back to his wife, as they were found to contain no money or property value. This was a *finisher*. Boilvin at last found he was to be the victim and gave up the contest. Next day he took a steamboat to St. Louis in company with his wife, and I now take leave of him. Possibly he is now convinced that honesty is the best policy and that there is such a thing as retributive justice. . . .

The Com. continued several days longer to receive claims and proofs, several new ones were introduced. Several of the claimants of last year still refused to put in their claims and finally refused; to-wit, R. Stuart (claim of old Am. Fur Co.), Dousman (for present company), Rolette, the Brisboise, Pauquette's estate (Dousman was executor). Lockwood and some others being the persons who received the highest sum last year, in fact about 2-3 the whole amount set aside by the treaty. These claimants who constantly refused to have their claims re-examined were constantly working with the Indians. Everything was tried, no stone left unturned, to prevent the Com. from proceeding in his examination, and at length they succeeded, the spell worked and the Com. abruptly closed on Oct. 14. And the commissioner himself left on a steamboat accompanied by Stuart, Kinzie 'Co. At Galena he took the stage and returns to N. York by the Lakes.

Some days before the close of the debt claims examination, the Indian chiefs assembled at the Com.'s office and One-Eyed Decorah rose and said that the nation was glad that Mr. F. had come on and examined the half-breed claims, that their half-breeds were pleased with his awards and felt *proud*, that he had done what was right and they were glad. "But," said he, "we do not wish you to examine the debt claims. 2 Com'rs were sent here last year and examined our traders' claims, they also did right. We want our traders paid, and we do not wish you to 'tear to pieces' what they did last year in the traders' claims."

He then handed the Comr. a paper tied together with blue ribbon and a string of wampum, saying, "Here is a paper that contains our thoughts; read it and take it on with you to our Great Father; this is all I have to say."

The paper was then read and proved to be a sort of protest against the re-examination of the traders' claims and a full and complete ratification of those acts of Cameron and Murray. It was signed or purported to be signed by the chiefs in the presence of Mr. Lowry and Nicholas Boilvin.

Several persons present and particularly the new claimants were extremely anxious to have the claims re-examined and asked Mr. F.

to allow them to propound questions to the chiefs in order to ascertain by whom they had been advised to present such a paper; which was allowed. Two or three questions were asked which were answered evasively by the chiefs. Wacon Decorri then got up to speak, repeating pretty much what had been said before, though he went on and was about to let the cat out of the bag. This I saw and was highly delighted.

Just at this moment, however, Boilvin became uneasy and moved across the room and whispered to an interpreter to tell Wacon to stop and as they had now finished their business to go away immediately or leave the room.

Accordingly, Wacon stopped short, saying, "This is all I have to say," and in a few minutes away went the Indians. The interpreter referred to is A. Grignon and I got the statement of what Boilvin whispered from him. It was somewhat surprising to me that Mr. F. would permit such a thing, if he saw it, and I do think he must have seen it. Mr. Lowry did, I am certain.

Two or three days before Mr. F. closed he was asked by Col. Stambaugh, counsel for some of the claimants, to let him see a protest which Col. S. had heard was on file in the office. After some time Mr. F. consented; the paper was produced and appeared to be a lengthy protest signed by Stuart, Dousman, Lockwood and several others against the re-examination of the traders' claims.

It was addressed to Mr. F. to be laid before the Sec. of War and was, I am told, somewhat abusive of that officer, for the course he had taken in appointing a new Com. and setting aside the report of last year. Stambaugh tried to get a copy, but could not. A committee was appointed to wait on the Com. and ask a copy. The committee addressed him a note, but he refused in a written reply. The reasons he gave I do not now recollect, but I do not think they were at all satisfactory. It seems the protest had lain in his hands since the middle of August or thereabout and would never have been shown had not Stambaugh called for it.

It is my opinion that both Mr. F. as Com. and Mr. Lowry as sub-agent were too much influenced by the power and authority of the Am. Fur Co., its agents and hangers-on. And also it seemed to me that the Com. was anxious to save Broadhead and if possible the commissioners of last year.

This he could not in fact do; because in the re-examination of the half-breed matter he must have seen the fraud, and his award has been different in almost every case from that of last year. Now one or the other is wrong. Either the old Com's acted improperly or Mr. F.; they can't both be right. I, as well as the claimants themselves, choose to think that Cameron and Murray were wrong. There was much intimacy between Mr. F. and several of the persons concerned in the Co., but I hope and believe Mr. F. is still a

correct and honest man. I took no sides for him or against him. When I spoke of him it was always in high terms from my slight acquaintance. Mr. F. continued to speak highly of you and seems to have a regard for you. What impression is made on his mind, however, by the many stories he must have heard, I know not. He desired me to present his best regards to you when I wrote and wished much that you had been here during his session.

Of Mr. Lowry I am compelled to judge harshly. I had supposed he would make an independent, active, and energetic sub-agent. Activity he does not lack, but he is too subservient to the A. F. Co. He has, in my opinion, scarcely any opinion of his own, but runs to Dousman for his. When Boilvin came on, he took him by the hand, had him to assist him, sent him on expresses for Ind. in the country and gave him consequence and countenance, though there was no earthly reason for it, and he knew well Boilvin's character and actions. Other persons of far less exceptionable character might have been found who would have answered as well if not better. Had Boilvin been a stranger it would have been different. But Mr. Lowry said that the company and Broadhead still countenanced Boilvin, and he thought it was therefore to his interest to do so. He was too short-sighted to see that there would be a blow up in the end, that rogues would quarrel. It is disagreeable to animadvert thus severely on Mr. L., but I am certain there is reason for it, and he has not gained much credit among the lookers on by his course. I have heard much said of his want of firmness. The opinion entertained by the most disinterested of the persons here this summer is better expressed in the Galena paper which I send herewith. The writer I do not know, but that he states facts I do know. I send you also a copy of a letter from Lowry to Broadhead; on this I leave you to comment. I am still friendly to Mr. L., nor has any difference occurred between us. I have occasionally spoken of some of his acts to himself in a disapproving manner, he endeavored to explain and the matter passed.

Col. Stambaugh (of St. Peters) as agent for 10 or 12 claimants has written a lengthy protest against the confirmation of the report of Cameron and Murray in the debt cases. He read it to me. It is well written and accompanied by a good deal of evidence. I regret that you could not see it, but its great length prevented me from getting a copy. Col. S. expresses much friendship for you; how true his professions are I know not, but he seems sincere. I desired him to advise you of and assist if he could in case anything was doing against you. He will be in Washington all winter and told me he would attend to your interests as far as he could.

I think it is the intention of Broadhead, Cameron, and Murray, and all that party to do all they can this winter. In expectation of this I have spoken to a friend or two here to ask the half and

qt.-breed claimants to give an expression of opinion for you. I was present when the two papers were signed. The Green Bay half-breeds signed the one in which Col. S.'s name is interlined. They wished it so. The others signed another of the same kind leaving out Stambaugh. This they did with pleasure. They spoke highly of you and with feelings of gratitude for your disinterested course; see here Stephen Mack's separate letter—he is a good man. The half-breeds are your friends and what is more no one can now change them, they are convinced by too powerful proofs. The money they received this summer in silver they looked upon as having been obtained through you and Maj. H. and they will so consider it no matter who says to the contrary, nor will they be made to say anything contrary if they only understand it. . . .

I send two affidavits about Lockwood which show how bare-faced a liar he is—how unprincipled a villain. I think, too, that the statements in Horner's protest show that H. L. Dousman knew more about the speculations than he was willing to admit. If I understand the matter right he seems to disregard truth entirely in his publication which I send you. . . . It is time to close this long and desultory letter. I have endeavored to give you a statement of what took place as well as I could from memo's which I kept and without much regard to perspicuity; however, if you have time, it will serve to give you some idea of the matter and may be useful. . . .

Yr. Sincerely Aff. Son,

T. P. STREET.

This closes the Simon Cameron Commission case, so far as I have documents bearing upon it. The papers mentioned by Thos. Street in his letter are not now in possession of the family. I have let the letters tell the story from the point of view of my grandfather and his friends, not so much to vindicate him in this particular proceeding—for his connection with it was but slight compared with the storm of abuse he aroused at the time—as to show the readers of American history to-day how poorly the Indians have been protected by commissioners appointed by this government.

CONSTANTINE SAMUEL RAFINESQUE— A SKETCH.

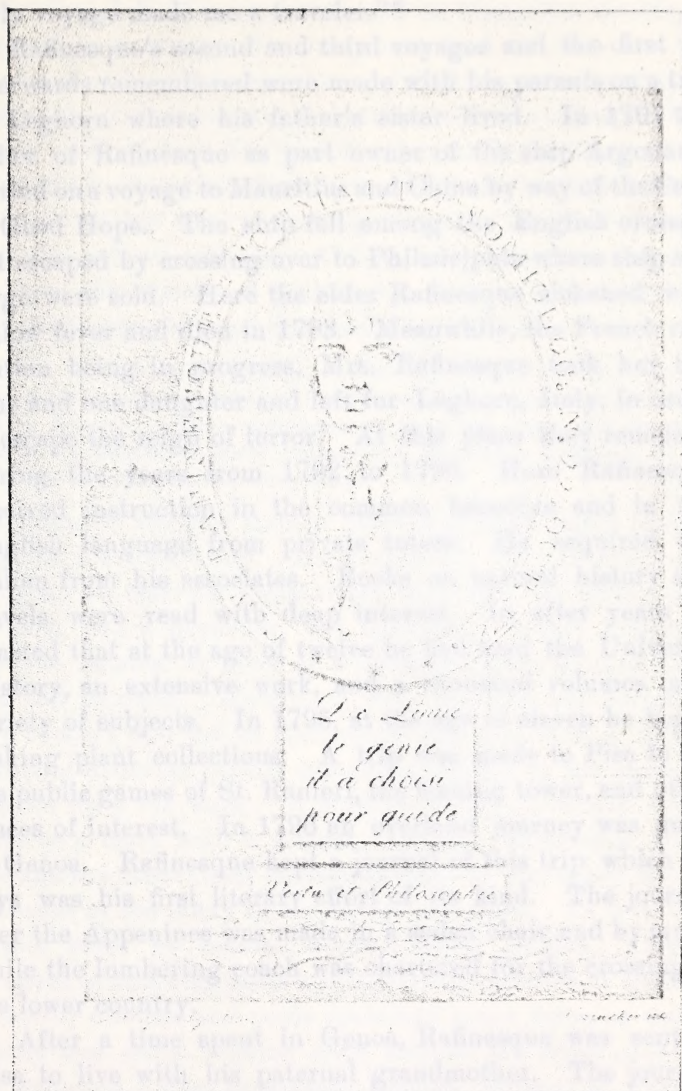
BY T. J. FITZPATRICK.

In a suburb of Constantinople, called Galata, C. S. Rafinesque was born in the year 1783.* His father, G. F. Rafinesque, was a native of Marseilles and of French origin. His mother, M. Schmaltz, was a native Grecian but of German extraction. Therefore truly it may be said, as has been alleged, that C. S. Rafinesque was a Franco-German by blood and a Turko-Grecian by nativity.

G. F. Rafinesque was a member of the firm of Lafleche & Rafinesque of Marseilles and had charge of the branch office of the firm established at Constantinople in order to secure trade from the orient. The fact that the mother of Rafinesque was a native Grecian has given color to the statement that his mother tongue was modern Greek. French, however, seems to have been his means of communication in early life in spite of the fact that his infant lisplings may have been in the Greek vernacular. While still an infant he was taken by his parents to Scutari in Asia and a short time later by sea to Marseilles, stopping on the way at Smyrna and Malta.

Marseilles remained the home of Rafinesque and his mother for several years, although his father returned to the Levant and remained for two years engaged in trade. Our subject states that he first became conscious of his existence "in one of the numerous country seats which surround and beautify the neighbourhood of Marseilles, where they are called *Bastides*. It was there among the flowers and fruits that I began to enjoy life, and I became a Botanist. Afterwards the first premium I received in a school was a book

* The date given by Haldeman in "American Journal of Science," Vol. 42, p. 280, is October 22, 1783. Rafinesque does not give the date in his "Life of Travels," but one may infer from the text that the year was 1784.



PORTRAIT OF C. S. RAFINESQUE, FROM THE "ANALYSE DE LA NATURE."

on Animals, and I am become a Zoologist and Naturalist. My early voyage made me a traveler."*

Rafinesque's second and third voyages and the first he afterwards remembered were made with his parents on a trip to Leghorn where his father's sister lived. In 1791 the father of Rafinesque as part owner of the ship *Argonaute* started on a voyage to Mauritius and China by way of the Cape of Good Hope. The ship fell among the English cruisers but escaped by crossing over to Philadelphia where ship and cargo were sold. Here the elder Rafinesque sickened with yellow fever and died in 1793. Meanwhile, the French revolution being in progress, Mrs. Rafinesque took her two sons and one daughter and left for Leghorn, Italy, in order to escape the reign of terror. At this place they remained during the years from 1792 to 1796. Here Rafinesque received instruction in the common branches and in the English language from private tutors. He acquired the Italian from his associates. Books on natural history and travels were read with deep interest. In after years he boasted that at the age of twelve he had read the *Universal History*, an extensive work, and a thousand volumes on a variety of subjects. In 1795, at the age of eleven he began making plant collections. A trip was made to Pisa to see the public games of St. Ranieri, the leaning tower, and other places of interest. In 1796 an overland journey was made to Genoa. Rafinesque kept a journal of this trip which he says was his first literary effort of its kind. The journey over the Appenines was made in a sedan chair and by mules while the lumbering coach was chartered for the crossing of the lower country.

After a time spent in Genoa, Rafinesque was sent to Pisa to live with his paternal grandmother. The journey was made partly by sea and partly by land. Rafinesque found time to cultivate his love for botany by collecting plants in the neighborhood of Genoa and of Pisa, along the

* Rafinesque, *Life of Travels*, p. 6.

banks of the Arno, and in the mountains. In 1797 his grandmother left Pisa and returned to Marseilles sending her grandson in charge of a trusty man back to Genoa. A project was under advisement to send Rafinesque to a college in Switzerland, but unfortunately it was not carried out. He however soon rejoined his grandmother at Marseilles. He continued his education alone by reading with avidity whatever came in his way, preferring, however, books of travel and of the natural sciences. Occasionally incursions were made into the realms of philosophy, chemistry, and medicine. Rafinesque says of this period of his life:

I never was in a regular College, nor lost my time on dead languages; but I spent it in learning alone and by mere reading ten times more than is taught in Schools. I have undertaken to learn the Latin and Greek, as well as the Hebrew, Sanscrit, Chinese and fifty other languages, as I felt the need or inclination to study them.*

Rafinesque was now sixteen years of age and began making plans for the future. He thought of some profession, then again his taste for horticulture suggested the career of a botanist and a gardener, but apparently family history threw the balance in favor of a business career such as his father had followed. Merchants were more or less peripatetic a century ago and as Rafinesque had acquired a taste for moving about he readily consented to take up the parental choice for a life work. A position of an apprentice was secured as a clerk with a distant relative. Meanwhile the woods and the fields about Marseilles gave to him many days of pleasure in the study of the fauna and flora. In a wild romantic place he planted a small flower garden. Days were spent in watching birds and in making sketches of them. The nearby streams and pools contained many fishes as well as shells and crabs. These were studied and some collections gathered. The naturalist, Daudin, resided at Paris and to him Rafinesque sent some of his observations on birds. Daudin was his first learned correspondent. Rafinesque also

* Rafinesque, *Life of Travels*, pp. 8-9.

busied himself collecting books, planning travels, or projecting some literary effort as his boyish fancy suggested. He says:

I had not decided where to travel, many distant countries appeared to invite me; but above all the Grecian and Oriental Regions of my birth, and where resided my maternal relatives.*

Meanwhile the troubled state of Europe produced business depression and as a consequence the family fortune was badly depleted and widely scattered. The property of Rafinesque's father and of his uncle, a victim of the revolution, fell into the hands of Mr. Lafleche who fled to Genoa and never made any settlement. At this time, Rafinesque's grandmother died at an advanced age. He was sent back to Leghorn to live with his mother who was now married to a merchant by the name of Lanthois. This journey he took in company with his brother by the sea route in 1800. Capture by an English frigate was narrowly averted. Arriving at Genoa Mr. Lafleche sent them on to Leghorn by sea but at Sestri gaining news of cruisers the remainder of the journey was made overland. The two following years were spent in helping Mr. Lanthois in his commercial transactions and as occasion offered in roaming over the fields and in the woods. He continued to send accounts of birds to Daudin. An English lady by the name of Partridge had a garden and a museum near Montenero to which Rafinesque made frequent visits. A journey was made to Calci in the Appenines of Tuscany, and as the region roundabout appealed to the fancy of Rafinesque he made a topographical map of it.

At eighteen years of age, Rafinesque came to America. Of this interesting voyage he writes:

In 1802 it was resolved to send me with my brother to begin our travels. It was to the United States of America that we were sent, upon several considerations superfluous to state here. This was the period of my real voyages and travels, on the score of importance and novelty, as well as those discoveries which followed my exertions. Before this all my excursions were mere youthful trials in countries well known. I was of course

* Rafinesque, *Life of Travels*, p. 11.

delighted, and eager to begin to see the world. We were provided with an adventure, many letters of introduction, and we departed to roam over the wide world.*

In March, 1802, Rafinesque and his younger brother, Anthony Augustus, left Leghorn on board the American ship, Philadelphia, owned by the Cliffords, and commanded by Captain Razer, bound for Philadelphia at which city they arrived after a voyage of forty-two days without a single landing. Of this voyage Rafinesque wrote:

We followed the Spanish shore from Cape Gates, and passed the strait of Gibraltar in a few days. I had the first view of Africa and afterwards of the great Ocean, this famous *Atlantic* Ocean, which after 4000 years bears yet the name of the first Nations who have crossed it, the *Atalas* and the *Antis!* It afforded me a new study by its fishes and mollusca. I drew and described all those that we caught. It was more difficult to procure Birds, but Turtles could be taken while sleeping on the waves. We had a favourable passage, without accidents nor storms. In forty days we obtained the first sight of America, the Capes May and Henlopen forming Delaware Bay. These shores are so low, that the trees are seen before the soil, and give a sylvan impression of this continent. In two days we run up the Bay and River to Philadelphia, where we landed on the 18th April 1802.†

Rafinesque carried letters of introduction to various noted citizens of Philadelphia who received him kindly. The Clifford brothers offered him a position in their counting house; Dr. Benjamin Rush took an interest in the wanderer and offered to become his preceptor. The offer of the Cliffords was accepted but when the yellow fever appeared in the city during the following summer Rafinesque relinquished his position and went to Germantown to live with Colonel Forrest, a horticulturist. Being on a new continent where the productions of nature were very different from those of southern Europe Rafinesque found much for amusement and instruction. In company with Colonel Forrest he made many trips out into the neighboring country and once down into New Jersey through the barrens and along the sea coast. A visit was made to Westchester to Marshall's bo-

* Rafinesque, *Life of Travels*, pp. 12-13.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

tanic garden, and Bartram's garden was also visited. The birds, the reptiles, the fishes, and the flowers received attention from Rafinesque. In October after the scourge of yellow fever had passed away Rafinesque returned to his commercial work at Philadelphia. During 1803 he, in company with his brother who had spent the previous year at New York and Newark, returned to Germantown to avoid the dreaded yellow fever. Many excursions were undertaken to neighboring points of interest. A trip was made to Lancaster to visit the noted preacher botanist, Muhlenburg. Rafinesque became acquainted either by conversation or by correspondence with many of the early American botanists whose reputations give them fame even to this day. The circle included Pursh, Barton, Muhlenburg, Bartram, Marshall, Peale, Kin, Logan, Shultze, Gaissen, Vanvleck, Hamilton, Mease, Mitchell, Cutler, Brickell, and the French wanderer, Michaux. The majority of these shining lights in the galaxy of early American scientists have left to posterity classic works, the results of intensive studies in their chosen fields.

In the fall of 1803 Rafinesque returned to Philadelphia and resigned his position with the Cliffords in favor of his brother and occupied his time during the winter as secretary for Mr. Gernon. As the spring of 1804 came he forsook his occupation and betook himself to the woods. He writes:

My pedestrian excursions of the last year had given me a relish for these rambles; I had become convinced that they were both easy, useful and full of pleasure, while they afforded me the means to study every thing at leasure. I never was happier than when alone in the woods with the blossoms, or resting near a limpid stream or spring, I enjoyed without control the gifts of Flora, and the beauties of nature. I therefore resolved to undertake this year longer journeys before I left America, where I foresaw that I could not remain to advantage, as I often threw my eyes towards Greece and Asia, as another field of exertions and discoveries.*

Rafinesque traveled across Delaware from north to south, visiting places of interest, not neglecting to call upon the

* Rafinesque, *Life of Travels*, p. 18.

ship *Two Sisters* commanded by Captain Evans. Cutting through the ice the ship passed out upon the ocean on New Year's Day, 1805, bound for Leghorn. A stormy, and for that day, a swift voyage carried them to their destination. In thirty days the straits of Gibraltar were cleared and in six more the ship was on the shores of Italy. At Leghorn a quarantine of forty days was placed on the ship as Rafinesque says "without cause", but which, however, was not very rigid. His mother and sister as well as friends came frequently to visit him during his detention. He says:

I spent this time of leisure in arranging my plants, drawing the new species, writing my travels and letters. I had brought a fine collection of plants, seeds, shells, minerals, &c. My herbal contained nearly 2400 species and 10,000 specimens. I sent many to the Professors Savi of Pisa and Radi of Florence, who gave me Italian plants in exchange.*

Landing in March, Rafinesque remained in Leghorn and nearby places until into May, when he left on board the Austrian ship *Trabacolo* for Palermo which was reached after a voyage of eight days. Here a quarantine of twenty days was imposed "because there had been yellow fever in Leghorn one year before!"

On landing at Palermo Rafinesque entered the employ of Mr. A. Gibbs, the U. S. consul, as secretary and chancellor. He remained with him until 1808, living in his palace. Having saved his earnings he secured a house and engaged in mercantile pursuits with much profit. Squills and medicinal drugs among other things engaged his attention in a commercial way. Excursions were made into all the surrounding territory in quest of animate and inanimate objects for purposes of study and of exchange. The fishes of the sea and other sea life attracted his attention. The mines, the quarries, and Mount Etna received the homage of the enthusiastic student, even the ruins of antiquity scattered over the island excited his wonder and admiration. The English botanist and naturalist, Swainson, visited Palermo

* Rafinesque, *Life of Travels*, p. 26.

and became the friend and companion of Rafinesque in many a ramble. At about this time Rafinesque was a candidate for the chair of botany in the university, and later the chair of agriculture and economy, but was unsuccessful in both attempts. He continued his studies with unabated zeal, collecting, arranging his specimens, preparing plates for prospective publications, writing for journals, and publishing. Ten years were thus spent on the Island of Sicily, years of toil and of hopeful promise, years to which Rafinesque looked back and said:

My first impressions of this lovely Island were delightful: arriving in the month of May, the air was embalmed by the emanations of orange blossoms, carried far at sea in the night by the land breeze. The mountains were smiling with flowers and verdure, they invited me to climb over them. The view of Palermo and the bay is very fine, although not quite equal to that of Naples with the smoking Vesuvius. Here I was then, in Sicily the largest and finest of the Islands in the Mediterranean: a residence of ten years made me perfectly acquainted with it and its natural productions. Few learned travellers can boast to have so long studied Nature in that lovely spot. It was the best epoch of my life. The events of those ten years might afford materials for a romance.*

Rafinesque's opinion of Sicily as he tersely gives it is:

Sicily might be described in a few words by saying that she offers . . . a fruitful soil, delightful climate, excellent productions, perfidious men, deceitful women . . . such is the outline of her picture.†

Growing tired of Sicily and its people Rafinesque began to think of other climes. He proposed to Banks an exploring tour of the coast of Australia but his plan failed to meet with favor. He thought of going to Paris where his mother lived but was prevented from fear of the turbulent condition of the country. Mr. Gibbs was sending a ship to New York which circumstance induced Rafinesque to secure passage again to America. Getting together a quantity of drugs and merchandise for trade along with fifty boxes of personal goods, such as a naturalist possesses, Rafinesque resolutely set out for America where as the sequel shows he

* Rafinesque, *Life of Travels*, p. 27.

† Ibid.

was destined to pass the remainder of his life. The story of the voyage as given by him is as follows:

This voyage from Palermo to New York was long and unfortunate: our ship did not sail fast, and we were over 100 days on the way, including our stay in Gibraltar and the Azores. We sailed at the end of July, and only reached Gibraltar in 15 days, after having sailed along Sicily and Sardinia, gone near Bona in Africa on a tack, and followed the Spanish shores from Cape Gates to Malaga and the strait. We often came close to several towns and the island Alboran, in our tacks. At last we entered the strait with a good easterly wind, which might have sent us 600 miles forward in three days, and spared perhaps our mishaps; but we spent these three days of fair wind in Gibraltar, where the Ship was to stop on some business. However this allowed me to land in Spain, to visit the famous mt. Calpe and to herborize on it. Reaching the ocean, we had for awhile favourable weather with many calms, that allowed me to study again the fishes and molusca, to catch turtles, &c. But arrived near the Azores, we fell into one of those dreadful squalls frequent there. We nearly perished in it, a Brig in sight disappeared, our Ship was thrown on the beams ends, and merely escaped and righted by losing two masts; but thus dismasted we had to seek a harbor in the Id. of St. Michael. Skirting the S. side we reached *Punta Delgado* the metropolis, where we were well received by the British and American Consuls. * * Having quickly repaired our damage as well as we could, we resumed our voyage; but were nearly two months on the way, being baffled by violent storms, in one we had to throw our guns overboard. We had also to contend against the gulf stream which our Maltese sailors did not know, and crossed improperly. Thus when we reached soundings we were nearly out of provisions. But here a greater misfortune awaited us. The first land in sight was Cape Montauk at the end of Long Id. Westerly winds baffling us yet, we resolved to go to Newport for food and water. We were near it having taken a pilot in the way, when a sudden N. E. wind repulsed us, and being favorable for New York, we turned back towards it through the sound. It was the 2d November 1815, a dreadful day for me. The weather was foggy, at 10 o'clock at night we ran unaware upon the Race rocks, which lay under water between Fisher Id. and Long Id. The wind and tide made us pass over, but we lost our keel. Our Ship filled fast and settled down on one side; but without sinking, being made buoyant by the air of the hold. We had merely the time to escape in our boats, with some difficulty; the long boat was too heavy to be hoisted, but floated as the Ship fell, entangled in the rigging for awhile. Having left the wreck we rowed towards the light house of New London then in sight, and reached it at midnight: thus landing in America for a second time, but in a deplorable situation. I had lost everything, my fortune, my share of the cargo, my collections and labors for 20 years past, my books, my manuscripts, my drawings, even my clothes . . . all that I possessed, except some scattered funds, and the Insurance ordered in England for

one-third of the value of my goods. For some days after I was in a state of utter despair. I walked to New London in Connecticut. I was flattered with the hope that the floating Ship could yet be saved; but as soon as the masts were cut to tow it easier, it righted and sunk, after throwing up the confined air of the hold by an explosion. Some hearts of stone have since dared to doubt of these facts or rejoice at my losses! Yes, I have found men, vile enough to laugh without shame at my misfortune, instead of condoling with me! But I have met also with friends who have deplored my loss, and helped me in need.*

Within a short time Rafinesque went overland to New York and looked about in search of employment. Doctor Mitchill, the editor of the Medical Repository, with whom Rafinesque corresponded while residing in Sicily, took an interest in the efforts of the stranger and introduced him among his friends and associates. Meeting with Mr. Livingston he arranged to pass the winter at his country residence as a private tutor for his three daughters. This country residence was near Clearmont on the Hudson river, a hundred miles north of New York. Thither Rafinesque journeyed by stage in December and entered upon his duties. His leisure was spent in reading the books in Mr. Livingston's library, sketching the beautiful scenery, and writing his travels and recollections. In midwinter, Mrs. Livingston's health failing, the family removed to Charleston, S. C. Rafinesque not desiring to go to the south returned to New York and shortly after went to Philadelphia to call upon his former friends.

As spring returned Rafinesque began field work in the natural sciences. His friend Collins lent encouragement by precept and by example. Soon returning by a new route to New York he joined Dr. Mitchill and Captain Partridge in a collecting trip to New Jersey. The mania for roaming was now in full control. A journey was made to Albany in a steamboat. Trips were made out to various points, to the four falls, to Lake George, and the mineral springs at Saratoga, even visiting Ticonderoga in Vermont. These trips enabled Rafinesque to explore and map most of the course

* Rafinesque, *Life of Travels*, pp. 46-49.

of the Hudson river. He was greatly pleased with his tour and returned to New York laden with plants, shells, fossils, and minerals. Long Island and New Jersey were now visited. The insurance on the goods lost in the shipwreck having been received Rafinesque started again in business but the bankruptcy of a New York house and the rascality of a Sicilian caused losses and prevented him from reaping the rewards of his industry. During a business trip to Philadelphia Rafinesque met his former friend, John D. Clifford, who now resided at Lexington, Kentucky, and it was arranged that Rafinesque should go to Kentucky in the spring of 1818. Meanwhile he had helped to found the Lyceum of Natural History of New York and had become a member of the Philosophical Society. Contributions were made to the American Monthly Magazine and Critical Review. A Flora of Louisiana was published and many literary schemes were projected. During 1817 two collecting trips were made to various New York stations, one in company with Doctors Torrey and Knevels, and two trips to various places on Long Island. Rafinesque made his home during the summer in Brooklyn but during the winter he resided in New York.

In May, 1818, Rafinesque set out for the west. The journey to Philadelphia and Lancaster was made by stage. From Lancaster he walked over the Alleghanies through Columbia, York, Chambersburg, Bedford, Greensburg, and on to Pittsburg where he visited awhile, and contracted with Cramer and Spear, booksellers, to publish a proposed map of the river Ohio and his travels in America.

At Pittsburg Rafinesque fell in with a company of gentlemen and together they purchased an ark with which they floated down the Ohio, camping at night along the shore. On reaching Cincinnati, Rafinesque went overland to North-bend and visited with Mr. Short, a fellow student of nature. As the ark came by, the journey was resumed to Louisville, where former friends, the Messrs. Tarascon resided. Here two weeks were spent visiting and studying the fishes and

shells at the falls of the Ohio river, and in drawing the striking objects on the spot. "I was surprised", said Rafinesque, "to find them nearly all new."* After seeing the neighborhood of Louisville passage was taken on a day boat to Hendersonville where some days were pleasantly spent with the famous Audubon. Securing a horse a journey was made to the communistic settlement at New Harmony on the Wabash where a visit was made with Dr. Miller. Crossing the Wabash a trip was made through Illinois to Shawaneetown and on to the mouth of the Ohio river, the return being made back to Hendersonville through Morgantown. From here Rafinesque walked to Louisville, crossing the barrens and meadows of Kentucky. Visiting with the Messrs. Tarascon for a few days and shipping his collections to Pittsburg, Rafinesque then went to Middleton to call upon his friend Bradbury, thence to Lexington to see his friend of former days, John D. Clifford.

Of this visit he writes:

The fine museum of fossils and antiquities already collected by Clifford deserved all my attention, I spent many days in studying them and drawing the rarest. He wanted to increase it and he induced me to come and settle with him in Lexington, promising to procure me a Professorship in the University and to travel every year with me in the vacations to increase his museum and my collections. This project which allowed me to travel and explore all the vast regions of the Mississippi with a friend, and to settle in a healthy and pleasant town, met my approbation. But I had to return to Philadelphia to settle my concerns, and withdraw from trade.†

The return to Philadelphia began with a wagon but it was soon abandoned. At Maysville Rafinesque crossed the Ohio river and traveled on foot across the state of Ohio, passing through Chillicothe, Lancaster, Zanesville, and Steubenville. Of Ohio Rafinesque states:

It was near Chillicothe that I saw the first great monuments and pyramids or altars, of the ancient nations of N. America; they struck me with astonishment and induced me to study them.‡

* Rafinesque, *Life of Travels*, p. 55.

† Ibid, p. 57.

‡ Ibid, p. 58.

Rafinesque crossed the Ohio river at Steubenville and took the Virginia road through the hills to Pittsburg, thence on over the Alleghanies for the second time, noting the geology of the country by the way. A stop was made to visit the mineral springs at Bedford. At Lancaster the stage was taken to Philadelphia.

The winter of 1818 and 1819 was spent in drafting a map of the region of the Ohio river, in preparing papers, and making arrangements to emigrate to the west. Of this period our subject writes:

A friend of mine Mr. Michel wanted then to form a partnership with me in trade; but I gave up trade for Clifford and the west. I even refused the chair of Professor of Chemistry which he could have obtained for me, altho' many Professors of it are less Chemists than I, because I had a greater taste for botany, zoology and geology. Yet one was lucrative, while that which I chose was less so. I obtained thus the Professorship of botany and natural history, with the addition of modern languages, with lodgings, boarding and casual emoluments.*

Rafinesque packed his library and collections and shipped them to Lexington, Ky., in care of Clifford. In May, 1819, he went by steamboat to Baltimore where a visit was made with the botanist, Hayden. Turning now towards the west Rafinesque crossed the Alleghanies for the third time on foot. The itinerary was from Frederic to the Cotocton mountains, through the gap of the Potomac river, on to Harper's Ferry, along the river to Cumberland, thence over the table-land through Brownsville to Pittsburg. Here Rafinesque delivered his map of the Ohio river to the booksellers, Messrs. Cramer and Spear, and received one hundred dollars for his services.

The journey was resumed by taking passage on a keel boat down the Ohio river. A stop was made at Marietta, Ohio, to study and survey the prehistoric remains. While the boat was running the rapids at Letart, Rafinesque crossed the isthmus in West Virginia on foot, collecting along the way, and later meeting the boat at Parkersburg. Arriving

* Rafinesque, *Life of Travels*, p. 59.

at Maysville Rafinesque left the boat and started overland for Lexington, Ky. The route passed over by him by stage and by private carriage is practically the same as is now followed by the railway from Maysville to Lexington.

It was mid-summer of 1819 when Rafinesque reached Lexington. The university was closed for the summer vacation. Clifford was in the hill country to the southward passing the time in search of health, and thither Rafinesque went to meet his friend. There they remained until the close of the season enjoying themselves in communion with nature. As fall approached both returned to Lexington. On the opening of the university Rafinesque began a course of lectures on natural history. In the spring of 1820 a course was given on botany. On the conclusion of the year's work Rafinesque and Clifford were preparing for a journey into western Kentucky and into Arkansas. On the eve of their departure Clifford sickened, and died a few days later. Rafinesque thus speaks of his misfortune:

This loss of an intimate and zealous friend was blasting to all my hopes and views. I ought to have left the country directly; but finding myself with all my books and collections in a fine unexplored country, where therewas much to glean, . . . I thought that I ought to explore it by myself. But instead of traveling in a carriage with Clifford, I had to return to my pedestrian excursions. Horses were offered to me; but I never liked riding them, and dismounting for every flower: horses do not suit botanists.*

The summer of 1820 was passed in Kentucky in the immediate neighborhood of Lexington, exploring the ancient remains or collecting objects of natural history. Much time was spent preparing papers for publication. During the school year of 1820-1821 lectures on botany were delivered to many students and instruction given to large classes in the French, Italian, and Spanish languages. Many friends were acquired but Rafinesque felt that not one was a Clifford to him. Frequent trips were made to Ashland to visit the statesman Henry Clay, also to a country seat near Harrodsburg where

* Rafinesque, *Life of Travels*, p. 61.

dwelt the genial spirit, Mr. Meade. Dr. Short, the botanist, and the traveler, Bradbury, called upon Rafinesque. These gentlemen were old correspondents of his and had sent him objects of natural history. Bradbury's visit was in 1822.

The chair of *materia medica* being vacant Rafinesque became a candidate but was not preferred. Times were dull and money scarce. Of these times the following account is given:

The paper money introduced in Kentucky in spite of the Constitution, and which soon fell to 50 per cent, became another cause of displeasure, doubling all my expences, postages, carriage of goods, &c., preventing me to travel out of Kentucky where it had its only value, and increasing the price of every thing, without increasing my emoluments. My travels were prepared for the press; but the booksellers of Pittsburg would not print them, in spite of their special contract, owing to the general distress, and I could not go to Pittsburg to compel them. All this combined to disgust me, and I could not travel far this year. I had to confine myself to the villages near Lexington.*

A situation in Pulaski college was open to Rafinesque but was refused as he did not wish to go farther inland with his possessions and had resolved to establish a botanic garden or leave Kentucky. The vacation season of 1823 was spent in exploring that state; our subject starting out in May for a two months journey to the Tennessee river and to points in western Kentucky. A visit was made at Bowling Green with General Covington, also at Elkton with Mr. New, with the Shakers at West Union, and at Russellville, thence to Hopkinsville where visits were made with Mr. Campbell and Doctor Short. An excursion was taken to Clarksville on the Cumberland river in Tennessee. A trip to the prehistoric remains at Canton on the Cumberland river was made and across on to the Tennessee river. The country between the Tennessee and Mississippi rivers being unsettled Rafinesque regretfully turned back although he desired to go on to the Mississippi river. The return was through Hopkinsville and Russellville to West Union and

* Rafinesque, *Life of Travels*, pp. 65-66.

Bowling Green, visiting by the way the Cameleon spring, and later the famous mammoth cave. Of it Rafinesque wrote: "I spent one day to survey it, and found it very different from the printed exaggerated accounts, but yet wonderful enough."*

The return to Lexington occurred in July with ample collections brought in wagons. A short rest and then Rafinesque was away to spend August and September in southeastern Kentucky, going through Danville, Shelby, Somerset, to the falls of the Cumberland river, later to Barbourville and the gap of the Cumberland, the return home being by way of Hazlepatch, Mt. Vernon, Crab Orchard, and Stanford, with the usual load of collections.

During the school year of 1823-1824 Rafinesque gave lectures to the medical students on medical botany, using the modern method of teaching by the exhibition of specimens.

Rafinesque in 1824 went to Frankfort and solicited the legislature for aid to establish a botanic garden at Lexington. The Senate granted the request but the House refused. However, a company was formed and incorporated and subscriptions taken. W. H. Richardson was president of the board of directors and Rafinesque, secretary. The company started out well, secured a desirable plot of ten acres, issued a booklet of twenty-four pages in English and French, then languished and died. Rafinesque claimed that in order to divert him from the garden he was appointed librarian of the university and keeper of the museum, and, according to him, among other calamities he took a bad case of measles but got well in spite of the physicians by refusing to be medicated while many others died although treated.

Rafinesque's travels during 1824 were mostly for the purpose of soliciting subscriptions for the establishment of the botanic garden and were made through the country within forty miles around Lexington. A few trips were made to prehistoric sites to study and survey.

* Rafinesque, *Life of Travels*, p. 70.

The work for 1825 began as follows:

In March 1825 I began to plant the garden, of which I was the Superintendent; but I soon became aware of a secret hostility to my undertaking, and several subscribers did not pay their instalments. It became impossible to struggle against the influence of the foes of sciences. I became weary of it, and resolved to end these perpetual difficulties, by seeking elsewhere other resources or advantages, undertaking in that view a journey to Washington City, Baltimore and Philadelphia. I left the garden in the hands of Mr. Ficklin, and Lexington at the end of June after the visit of Lafayette.*

Of the garden Rafinesque wrote:

I never owned an acre of ground, this garden would have been my delight: I had traced the plan of it, with a retreat among the flowers, a Green house, Museum and Library; but I had to forsake it at last, and make again my garden of the woods and mountains.†

At the close of June, 1825, Rafinesque left for Washington. The stage was taken to Maysville, Chillicothe, Zanesville, and Wheeling. From Wheeling the trip over the Alleghanies was undertaken as usual on foot. At Winchester he visited with Mr. Barton, a fellow student of nature. Taking the stage from thence to the Shenandoah river, then on foot over the Cotocton or Blue Mountains to Aldie, thence to Georgetown and Washington. Rafinesque remained a month in Washington visiting with old friends, Adlum and Winn. He also met the botanists M'William and Brereton and was introduced to President Adams. He states that he "induced Maj. M'Kinney at the head of the Indian department, to print circulars to collect vocabularies of 100 words, in all the Languages spoken by the Indians of the United States."‡

Some time was spent visiting the vineyard of Adlum who was a successful wine producer. From studies made at this vineyard came in later years the "American Manual of Grape Vines and the Art of Making Wine," which was published in 1830.

* Rafinesque, *Life of Travels*, p. 75.

† Ibid, p. 72.

‡ Ibid, p. 76.

For some time Rafinesque had devoted his energies to devising various schemes. One of these he called the "Divital Invention," which is now known as the "Coupon System." He always claimed to be the inventor of this now widely used system of divisible commercial paper or certificates, and his chief business at Washington was to obtain patents on his various inventions, this one among them. Henry Clay, of Kentucky, being out of the city at the time, delay occurred, but the business was finally concluded. On leaving the Capital the stage was taken to Baltimore where Dr. James Smith became his host. At Baltimore Rafinesque published his plan of divisible certificates. The plan was soon adopted in part or by improvement, but no returns ever came to the inventor, who shunned lawsuits as a plague and allowed the pirating to go on.

After some time Rafinesque took the steamboat for Philadelphia where he met his old friend Collins as well as others. It was now well into October and Rafinesque while desiring to go to New York and Boston felt impelled to return to Lexington to close up his affairs preparatory to leaving the west. The stage was taken to Lancaster, Harrisburg, Carlisle, and Chambersburg to the base of the mountains. For the fifth time the Alleghanies were crossed on foot, this time by a new route through Berlin, Somerset, and Washington to Wheeling. From Wheeling the route across Ohio was by stage through Zanesville, Lancaster, Circleville, Washington, Wilmington to Lebanon. The ancient monuments at Circleville were visited. From Lebanon the journey was resumed to Cincinnati where public lectures were given in the museum of Mr. Dorfeuille. A visit was made to General Taylor and Mr. Symes, notorious for his system of concentric spheres and polar openings, who resided in the nearby village of Newport, Kentucky. Shortly afterwards Rafinesque returned to Lexington. How he found matters may be best stated in his own words:

I returned to Lexington by the Ridge road, and proceeded to Frankford, when I found how the President of the University had behaved in my

absence. To evince his hatred against sciences and discoveries, he had broken open my rooms, given one to the students, and thrown all my effects, books and collections in a heap in the other. He had also deprived me of my situation as Librarian and my board in the College. I had to put up with all this to avoid beginning law suits. I took lodgings in town and carried there all my effects: thus leaving the College with curses on it and Holley; who were both reached by them soon after, since he died next year at sea of the Yellow fever, caught at New Orleans, having been driven from Lexington by public opinion: and the College has been burnt in 1828 with all its contents. But Clifford's cabinet was saved (like mine) by being removed previously like mine, and is now partly in Cincinnati and partly in Philadelphia. This was a lucky escape. However I never was deprived of my Professorship and have never resigned it! but in the Winter of 1825-26 I gave my last course of lectures on medical Botany. I published my *Neogenyton* and other pamphlets. I left the botanic garden to its fate, since the company would not support it properly, and thus it has been destroyed. I had some intention to join Mr. Maclure at New Harmony, but he had friends jealous of me also: it was well for me, since his views and fine College have been abortive.*

Rafinesque's view of President Horace Holley may be a little severe. However, Holley was a learned man of the ultra-conservative school and looked askance at anything of scientific tendency. He no doubt considered collections as mere rubbish, the removal of which was a good riddance. He was not of a mind to appreciate scientific merit and probably gave no thought to the fact that his university had in Rafinesque one of the most eminent scientists in America. President Holley guided the destinies of Transylvania University from November, 1818, to March, 1827, which period is considered the most brilliant in the university's career. By indiscreet words and improper conduct Holley created much public opposition, which fanned by prejudice and religious bigotry, made his position untenable and forced his resignation. During his incumbency there were internal dissensions yet withal he accomplished much, though considerable credit belongs to his predecessor whose wise administration had created favorable conditions. Into such an atmosphere Rafinesque came, stayed nearly seven years, and left of his own accord. The wonder is that one possessing his sensitive nature should have remained so long.

* Rafinesque, *Life of Travels*, pp. 78-79.

Gathering up his books and collections Rafinesque shipped them to Philadelphia. His personal possessions filled forty boxes, according to his account, and had doubled during his residence in Kentucky. After calling upon his friends to bid them adieu, Rafinesque in the year 1826 left Lexington, going by stage to Cincinnati where a public lecture was given. The stage was taken northward to Hamilton, along the Miami river to Dayton, where the ancient remains were studied and observations made of the canal then digging, thence to Springfield. From here Rafinesque walked over to Yellow Springs to visit the community established by Lownes. After the visit Lownes sent the traveler back to Springfield in his carriage. At Springfield Rafinesque took the stage to Columbus where one day was spent. The journey was resumed to Mt. Vernon to visit the hills. Rafinesque walked over the hill country through Belleville, Mansfield, and to New Haven, where the stage was taken through Milan to Sandusky on Lake Erie. After waiting three days a steamboat from Detroit came by and passage was secured to Buffalo. Stops were made along the way at Cleveland, Fairport, Erie, and other places.

At Buffalo Rafinesque observed many Seneca Indians. Crossing the Niagara river at Blackrock into Canada gave him opportunity to examine the river and falls from both sides. This phenomenon excited his wonder and admiration. One day was spent on each side studying the botany and geology and making maps and views. The stage was taken to Queenstown. After crossing the river to Lewistown and Manchester the stage was resumed to Lockport, stopping on the way at Tuscarora to visit for a day with Cusick, the historian of the Iroquois. From Lockport the journey to Rochester was made on the canal in a packet. Here Rafinesque by chance met Professor Eaton, of Troy, who was out on a scientific tour with his pupils on the canal, in a boat of their own and were returning from Buffalo. Being invited to join the company he accepted with pleasure. He after-

wards said it "was one of the most agreeable journeys I ever performed." By easy stages the journey to Troy was continued, many side trips being made to points of interest. At Troy rest was obtained for some days at the home of Professor Eaton. The steamboat was then taken to West Point where Dr. Torrey received the traveler. Later the journey was continued to New York and Philadelphia. The remainder of the summer was spent in visiting Doctor Betton and Mr. Haines at Germantown and in numerous excursions to outlying stations.

In September Rafinesque settled in Philadelphia, devoting the winter of 1826 and 1827 to the giving of a course of lectures on natural history to a class in the Franklin Institute. During the year 1827 he became professor of geography and drawing in the high school of the same institution.

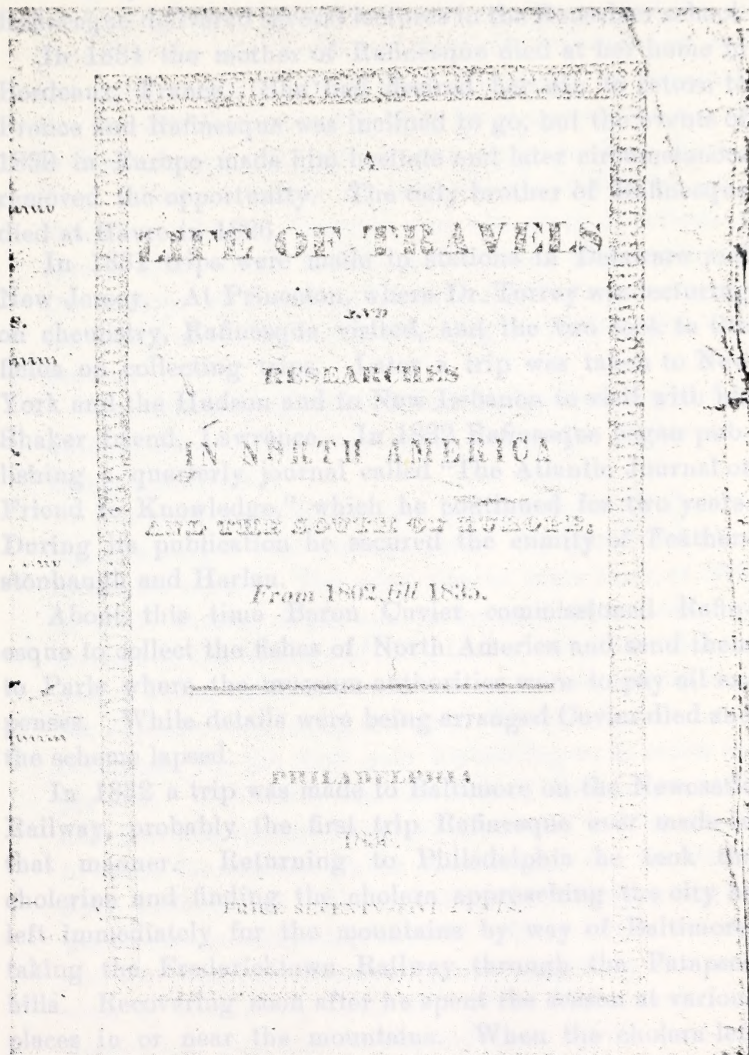
These occupations, Rafinesque states consumed all his time and his collections were left in store and part of them under a mortgage. The transportation charges from Lexington proved very expensive. The vacation of 1827 was spent in research work in the libraries of Philadelphia and of the New England cities. In August a journey was undertaken to Boston, going by way of New York and Troy, where Professor Eaton was again visited. The stage was taken from Troy to Boston, the journey occupying two days. Harvard College was holding commencement on the day after Rafinesque arrived and he was an attendant on this occasion. A week was spent looking through the libraries of Cambridge and Boston and in meeting with learned men. The return to Troy was by way of Worcester where the library of the Antiquarian Society was visited. Various stops were made, but one, especially noteworthy, was at the Shaker settlement of New Lebanon on a visit with the botanist and gardener, Mr. Lawrence. Continuing on to Troy and Albany, the steamboat was there taken to New York. After a brief rest the journey was resumed to Philadelphia, which city was reached in September.

Rafinesque finding his health poor abandoned teaching and looked about for health and enjoyment in study. A volume of his Medical Flora was issued in 1828 and a second in 1830. Having as he thought cured himself of a chronic complaint he devoted much time and attention to the ills of others, choosing as a specialty the diseases of the lungs. A number of vegetable remedies were prepared and placed on the market and success rewarded the efforts from a commercial point of view. A small book called the "Pulmist, or the Art to Cure the Consumption" was issued and distributed in 1829. It is the common way to severely condemn Rafinesque for this episode in his career, yet after all is said it is difficult for an unprejudiced mind to enter anything more than a general censure. One would be rash to assert that his remedies or methods were any less medicinal than many others used during this period, or for that matter at the present time and which pass for respectability. Doubtless they were in many ways superior to some of the methods or remedies then in vogue.

Having noticed the tendency to appropriate the discoveries whenever any patents were secured Rafinesque refused to take out any more patents. He remarks, "Some envious hearts may have blamed me for it:" but he naively adds, "they are probably those who would have been the first to steal them if published."

In 1828 the Alleghanies were again visited, chiefly at new stations. On the return trip Rafinesque passed through Bethlehem and visited with the botanist Schweinitz. A trip was taken to New Jersey, thence on to New York, Staten Island, and to Long Island. In 1829 only two small journeys were taken, one in the spring to the pine barrens in New Jersey, and the second in the summer to New York by steamboat, thence to Norwalk in Connecticut, and to Hempstead on Long Island. In 1830 a trip was made in the spring to New Jersey, and during the summer to the Catskill Mountains in New York. The return was by way

of Albany where Rafinesque met Doctors Rank and Elisha
and at Troy his old friends Eaton and Allen. While here



COVER TITLE OF RAFINESQUE'S "LIFE OF TRAVELS."

During the year 1833 Rafinesque spent some time ex-
ploring the marls in the pine barrens of New Jersey. He

of Albany where Rafinesque met Doctors Beck and Eights, and at Troy his old friends Eaton and Hales. While here Rafinesque delivered several lectures in the Rensselaer school.

In 1831 the mother of Rafinesque died at her home in Bordeaux, France. She had desired her son to return to France and Rafinesque was inclined to go, but the events of 1830 in Europe made him hesitate and later circumstances removed the opportunity. The only brother of Rafinesque died at Havre in 1826.

In 1831 trips were made to stations in Delaware and New Jersey. At Princeton, where Dr. Torrey was lecturing on chemistry, Rafinesque visited, and the two took to the fields on collecting trips. Later a trip was taken to New York and the Hudson and to New Lebanon to visit with his Shaker friend, Lawrence. In 1832 Rafinesque began publishing a quarterly journal called "The Atlantic Journal or Friend to Knowledge," which he continued for two years. During its publication he secured the enmity of Featherstonhaugh and Harlan.

About this time Baron Cuvier commissioned Rafinesque to collect the fishes of North America and send them to Paris where the museum authorities were to pay all expenses. While details were being arranged Cuvier died and the scheme lapsed.

In 1832 a trip was made to Baltimore on the Newcastle Railway, probably the first trip Rafinesque ever made in that manner. Returning to Philadelphia he took the cholera and finding the cholera approaching the city he left immediately for the mountains by way of Baltimore, taking the Fredericktown Railway through the Patapsco hills. Recovering soon after he spent the season at various places in or near the mountains. When the cholera left Philadelphia he returned by way of Harrisburg where he visited Governor Wolf.

During the year 1833 Rafinesque spent some time exploring the marls in the pine barrens of New Jersey. He

next essayed an extended journey through the southern Alleghanies to at least as far as Alabama. Heavy rains (and being lamed by an accidental fall) prevented the completion of the trip; Leesburg, Virginia, was the most southern point reached. Soon after the return he departed up the Schuylkill river and in July he was along the sea shore in New Jersey. A journey was made to New York and Troy where a course of lectures was delivered at the Rensselaer school. Lectures were also given at various other places, after which Rafinesque explored the country about the sources of the Susquehanna and Delaware rivers, and the valley of the Mohawk, returning to Philadelphia in September.

The summer of 1834 found Rafinesque eager for the outdoor life. Trips were made along the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers.

For some years Rafinesque had had in mind the founding of a six per cent savings bank. By persistent effort he interested others. The plan was to issue stock of \$50,000 in 5,000 shares; depositors to be paid six per cent. Subscribers to the number of fifty took most of the shares; the first of June, 1835, the bank was organized and by September deposits were being received. The plan succeeded. The dividends for the first year amounting to as much as nine per cent. The worry and exertions of Rafinesque over this new business venture impaired his health and he concluded to spend the summer in the mountains. On the fourth of July, 1835, he left Philadelphia on the railway, going to Columbia on the Susquehanna river. Here a boat was secured and the journey continued by easy stages up the canal or river by Harrisburg as far at least as Mahantango, visiting nearby and outlying points, and then up the Juniata river to Lewistown in the mountain region. Here the remainder of the summer was passed amid scenes and surroundings conducive to the health of a naturalist. By September Rafinesque returned by stage to Duncan Island at the mouth of

A
LIFE OF TRAVELS

AND
RESEARCHES
IN NORTH AMERICA AND SOUTH EUROPE,
OR
OUTLINES

OF
The Life, Travels and Researches
OF

C. S. RAFINESQUE, A. M. Ph. D.

Professor of historical and natural sciences, member of many learned Societies in Europe and America, author of many works, &c.

CONTAINING

His travels in **NORTH AMERICA** and the **SOUTH of EUROPE**; the Atlantic Ocean, Mediterranean, Sicily, Azores, &c. from 1802 to 1835—with sketches of his scientific and historical researches, &c.

*Un voyageur dès le berceau,
Je le serais jusqu' au tombeau . . .*

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1836.

PRICE SEVENTY-FIVE CENTS.

the Juniata river, by boat to Harrisburg and Columbia, and by rail to Philadelphia. He felt restored to perfect health and began toiling in the bank as actuary of the institution. The new employment kept Rafinesque from roaming but gave him time to compose his larger works, many of which soon began to appear. In 1836 he published a small book of one hundred and forty-eight pages, entitled: "A Life of Travels and Researches in North America and South Europe." It is a characteristic but interesting, though somewhat crude narrative. This book is now very rare. It contains about all that is known of the inner life of Rafinesque. The fragmentary accounts and sketches of his life now extant are all more or less replete with errors, some of them grotesquely so.

While a resident of Lexington, Rafinesque helped form (in 1822) a literary club which later became the Kentucky Institute. He says:

I became the Secretary of it. We met weekly, to read Essays, discuss questions, &c. But trifles alone were welcome as well as good suppers: my communications were too learned. I had to become a Poet, I read and published some light poetry; . . . The most striking were the Instability of the world, Despondency, the Western flowers, &c., with the *Rives de l'Ohio* in French.*

The poem, "Instability", was elaborated and published, along with some minor pieces, in 1836, and strange as it may seem, actually passed through two editions during the year. Other publications of the same year were "The American Nations, or Outlines of Their General History," in two volumes; "New Flora and Botany of North America" in four parts; "Synoptical Flora Telluriana." In 1837 Rafinesque published his scheme of banking, in a book entitled, "Safe Banking, Including the Principles of Wealth." Another publication was "The Universe and the Stars." In 1838 there appeared: "The Ancient Monuments of North and South America," "Genius and Spirit of the Hebrew Bible;" "Alsographia Americana;" "Celestial Wonders and Philoso-

* Rafinesque, *Life of Travels*, pp. 72-73.

phy, or the Structure of the Visible Heavens;" and "Sylva Telluriana." In 1839 the publications were "American Manual of Mulberry trees," and "Improvements of Universities, Colleges and other Seats of Learning." While "Autikon Botanikon," three parts, "The Pleasures and Duties of Wealth," and "The Good Book, and Amenities of Nature, or Annals of Historical and Natural Sciences," were issued in 1840.

But the end was at hand. Hard work, close confinement, and disease made inroads upon the once powerful frame and the life of Rafinesque closed on September 18, 1840. Death found the toiler in reduced circumstances, dwelling in a garret, and alone. The immediate cause of death being cancer of the stomach. It is related that Dr. William Mease, a faithful friend, prepared the body for burial. On returning later with the undertaker, Mr. Bringham, and a few friends, it was found that the Shylock landlord had removed the remains to an adjoining room and locked the door, with the idea of selling the body to a medical school. The door was forced, the remains taken out by the rear of the building, and conveyed to a little church yard, then outside the city, and buried. The place is now known as Ronaldson's cemetery, Ninth and Catherine streets, a locality obliterated by the growth of the city.

Rafinesque left a will which is on file in the archives of Philadelphia. From it a few items concerning his inner life are revealed. Only here is it found that Rafinesque was married in Sicily in 1809 to Josephine Vaccaro. In 1811, a daughter, Emily; and in 1814, a son Charles Linneus, were born. The son died the following year. The wife and mother, proud and frivolous, in 1815 on receipt of the news of the shipwreck of her husband forgot her allegiance and married a comedian named Giovanni Pizzarrone and wasted the remaining property in her hands. The daughter Emily became a stage singer. It is further learned that the brother of Rafinesque left two children, Jules and Laura, and that the sister of Rafinesque died about the year 1834. The

VALUABLE BOOKS.

A MANUAL OF



Medical Botany,

CONTAINING 52 COLORED PLATES,

OF THE BEST MEDICAL PLANTS IN THE UNITED STATES,

With their names in Latin, German, French, & English, & a full description of their virtues, Localities and Medical Properties, with the manner of applying them for the prevention and cure of disease.

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR RAFINESQUE, M.D.

Who travelled many years in the United States to discover the most efficient Medical Plants.

Also, a choice collection of Miscellaneous Books, and a variety of Entertaining and Instructional Books for the Family.

FOR SALE CHEAP.

FACSIMILE OF A BROADSIDE,

19x24 inches, distributed to advertise the sale of the personal effects of Rafinesque.

daughter, Emily, and the children, Jules and Laura, were made the beneficiaries of the will jointly with various philanthropic proposals. Professor John Torrey, Dr. James Mease, Professor James Green, with others were named as executors. The will was probated November 16, 1840, and was signed as executor by James Mease, November 28, 1840.

The will provided for private sale but not much if any attention was paid to its provisions. The personal effects, said to have amounted to eight dray loads, were taken to the auction rooms of the city. Large three-colored posters were distributed announcing the sale. Connoisseurs were on hand and heartily helped themselves much to their liking. The sale was so managed that the estate was indebted to the administrator in the modest sum of fourteen dollars and forty-three cents.

In summing up it may be stated that Rafinesque was no ordinary man. He had rather well defined opinions of the theory of evolution, thus antedating Darwin. He had some idea of the modern germ theory of disease. He was a pioneer in American Archaeological investigation, a pioneer teacher of modern languages, and a pioneer object teacher. He was an earnest advocate of the natural classification in natural sciences while all of his contemporaries held to the old Linnean artificial system. He was also the inventor of the coupon system. What more is needed to distinguish a man from the common lot?

General George W. Jones of Dubuque, Iowa, a student at Transylvania University from 1821 to 1825 has left the following account of his teacher, Rafinesque:

I recollect the learned Professor Rafinesque perfectly well and his physiognomy and general appearance are now visible to my mind's eye. He was in personal stature about the size and appearance of my deceased friend, the late John Quincy Adams, but I think he had a full suit of hair and black eyes. . . . Professor Rafinesque had a room in college proper, and was a man of peculiar habits and was very eccentric, but was to me one of the most interesting men I have ever known.

He often lectured to the students in college and in a most entertaining manner to the great delight of his audiences. His lecture on the ants

was peculiarly instructive and interesting, causing many of the students to laugh heartily when he gave us the history of ants, especially when he described them as having lawyers, doctors, generals and privates, and of their having great battles and of the care by physicians and nurses of the wounded, etc., etc. . . . I would now give any reasonable sum to hear him repeat one of his lectures that I listened to in Transylvania University.*

This was written in 1894, seventy years after the occurrences. Rafinesque evidently made an impression. He is frequently referred to as eccentric, sometimes in a disparaging tone. Critics seem to forget that eccentricity may be found in every university in the land and some of the cases are very pronounced.

President Jordan in speaking of Rafinesque says:

Nevertheless, no more remarkable figure has ever appeared in the annals of science. . . . American naturalists have greater honor now than forty years ago. Rafinesque died unnoticed and was buried only by stealth. A whole nation wept for Agassiz. But a difference was in the men as well as in the times. Both were great naturalists and learned men. Both had left high reputations in Europe to cast their lot with America. Agassiz's great heart went out toward everyone with whom he came in contact. But Rafinesque loved no man or woman, and died, as he had lived, alone.†

The last sentence is not quite correct.

IOWA CITY, IOWA, Sept. 1, 1905.

LO! THE POOR INDIANS.—Two swarthy sons of the forest appeared in the House yesterday morning, and attracted the universal attention of the members. They are a delegation of 43 from the tribe of Pottawattamies, who want the permission of the State to be allowed to settle in Marshall county. The citizens of that flourishing county are willing, and petition the legislature in their behalf. They are very peaceable and intelligent for Indians, and are ready to purchase farms for cultivation.—*The Iowa Citizen (Des Moines)*, Feb. 25, 1858.

* Call, Life and Writings of Rafinesque, pp. 43, 64.

† Popular Science Monthly, vol. 29, pp. 212, 221.

THE PASSING OF AN IOWA INDUSTRY.

Dispatches from Clinton which a few days ago announced the demolition of the last lumber mill in South Clinton will bring reminiscences to many middle aged people of the flush days of a great Iowa industry. Older travelers over the Northwestern railroad will recall the monstrous piles of sawed lumber that covered the river front, and the long banks of logs that lay inside their booms for miles along the shores of the river. Now the passer-by sees only scattered piles of worm eaten and weather beaten lumber. The long herds of saw logs have disappeared from the river sides, and the lumber industry which was once the business of Clinton, has become a mere memory.

There were millions in it in the earlier days when the river ran from Beef Slough south to Davenport untrammelled by bridges, and offered a clear passage for the monstrous rafts manned by their crews of turbulent river drivers who guided and controlled the massed acres of logs by long sweeps at bow and stern. The current furnished the motive power. The untamable raftsmen steered by day and rioted by night. They owned the towns where they tied up by right of physical conquest. They were the remnant of the old flat boat type of the early river days, the successors of Mike McCool and the goths of the lower river. There were dead men drifting in the turbid currents of the river and lying along shore where the old raftsmen held their sway. But they brought the logs for the lumber that built the early homes and fenced the prairies of Illinois and Iowa. Every town had its lumber mill. The river front was rife with the screams of big seven foot rotaries tearing away the slabs and rush of the gangs as they turned solid logs into boards and dimension timbers. Later the band saws took the place of the big frame work of the gang saws, and raft boats displaced the roaring drunken crews of raftsmen. Still the logs came

down the river, the saws hummed and the mill owners and the mill hands profited.

Tens of thousands of working men came marching up the main streets of Clinton, Dubuque, Davenport and the other river cities while the logs lasted, each with his dinner pail on his arm, and the fresh, clean smell of pine sawdust on his garments. Money was plenty in the river towns, because every man was busy. The mill men became millionaires. Whole cities were built upon the sawdust. But the lumber industry in Iowa has gone where the pine forests of Wisconsin went years ago. Clinton where Young's great mill was the largest in the world has been forced to find other employment. Not one thousand feet of pine lumber is produced in Iowa today where a million feet were cut twenty-five years ago. The raft boats have fallen to the excursion business. The mills are being torn down and a great Iowa industry has gone south to the long leaf pine forests.—*Marshalltown Times-Republican*, November 25, 1904.

ABOUT a mile below our encampment we passed Floyd's Bluff and river, fourteen miles from the Maha village. Sergeant Floyd was of the party of Lewis and Clark, and was highly esteemed by them and his loss much regretted. The place of his interment is marked by a wooden cross, which may be seen by navigators at a considerable distance. The grave occupies a beautiful rising ground, now covered with grass and wild flowers. The pretty little river, which bears his name, is neatly fringed with willow and shrubbery. Involuntary tribute was paid to the spot, by the feelings even of the most thoughtless as we passed by. It is several years since he was buried there; no one has disturbed the cross which marks the grave; even the Indians who pass venerate the place, and often leave a present or offering near it. Brave, adventurous youth! thou art not forgotten—for

although thy bones are deposited far from thy native home, in the desert-waste, yet the eternal silence of the plain shall mourn thee, and memory will dwell upon thy grave!

* * * In the evening we passed the grave of Floyd, and for a moment we thought it proper to

“.....suspend the dashing oar,
To bid his gentle spirit rest”.

—*Early Western Travels, Brackenridge, vol. 6, pp. 85 and 150.*

THE EASTERN SHORE OF IOWA, AS SEEN FROM ROCK ISLAND, IN 1829.

The Mississippi is here a clear and rapid river, flowing over beds of rock and gravel, and bordered by the most lovely shores. Nothing of the kind can be more attractive than the scenery on the Upper Rapids, in the vicinity of the Sauk and Fox village. On the western shore, a series of slopes are seen commencing at the gravelly edge of the water, rising one above another with a barely perceptible acclivity for a considerable distance, until the background is terminated by a chain of beautifully rounded hills, over which trees are thinly scattered as if planted by the hand of art. This is the charm of prairie scenery; although a wilderness, as nature made it, it has no savage nor repulsive feature; the verdant carpet, the gracefully waving outlines of the surface, the clumps, the groves, the scattered trees, give it the appearance of a noble park, boundless in extent, adorned with exquisite taste. It is a wild but blooming desert, that does not awe by its gloom, but is gay and cheerful, winning by its social aspect, as well as by its variety and intrinsic gracefulness.—*Thomas L. McKenney, History of the Indian Tribes, Phil. 1855, vol. 2, p. 14.*

ANNALS OF IOWA.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

THE INDIAN CHIEF APPANOOSE.

The accounts which have come down to us in regard to this chief, who was so distinguished in his day that his name was given to one of the counties of our State, are very meager. McKenney and Hall, in their great work (folio edition, p. 58) on the North American Indians, give him less than a page of biography. His portrait—a fine large lithograph, colored by hand—shows him to have been a very good looking Indian, not so much addicted to the use of paint and feathers as many of the chiefs whose homes were on Iowa soil. His name signifies “A chief when a child,” from which it has been inferred that his position came to him by inheritance. Judge A. R. Fulton in his “Red Men of Iowa,” says that he was a man of quiet disposition, much beloved by his people, and that it had been stated that he had four wives. Of his early life nothing definite is known. He was opposed to Blackhawk, favoring the peace policy of Keokuk, desiring to be friendly with the whites. He once lived on the Iowa river, but when the Sacs and Foxes removed to the valley of the Des Moines, he established his village on land now within the limits of the city of Ottumwa. The buildings of the C., B. & Q. R. R. are said to stand upon the ground which was in the corn fields of Appanoose and his band. In 1837 he visited the east in the company taken thither by Gen. J. M. Street, including Blackhawk, Keokuk, Wapello, and other noted Indians. While in the city of Boston they were taken to Faneuil Hall and other places of interest, and were given a reception at the State House. After the addresses of Gov.

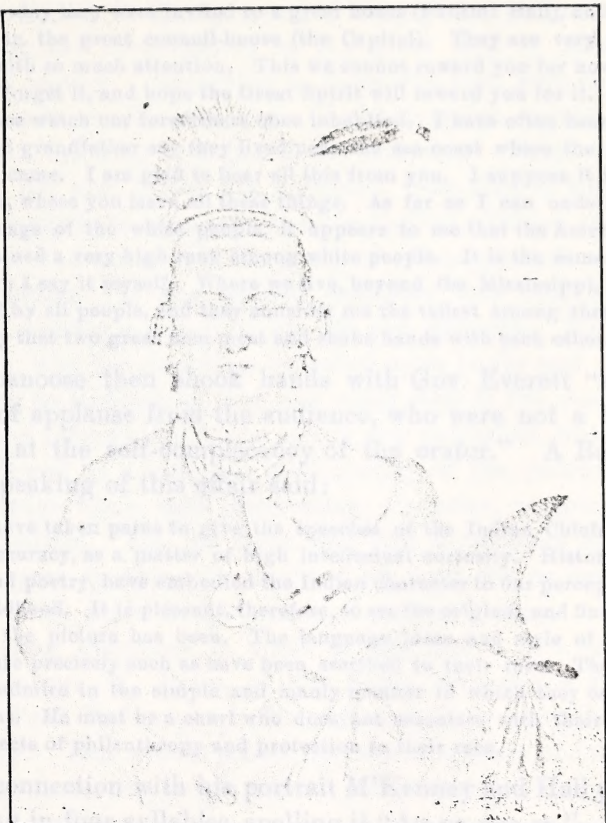
Applauded her "brave" acts with Gov. Everett "and
schools of applause for the brave who were not a little
amused at the thought of the 'murder.' " A Boston
paper wrote of the trial:

[illegible]

In connection with the portrait of King, the artist painted a small portrait of his son, Prince Charles, in the background.

APPANOOSE.

"A Peace Chief who presided over a village of the Sauks." His home was within the present city limits of Ottumwa. One of the richest Iowa counties perpetuates his name.



Edward Everett, Keokuk, Wapello and others, Appanoose spoke as follows:

BROTHERS:—You have heard just now what my chief has to say. All our chiefs and warriors are very much gratified by our visit to this town. Last Saturday they were invited to a great house (Faneuil Hall), and now they are in the great council-house (the Capitol). They are very much pleased with so much attention. This we cannot reward you for now, but shall not forget it, and hope the Great Spirit will reward you for it. This is the place which our forefathers once inhabited. I have often heard my father and grandfather say they lived near the sea-coast where the white men first came. I am glad to hear all this from you. I suppose it is put in a book, where you learn all these things. As far as I can understand the language of the white people, it appears to me that the Americans have attained a very high rank among white people. It is the same with us, though I say it myself. Where we live, beyond the Mississippi, I am respected by all people, and they consider me the tallest among them. I am happy that two great men meet and shake hands with each other.

Appanoose then shook hands with Gov. Everett "amid shouts of applause from the audience, who were not a little amused at the self-complacency of the orator." A Boston paper speaking of this affair said:

We have taken pains to give the speeches of the Indian Chiefs with verbal accuracy, as a matter of high intellectual curiosity. History, romance and poetry, have embodied the Indian character to our perceptions from childhood. It is pleasant, therefore, to see the original, and find how accurate the picture has been. The language, ideas, and style of these Indians are precisely such as have been ascribed to their race. There is much to admire in the simple and manly manner in which they convey their ideas. He must be a churl who does not associate with their visit here, objects of philanthropy and protection to their race.

In connection with his portrait M'Kenney and Hall print his name in four syllables, spelling it "Ap-pa-noo-sa." This would imply that the name was so pronounced by the Indians, but changed to "Appanoose" by the whites. The portrait which we present with this article is copied from the work to which we have referred.

A FORGOTTEN NATURALIST.

We have given a large space in this number of THE ANNALS to an article by Mr. T. J. Fitzpatrick, on the life and labors of C. S. Rafinesque, one of the most learned and versatile original investigators in the great field of American natural history. Excepting to those who have been engaged in the same studies, the name of this traveler, explorer and scientist, has long been practically unknown. Some account of his life and labors has appeared from time to time, but these works have been published in limited editions, now out of print, and not within the reach of either general or scientific readers. It has seemed desirable that THE ANNALS should contain a record of his life and writings. Mr. Fitzpatrick, who has doubtless collected more books and papers relating to Rafinesque than any other man in the west, supplies the information in the article now published, which will be followed by a complete bibliography of his publications. Rafinesque was a most interesting character, eccentric, but very learned. He has been and still is a subject of much controversy, touching the merit of his work, but he assuredly has a fixed place in the annals of natural history. A most interesting quotation is made in this article from the late Gen. George W. Jones, of this State, who was a student under Prof. Rafinesque in Transylvania University, Lexington, Ky. This article points the way to sources of information for those who would make a comprehensive study of his life and writings.

COLONEL THOMAS COX.

Until recently this Iowa pioneer, well known in his time, had long since ceased to occupy a place in the public mind. Indeed, he was practically forgotten, though his name continued to appear in the lists of our territorial legislators. Before coming to Iowa he had been elected to both branches

of the State legislature of Illinois. He was appointed Register of the U. S. Land Office at Springfield and had held several other important positions in that State. He was also a volunteer in the Blackhawk war. He came to Iowa in 1837 and was for a time surveyor of public lands. It is understood that he subdivided ten townships in Jackson county, settling on a claim or farm some four miles from the city of Maquoketa. He was a member of the house of representatives of the first, second and third territorial legislatures, in the last of which he served as speaker. In 1842 he was elected to the territorial council, the term being two years. He was elected president of that body in the last term of his service, the office of lieutenant governor not having been created. The contest must have been a spirited one, as he was chosen on the forty-first ballot. He died on his claim November 9, 1844, and was buried under a hickory tree which still stands near the site of his log cabin.

During the early part of the present year his remains were removed to the Mt. Hope Cemetery in Maquoketa, the new grave being marked by a granite boulder, which bears the following inscription: "Thomas Cox, 1787-1844. Pioneer Law Maker." The unveiling and dedication of the monument took place on the 4th day of July under the auspices of the Pioneers and the Historical Society of Jackson County. The opening prayer was made by Rev. Dr. Wm. Salter, of Burlington, who preached the funeral sermon of Col. Cox 61 years ago, at which time he was pastor of the Congregational church of Maquoketa. An excellent address was delivered by Hon. George L. Mitchell, who paid a high tribute to Col. Cox. The monument was unveiled by Mrs. H. G. Dorchester, of Bellevue, Jackson county, a daughter of Col. William A. Warren, a distinguished pioneer of that county who was also a member of the constitutional convention of 1857. After these exercises the procession returned to the city where the old settlers and visitors reassembled in the Armory. The assemblage was called to order by W. C.

Gregory, President of the Old Settlers Association. Some further exercises were held, consisting of music and remarks by different gentlemen present. Dr. Salter delivered a brief address containing interesting reminiscences of his life in Maquoketa, and of the circumstances connected with the death and burial of Col. Cox.

The idea of thus honoring the memory of this distinguished pioneer originated with Mr. Harvey Reid, of Maquoketa, whose indefatigable researches were rewarded by obtaining a complete historical account of the life and public services of Col. Cox, both in Illinois and Iowa. He was assisted in this work by Mr. J. W. Ellis, Secretary of the Jackson County Historical Society. This was a most important day in the history of that city and county, for a splendid beginning has been made in placing upon record the early history of that region. Mr. Reid intends to publish a pamphlet containing a full account of the life of Col. Cox, the removal of his remains and the dedication of the monument. He will also prepare an article for this magazine which will be illustrated with a portrait of the pioneer lawmaker.

THE HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT AT ST. LOUIS.

Suggestions came from many quarters that the Historical Department should make an exhibit at St. Louis. A concurrent resolution was passed by the legislature which authorized the Executive Council "to prepare for shipment to St. Louis such articles as they may decide to be suitable for an exhibit from the historical department of Iowa." Upon investigating the matter it was found that only a limited space could be secured for this purpose. The items enumerated below were therefore selected and forwarded by express under the immediate charge of Mr. Charles A. Cumming, a well known artist of Des Moines. Quarters for the exhibit had been secured in a fire-proof building in the care of W. J. McGee, the distinguished chief of the department of an-

thropology. Mr. Cumming superintended the hanging of the portraits and the arrangement of the books, manuscripts and maps. The exhibit attracted much attention and was safely guarded by Prof. McGee and the Iowa Commission, to all of whom much credit is due. The "Jury of History", made the following awards, which were confirmed by the "Superior Jury:"

To the State of Iowa, a grand prize for its exhibit of historical objects—a medal and diploma.

To Charles Aldrich, Curator of the Department, a collaborator's gold medal and diploma.

Also to the same a bronze medal and diploma for the exhibit of a ceremonial grooved axe.

To Charles A. Cumming, a collaborator's silver medal and diploma, awarded to him for his services "with the Iowa State Historical Exhibit."

The following is a list of the articles sent to the St. Louis Exposition by the Historical Department of Iowa:

OIL PORTRAITS.

Governors of Iowa Territory.—Robert Lucas, John Chambers, James Clark.

Governors of the State of Iowa.—Ansel Briggs, Stephen Hempstead, James W. Grimes, Ralph P. Lowe, Samuel J. Kirkwood, William M. Stone, Samuel Merrill, Cyrus C. Carpenter, Francis M. Drake, as Brig. Gen.

Other Portraits.—William B. Allison, Gen. G. M. Dodge, James Harlan, Samuel F. Miller, Charles Aldrich.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT OF IOWA.

Annals of Iowa, 3d series, 5 volumes, bound in three-quarters red levant, 1893-1903.

Six Biennial Reports of the Historical Department of Iowa, bound in one volume, 1893-1903.

Iowa Territorial Laws, 1838-39, 1839-40, 2 volumes, republished.

Richman, Irving B. "John Brown among the Quakers and Other Sketches."

First Census of the Original Counties of Dubuque and Demoiné, 1836, 2 pamphlets.

Shambaugh, Benjamin F. "History of the Constitutions of Iowa." 1902.

Legislative Journals, extra session, 1840, now first published.

IOWA BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS.

Journal of the Convention for the Formation of a Constitution for the State of Iowa, 1844.

Journal of the Convention for the Formation of a Constitution for the State of Iowa, 1846.

Journal of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Iowa, 1857.

Larrabee, Governor William. Original manuscript, first inaugural address, 1886.

Tuttle, James M., Correspondence of, during the Civil War.

Letters of the Territorial Governors of Iowa, 2 volumes. The official copies.

Street, Gen. Joseph Montfort, illustrious friend of the Indians, correspondence of, 1806-1831.

Carpenter, Ex-Governor Cyrus C. Address at the unveiling of the Spirit Lake tablet at Webster City, also sketch of Maj. William Williams. The original manuscripts.

Clarke, William Penn, Reporter of the Supreme Court of Iowa, correspondence of, 3 volumes, 1844-1866.

MISCELLANEOUS MANUSCRIPTS.

Crabbe, Rev. George, English Poet, Manuscript Sermon.

White, Rev. Gilbert, author of the "Natural History of Selbourne," Manuscript Sermon.

Forman, Maj. Samuel S. Original manuscript, "Narrative of a Journey Down the Ohio and Mississippi in 1798-90." By Lyman C. Draper of Wisconsin.

Aldrich, Thomas Bailey. Original manuscript, "Two Bites at a Cherry."

Audubon, John James. Original manuscript, "Habits of the Wild Turkey."

Cleveland, Grover. Original manuscript (17 pages) speech before the New York Charities Aid Association, 1891.

FOURTEEN EARLY MAPS AND MAPS INCLUDING IOWA.

Extrait d'un globe terrestre le Pere Le Grand de Dijon 1720 (Said to be earliest map including what is now Iowa.)

Facsimile of an autograph map of the Mississippi or Conception river drawn by Father Marquette at the time of his voyage.

Map of part of Wisconsin territory, compiled from Tanner's map, 1836.

Map of Wisconsin territory. Published by Henry J. Abel, 1838.

Sectional map of the Black Hawk Purchase, with a part of Illinois and Wisconsin, by L. Judson, 1838.

Map of Iowa published by J. H. Colton, 1839.

Hydrographical basin of the Upper Mississippi river from surveys and information by J. N. Nicollet, 1836-40. Reduced and compiled in 1843.

Galland's map of Iowa. Compiled from the latest authorities, by Dr. I. Galland, 1840.

Map of the surveyed part of Iowa Territory, exhibiting the location of Iowa City, the seat of government as established by the Commissioners, 4th of May, 1839. Published by John Plumbe.

Map of the western part of the U. S., shows Fort Des Moines, in Iowa.

New map of Iowa accompanied with notes by W. Barrows. Cincinnati, 1845.

Map of Iowa by L. Matzinger, 1850.

AN IOWA STONE AXE.

This axe was found near Columbus Junction, Louisa county, Iowa. Its weight is 31¾ pounds.

No effort was spared by the Executive Council of Iowa, in providing for the selection and safe shipment to and from St. Louis of the articles above enumerated. Every item was returned in as good condition as when it left the Historical Building.

THE POLITICAL CRISIS IN THE IOWA LEGISLATURE, JANUARY, 1855.

The following correspondence was preserved among the papers of the late George Frazee (a notice of his life is in *THE ANNALS* VI, 639). Ebenezer Cook, of Davenport, and Milton D. Browning, of Burlington, were Whig candidates for U. S. Senator, but could not get the Free Soil vote, which went to James Harlan, of Mt. Pleasant, and he was elected. The contest of James C. Jordan for his seat in the State Senate was decided later in his favor.

IOWA CITY, IOWA, 6th Jan'y, 1855.

DEAR FRAZEE:—The thing you spoke of in your letter was attempted to-day, but "the cock would not fight." The great "National wing of the Whig party" has literally "busted," and the remains of Cook and Browning are scattered to the four winds. So mote it be.

Wright and Woodward are already elected Judges of the Supreme Court. There is trouble about the third, but something satisfactory will be done. I still have hopes of a Senator, but I cannot indicate the man yet. There has been more lying, cheating, swindling and corruption here this winter than was ever conceived of in my philosophy. The democrats do not seem to have any principles, not even the "five loaves and two small fishes." They openly confess that Jordan is entitled to his seat, yet refuse to give it to him. They have sacrificed all their self-respect, and nobody has any respect for them.

Yours truly in haste,

JAMES W. GRIMES.

MT. PLEASANT, Jan. 13th, 1855.

DEAR SIR:—Yours of the 30th Dec., '54, was received by me at Iowa City—and now it is only necessary for me to say that your frankness in suggesting to me the true policy to be pursued by "a Whig" under the contingency suggested, adds another reason for my increased regard.

A man who has the frankness to advise his friend to a course that may conflict with his aspirations, is worthy of the highest consideration.

It is due to me however to state that my friends understood me to occupy the position indicated by you, *from the first*. And it so happened in this case, as it generally does, that what *Honor* required was in strict accordance with interest. For when my friends gave those, who had supported my election but coldly, and Whigs who openly opposed them in this regard, to understand that, although no principle of party usage could require it, yet that my name should be withdrawn if necessary to secure an election,—it was soon ascertained to be much more difficult to harmonize on any one else.

With high considerations of respect,

Yours truly,

GEORGE FRAZEE,
BURLINGTON, IOWA.

JAMES HARLAN.

IOWA STATE ATLAS IN ERROR.

EDITOR ANNALS:—The Iowa State Atlas, published a year ago by the Iowa Publishing Co., of Davenport, in its historical sketches of the counties of the state did not give Boone county a "square deal."

In the first paragraph the statement is made that "Squaw Creek is a tributary of the Des Moines river." Squaw Creek runs across the northeast corner of Boone county, and thence in a southeasterly direction, and empties into the Skunk river a short distance south of Ames in Story county.

In the third paragraph appears the following: "Along the west side of Honey Creek was early discovered a chain of mounds, nine in number, of the same appearance as others found in various parts of the West, evidently burial places for the dead in the age of the Mound Builders." The mounds above referred to are on the west side of the Des Moines river, while Honey Creek is on the east side.

The first sentence of the sixth paragraph reads as follows: "The first settlement in the county was made at a place called Pea's Point, a strip of prairie running into the timber on the east side of the Des Moines river just south of where Boonsboro was afterwards located." Pea's Point is not a point of prairie, but a point of timber, and it is at least three miles from the point of prairie above referred to.

The second sentence of the same paragraph reads as follows: "The first settlers were John Pea, James Hull, Jr., John M. Crooks, Samuel H. Bowers and Thomas Sparks."

The persons here named were not the first settlers of Boone county, nor was the first settlement made at Pea's Point. It has been a long settled fact, that C. W. Gaston was the first settler of Boone county, and that he settled near the south line of the county on the east bank of the Des Moines river, about two and a half miles southwest of the present town of Madrid.

The writer of this article was well acquainted with C. W. Gaston and John Pea, the man after whom Pea's Point was named, both of whom are now dead. On more than one occasion has the writer heard each of these men give the dates of their settlement in the county. C. W. Gaston gave the date of January 12, 1846. There are no less than half a dozen men still living in Madrid and vicinity, who have heard C. W. Gaston give the above named date as the one on which he arrived in Boone county and began the erection of his log cabin. The writer and others he can name have heard John Pea state that he arrived at the point of timber which afterwards bore his name, in the latter part of April, 1846. These dates show that C. W. Gaston had been in the county over three months before John Pea and the parties who came with him arrived at Pea's Point.

Further along in this sketch the name of the Sioux Indian chief killed by Henry Lott, is given as Sim-an-e-do-lah, and the time of the killing the winter of 1852-53. The correct name of this chief was Si-dom-ina-do-tah* and the time of the killing was February, 1854.

In relation to the location of the county seat the following occurs: "The town was laid out by order of the county commissioners and named Boonsboro. Its location is a little north of the center of the county on the Des Moines river."

This is another mistake that misleads. Boonsboro was located on the northwest fourth of section twenty-nine, township eighty-four, range twenty-six, and on the prairie three miles east of the Des Moines river.

As a lover of correct history and a citizen of Boone county during the past fifty-two years, the writer begs enough of your space to publish the foregoing.

C. L. LUCAS.

Madrid, Iowa.

* For further information concerning Si-dom-ina-do-tah see ANNALS OF IOWA, p. 133, vol. I, and pp. 151 and 160, vol. II.

NOTABLE DEATHS.

JAMES C. SAVERY was born at Wareham, Mass., Nov. 30, 1826; he died at Cable, a mining town in Montana, Aug. 21, 1905. He was descended from one of the Pilgrim Fathers, who came over in 1620. During his early life his family resided at Saratoga, N. Y. He came to Des Moines about the year 1855, where he made his home. Des Moines continued to be his home during the whole of his long life, though business interests compelled him to reside for long periods, at various times, in New York City and the Rocky mountains. He was a man possessed of great business capacity, always active and alert in whatever engaged his attention. In the later fifties and early sixties the capital of Iowa did not possess a more energetic citizen. His business enterprises, for the most part, were successful. It is understood, however, that he won and lost more than one handsome fortune. He seemed to acquire wealth easily, but his interest in its acquisition kept him ever seeking new fields for its investment. This led to many losses. He built two first-class hotels in Des Moines, the old "Savery," now the "Kirkwood," and the new "Savery," both of which have been favorites with the people who travel. He was also a member of the American Emigrant Company, a corporation organized to facilitate the settlement of lands it had acquired in northwestern Iowa. In this he was associated with F. C. D. McKay and Talmage E. Brown. This organization undoubtedly was instrumental in bringing many persons seeking homes into that section of the State. Latterly, Mr. Savery had been engaged in developing a gold mine at the place where he died. This enterprise had become one of considerable promise, and it has been understood that he had again become a millionaire. In the old days, say of the war period and earlier, the Savery home in Des Moines was a center of attraction. His first wife, a lady of English parentage, was well educated, sparkling and bright, a leader in the society at that time. The Saverys were distinguished for their generous hospitality and wide influence. Whatever contributed to the welfare of the young city was always certain to elicit their deep interest. In accordance with Mr. Savery's wishes his remains were brought back to his old home and laid to rest with those of his wife and three brothers.

WARREN BECKWITH was born in Henrietta, Monroe county, N. Y., in 1833; he died at Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, July 17, 1905. He was educated at Monroe Academy, and at the Genesee Wesleyan Seminary, at Lima, N. Y. He left school at the age of 19, having adopted the profession of civil engineer. His first work was on the Genesee Valley Railroad. He followed this work in the east until 1854, when he migrated to Kansas, and at Ft. Riley helped to lay out Pawnee City, which was designed by Governor Reeder for the capital of the State. He assisted in erecting a building for the legislature, which, however, was occupied but one day. He became a friend and intimate associate of Nathaniel Lyon, who was then a Captain in the regular army, and was afterwards killed at Wilson's Creek, Mo., while heading a charge of the 1st Iowa Infantry. In 1856 he settled at Burlington, where he entered the employ of the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad, with which he stayed until 1859, when he engaged in business in Texas. He was there when the civil war broke out and at once came north and offered his services to the government. He enlisted as a private in Co. C, 4th Iowa Cavalry, in which he served until the close of the war. Four months later he was promoted to First Lieutenant, and on January 1, 1863, was made Captain of his Company. He served under Gen. Curtis in southwestern Missouri, and later joined Gen. Grant's army on the march to Vicksburg, where he participated in the siege of that stronghold. He was with Gen. Sherman on the Meridian expedition in 1864.

He was not mustered out until August 29, 1865, after a most creditable career in the army of four years, during which time he was constantly in active service. At this time he was offered a commission in the regular army, which he did not accept. He returned to Mt. Pleasant, where he was employed by the C., B. & Q. R. R. Co. In this field of effort he rose to a prominent and responsible position. He became a railroad contractor in 1879, and followed that business for several years. Upon his retirement he engaged in farming, stock-raising and manufacturing. He was one of the most prominent citizens in southern Iowa, a man of high character and great usefulness.

WILLIAM M. MCFARLAND was born in Posey county, Ind., April 1, 1848; he died in St. Paul, Minn., July 15, 1905. He was graduated at the Wesleyan University, at Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, in 1873. Shortly afterward he started *The Brooklyn (Iowa) Chronicle*, with which he continued until 1884, when he removed to Estherville, Emmet county, where he engaged in the publication of *The Vindicator*. He was elected to represent his county in the house of representatives of the 22d general assembly, and re-elected two years later. In 1890 he was elected Secretary of State. He held this office three terms. Mr. McFarland was a man of decided ability, and in whatever public position he occupied created a most favorable impression. He was able and versatile as an editor, active and influential in the legislature, growing constantly in the public esteem until he reached the second office in the gift of the people of the State. At one time it seemed not improbable that he would easily reach the governorship. He possessed many elements of popularity. He was a model of hearty cordiality in his address, a graceful and pleasing writer, and a ready and eloquent speaker. To these qualities he added the wide and versatile information which distinguishes the born journalist. That he was three times elected to the high office of Secretary of State speaks volumes regarding the estimate placed upon his character and ability. Retiring from this last position, he settled in Indianola, where he resided at the time of his death. The last few years of his life had been devoted to editorial work, or to traveling in various business interests. He died very suddenly in St. Paul as he was entering a private car bound for Des Moines. His death was attributed to heart failure.

JOHN H. KEATLEY was born in Center county, Pa., Dec. 1, 1838; he died at Washington, D. C., June 20, 1905. Col. Keatley grew up on a farm and educated himself through his own exertions. He studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1860. Soon after commencing his legal practice he became editor of *The Blair County Whig*, a newspaper which supported the administration of Abraham Lincoln. When the call for 300,000 volunteers came, he enlisted in the 125th Pa. Infantry, which was soon after engaged in the second battle of Bull Run, at South Mountain, and Antietam. He participated in the Gettysburg campaign, where he was assistant adjutant general on the staff of Gen. Higgins. Later, he was actively engaged in the campaigns with General Grant which resulted in the capture of Gen. Lee and his army. After the war he was connected for a time with the freedman's bureau for five counties in southeastern Virginia, and later became a judge in the military court at Norfolk. He removed to Iowa in 1867, locating at Cedar Falls. In 1868 he settled in Council Bluffs, where he became editor of *The Nonpareil*, serving until April, 1870. In the campaign of 1872 he supported Horace Greeley for President against Gen. Grant. He ran for attorney-general in 1874, and in 1878 for congress in the 8th district, but was both times defeated. In 1876 he was chosen Mayor of Council Bluffs. In 1892 he was appointed commandant of the Iowa Soldiers' Home at Marshalltown, which position he held for two

"Iowa Band" only Rev. Messrs. Adams of Waterloo and Salter of Burlington are now living. Mr. Adams held pastorates in several towns and was for a time connected with Iowa College at Grinnell. Both himself and wife became widely known throughout the State. No pioneer woman who lived and died in Iowa was more widely known or more thoroughly esteemed. This was especially true of the members of their church organization and the students of Iowa College.

SETH H. CRAIG was born in Millersburg, Ohio, in 1825; he died in Council Bluffs, Iowa, August 1, 1905, survived by his wife, Sarah A. Craig. Capt. Craig came to Iowa in 1856. He was sheriff of Pottawattamie county in the late '50s; was the first captain of the Dodge Light Guards, a local militia organization; entered the army as captain of Co. B, 4th Iowa Infantry and was later a member of the 3rd Wisconsin Cavalry. Mr. Craig was also a Mexican War Veteran, receiving a pension for that service. He was warden of the Fort Madison Penitentiary for a term of six years. In 1884 he removed to Wymose, Gage county, Nebraska, where he was postmaster for several years. Later he was elected mayor of that city. He also held the office of county judge, filling out the unexpired term of a former judge. For several years past, and until his death, Mr. Craig had been again a resident of Council Bluffs. He was in 1903 commander of Abe Lincoln Post, G. A. R. His remains were taken to Farmington, Iowa, for burial.

DELL STUART was born in Zanesville, Ohio, in 1849; he died in Portland, Oregon, July 30, 1905. He came with his family to Iowa in his early youth, their first settlement being in Monroe county, but before the civil war they removed to Lucas county. He studied law with his brother T. M. Stuart, of Chariton, and became prominent in that part of the State as an able and successful lawyer. He was elected Judge of the circuit court in 1882 and re-elected in 1886, but resigned before his second term expired. After a residence of more than twenty years in Chariton, he removed to the Pacific coast and settled in Portland, where he again entered upon the practice of the law, and was eminently successful.

WILLIAM D. BOIES was born near Buffalo, N. Y., Aug. 24, 1819; he died in Independence, Iowa, Sept. 2, 1905. He was a brother of Ex-Governor Boies, and one of the oldest settlers of Buchanan county. He was a large farmer and achieved a very good measure of success. His sons have become extensive land owners in Buchanan county. He has the credit of establishing the first cheese factory in that part of the State and became well known from the excellence of his products. His life was one of great activity and usefulness. He gave up his work about five years ago, and until his death resided in Independence.

NARCISSA MACY SMITH was born in Greensboro, Indiana, January 7, 1834; she died at Woodward, Iowa, August 15, 1905. She was the wife of Hon. D. W. Smith, ex-deputy secretary of State and ex-deputy treasurer of State. She came to Iowa with her parents who settled in Springdale, Cedar county, in 1862. She was reared in the religion of the Friends. She was a woman of broad sympathies and strong intellectuality, and during her long married life was active in philanthropic and reform work, never, however, relinquishing her devotion to family and home.

WILLIAM G. KENT was born in Centre county, Pa., August 10, 1837; he died in Ft. Madison, Iowa, Feb. 20, 1905. He came to Lee county, Iowa, with his parents in 1842. He served as county superintendent of schools for two terms and was a member of the State senate in the 22d, 23d and 24th general assemblies. His father, Josiah Kent, was a member of the constitutional convention of 1846.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

Vol. VII, No. 4.

THE ANNALS OF IOWA.

The re-interment of the remains of Thomas Cox, one of the early settlers and the dedication of the new county seat to his memory was, in many of its circumstances, an event remarkably rare in a community as young as mine. For there is a case in the memory of the man had to be resurrected as well as his bones. Fifteen months previously, inquiries had been made which soon developed the fact that not twenty people in Jackson county knew that he died and was buried within its limits, and not one could tell a single fact of his life or career before he became our fellow citizen and highly valued official. He had come to the county in charge of a government surveying party to make the earliest surveys of the southern townships in 1837, had been elected to represent it in the first legislature of the Territory of Iowa, had been re-elected four times, and had been honored by his associates therein by being chosen speaker of one house and president of the other. In April, 1840, he had

county, by leading a band of citizens who routed a gang of outlaws in Brown's hotel at Bellevue. So much, county, only in the instance of the golden settlers was there any record that the old pioneer of the county was not a

*Thomas Cox
Speaker of the house*

THOMAS COX.

From photograph of oil painting made when he was twenty-six years old. The painting was

ANNALS OF IOWA.

VOL. VII, No. 4.

DES MOINES, IOWA, JANUARY, 1906.

3D SERIES.

COLONEL THOMAS COX.

—
BY HARVEY REID.
—

The re-interment at Maquoketa of the remains of Colonel Thomas Cox, one of Iowa's earliest pioneer legislators, and the dedication of a monument to his memory on July 4, 1905, was, in many of its concomitant circumstances, an event remarkably rare in a community as young as ours in Iowa. For it was a case in which the memory of the man had to be resurrected as well as his bones. Fifteen months previously, inquiries had begun which soon developed the fact that not twenty people in Jackson county knew that he died and was buried within its limits, and not one could tell a single incident of his life or career before he became our fellow citizen and highly honored official. He had come to the county in charge of a government surveying party to make the earliest surveys of its southern townships in 1837, had been elected to represent it in the first legislature of the Territory of Iowa, had been re-elected four times, and had been honored by his associates therein by being chosen speaker of one house and president of the other. In April, 1840, he had periled his life in defense of law and good government in the county, by leading a band of citizens who routed a gang of outlaws entrenched in Brown's hotel at Bellevue. So much, county histories told, but nothing more about Col. Cox. Only in the memories of the very oldest settlers was there any record that the old pioneer died while Iowa was yet a territory, on his claim four miles from Maquoketa, and that

he was buried on a spot of his own selection, under a beautiful hickory tree on a hillside near his log cabin home. Representatives of the Jackson County Historical Society sought the spot, guided by one who, long years before, had known the grave to be well marked by a row of cobblestones. The tree was there, its symmetrical head of glossy green a pleasure to the eye, but the mound was obliterated by nearly half a century's cultivation in grain and grass.

N. B. Butterworth, A. H. Wilson and a few other venerable pioneers of the vicinage, and the distinguished Iowa historian, Dr. William Salter, of Burlington, who, as a clergyman, had officiated at the funeral of Col. Cox in November, 1844, told us that his entire family and also all relatives and intimate friends removed to California with the earliest immigration in 1849 and 1850. So, remembrance of him had nearly passed into oblivion, and it became a welcome task to endeavor to rescue his memory and to place upon record something of what Thomas Cox had done to bring civilization, and the blessings of law and order to the "beautiful land"—Iowa.

Nearly a year was consumed in efforts to discover the whereabouts of his descendants in California, with the result of finding an aged son and daughter (Simon Bolivar and Miss Phoebe Cox), and eighteen grandchildren, living in and near Los Angeles. One of the grandsons, Mr. Thomas E. Nichols, and Mr. S. B. Cox have supplied us with meager details of the early life of their ancestor. The Boardman Library at Maquoketa supplied valuable data from the following books: Frank E. Stevens' "History of the Black Hawk War;" "The Edwards Papers," edited by Hon. E. B. Washburne; F. E. Stevens' "Illinois in the War of 1812-14;" Transactions of the Illinois Historical Society, 1904; "Territorial Records of Illinois," edited by President E. J. James; THE ANNALS OF IOWA, 1st, 2d, and 3d series; "Iowa Historical Record," and Reports of the Iowa Pioneer Lawmakers' Association. Mr. Frank E. Stevens of Chicago kindly loaned

from his library the "Record of Services of Illinois Soldiers in the Black Hawk War;" Powers' "Early Settlers of Sangamon County;" and Ninian W. Edwards' "History of Illinois," and also contributed aid in research that was invaluable. From Charles Aldrich, Curator of the Historical Department of Iowa, were procured Journals of the Iowa Territorial Assemblies; he also aided the research in many other ways. Valuable aid also came from Hon. A. F. Dawson, M. C., in procuring books and correspondence from Washington officials; from Dr. R. G. Thwaites, Secretary of the Wisconsin State Historical Society; from Dr. William Salter of Burlington, Prof. B. F. Shambaugh of Iowa City, Rev. Wm. E. Reed, Sturgis, S. D., Col. E. C. Townsend, Shullsburg, Wisconsin, Hon. P. W. Crawford, Dubuque, Adjutant-General W. H. Thrift, Des Moines, and many other friends.

Thus derived from "scraps and fragments, diamond dust of the past," we tell the story of one who was ever in the forefront of civilization, a pioneer of pioneers.

Thomas Cox was born in Kentucky, in 1787. His father, Robert Cox, came as a youth from near Belfast, Ireland, to Virginia, about the close of the revolutionary war. He soon joined in the immigration, which flowed at that period into the "dark and bloody ground" of Kentucky. We are not informed as to what locality in Virginia received the young Irishman, nor just where in Kentucky he made his home, but a tradition in the family is to the effect that after his marriage he "forted" with Daniel Boone. He married in Kentucky, Jane Robinson, the daughter of a Virginian belonging to one of the old families. Thomas was their oldest son. Family records that might have given more genealogical details were in a wagon abandoned on a Nevada desert, in the California emigration of 1849. We know only the year of his birth, and nothing of the details of his youthful days.

About 1809, he accompanied his father and family in a migration to what in that year had been constituted the

Territory of Illinois. They settled at the old French town of Kaskaskia, which had been the seat of government of the adjacent region under the French colonization, beginning about 1690, under the English conquest of 1763, and under the American domination secured by the victory of General George Rogers Clark, in 1778. President Madison had appointed as Governor of the new Territory, Hon. Ninian Edwards, then chief justice of Kentucky, and relations of intimate friendship seem to have existed between him and the Coxes, father and son. He appointed Robert Cox, justice of the peace (an important office in those days), in 1812, and, as early as 1810, made Thomas a deputy sheriff, in which position the young man assisted in taking the federal census of that year for the county of Randolph. At that time Randolph and St. Clair counties constituted the entire territory of Illinois, in which the census found only 12,282 people. Young Cox also collected the taxes for a part of Randolph county, most of them being taken from necessity in furltries.

The white settlements in Illinois Territory when it took on a separate entity, were all confined within the area south of a line drawn roughly east from the mouth of the Illinois river. The jurisdiction of its governor extended, however, to the north through what is now Wisconsin, and a part of Minnesota, quite to the British possessions, and he shared with the federal government the task of protecting the settlers from the hordes of savage tribes that roamed over this vast domain. One of the first duties, therefore, of the new territorial government was to organize an efficient militia. This necessity was aggravated by the machinations of British emissaries, who, in anticipation of the impending war, incited the Indians of northern Ohio and Indiana to hostilities as early as 1811, which were partially quelled by the fortunate issue of the battle of Tippecanoe.

Thomas Cox was one of the first to enroll himself in the militia service, and we find his name as member of one

of the companies assembled for three months' active duty, March 3, 1812, at Camp Russell, now Edwardsville, Illinois. War with England was declared June 18, 1812, and the Illinois Indians becoming openly hostile, the result was the massacre at Fort Dearborn in August. About the middle of October, Governor Edwards moved from Camp Russell with a mounted force, partly militia, and partly "Rangers," as the United States volunteers of the day were called, to form a junction at Peoria Lake with a similar force from Vincennes, Indiana, under General Samuel Hopkins of Kentucky, and chastise the savage perpetrators of the Chicago massacre. Hopkins' detachment, too easily discouraged, turned back when half the journey had been accomplished. Edwards, however, completed the march to the head of Peoria Lake, drove the Indians from their villages, and captured some of their horses; but, being without the expected co-operation, forebore the pursuit and returned without loss. In all situations of danger and contact with the enemy, Edwards' little army was led by what was called in those days, a "spy company," or band of scouts, consisting of Captain Samuel Judy and twenty-one privates. One of those privates was Thomas Cox. Among the others, were the captain and the ensign of the militia company to which Cox belonged, and a young man named John Reynolds, who, in 1830, became governor of Illinois. His service in that little company of scouts gained for Governor Reynolds in after years, the sobriquet of "The Old Ranger," by which he was so well known that, says a historical writer, Dr. J. F. Snyder, "deposit a letter in any post-office in Illinois, however remote or obscure, with no other superscription than these three words 'The Old Ranger,' and it will go straight to him at Belleville." The intimate friendship cemented by common service in the little spy company was of important moment to Cox when his comrade, Reynolds, came into a position of power.

In March, 1813, Thomas Cox was promoted in the militia to commissioned rank, as ensign; a year later, he was made

lieutenant; and, in 1818, he was further advanced to the rank of captain in the territorial militia. Here records fail; but, in a printed letter of Governor Ninian Edwards, written in December, 1820, he is mentioned as "Colonel" Cox, as he is also in a letter written by President James Monroe in January, 1823. Both of these letters are preserved in the "Edwards Papers." A tradition in his family has it that he attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the militia.

The militia of Illinois was not called upon for any great sacrifice of life in the war of 1812, but was frequently assembled in response to Indian "scares," which involved tedious scouts and the building of block houses and stockades in which families were "forted." Family tradition credits Cox with having been dispatch bearer on one or more occasions between Governor Edwards and General William Henry Harrison, commander of the American army on the lakes.

In the year 1815 (exact date not preserved), Lieutenant Cox was married at Ste. Genevieve, Mo., to Roba Bartlett, daughter of Daniel Bartlett, a native of Rhode Island, who had come to Ste. Genevieve in 1809 and purchased a French grant of five hundred acres on the Isle Bois river near that old French settlement, which was of practically the same age as Kaskaskia, and lay directly across the Mississippi from the Illinois capital. An advertisement in the *Western Intelligencer* of Kaskaskia, discloses the fact that in 1816 Thomas Cox kept a tavern on the bank of the river, "where he intends keeping the best viands the country affords," not forgetting to state that he is "well supplied with the best of liquors."* Later in the same year, however, he removed to Jonesboro, about fifty miles south. The date is made certain by the fact that his oldest son, Daniel, was born in Jonesboro in September, 1816. This town was then in Johnson county, which, early in 1818, was divided, the southern portion becoming Union county, of which Jonesboro was made

*Publication No. 8, Illinois Historical Library, p. 185. This item is supplied by the kindness of Frank E. Stevens.

the county seat. Under date of April 8, 1818, Thomas Cox was appointed by Governor Ninian Edwards, a justice of the peace of Union county.

An enabling act authorizing Illinois to form a constitution, preliminary to admission as a state, having passed Congress, a convention was held in July and August, 1818; a constitution was adopted, submitted to Congress, and a resolution was passed by that body, Dec. 3, 1818, which admitted Illinois into the union, the eighth new state. In anticipation of such admission, the people, at the regular fall election of 1818, chose officers for the new state. Shadrach Bond was elected governor and Pierre Menard, lieutenant-governor. And among the legislators chosen to set the machinery of the new state in motion, Union county elected Thomas Cox as senator for two years.

The legislature, which consisted of thirteen senators and twenty-five representatives, convened at Kaskaskia, on October 5, 1818, and Governor Bond was inaugurated on the 6th. The legislature and officers seem to have assumed their functions at once without waiting for the formal admission of the state by Congress. An election of United States senators by the legislature took place December 4, 1818, resulting in the choice of Governor Ninian Edwards and Judge Jesse B. Thomas. The former, having drawn the short term, was re-elected to succeed himself by the same legislature, February 7, 1819. In connection with the latter election, the "Edwards Papers" publishes a letter written by Col. Cox, which, being one of the only two scraps from his pen that have been preserved, we give in full:

KASKASKIA, February 8th, 1809.

SIR:—You are re-elected to the United States Senate for six years, which has completely placed you out of the reach of your enemies. Col. Jones was your opponent. He got 19 votes and you 23. There has been more trickery and intrigue made use of than you have any idea of. I suppose that some of your friends will give you the particulars of what has transpired. If they do not you will hear of it when you come home. I wish that you could see the letter I received from the honorable senator from this county a few minutes before the election came on yesterday. He pro-

tested against me having a seat in the Legislature because I would not vote for Jones, for which I intend to impeach him. Your friend Kitchell, has done his d—dst to keep you out.

I write in great haste, mostly to let you know that you were re-elected again. There is a great many of them that appear to die very hard deaths. I wish I was with you one hour, just to give you a history of matters and things. I write in great haste.

Your friend and humble servant,

THOMAS COX.

The letter well shows the zeal and activity of the redoubtable Colonel as a politician, and throws some light on the "era of good feeling" said to have prevailed in James Monroe's administration.

A legacy of the Constitutional Convention to that first General Assembly of Illinois was the re-location of the seat of government. The convention provided that the legislature should memorialize Congress for a grant of four sections of land at a site to be selected on the Kaskaskia river, east of the third principal meridian. Commissioners appointed for the purpose chose a handsome site for a new city, which they named Vandalia, misled by a learned wag who told them that the Vandals were an extinct race of Indians which once inhabited that territory. It is probably not a mere coincidence that, twenty years later, when Thomas Cox was one of the leaders in a group of legislators of Iowa Territory, who succeeded in defeating the aspirations of Mt. Pleasant for capital honors, an identical scheme should have been adopted, and Iowa City located on unoccupied government land donated by Congress for that purpose. It was, doubtless, a reminiscence, rather, of his experience in the first state legislature of Illinois.

Cox, in his youthful days, had studied surveying, and had put his studies in practice after his settlement in the "Illinois country." Work in that profession also took him into the region west of the Mississippi, particularly into the territory of the lands about New Madrid, sunken in the great earthquakes of 1811. He took advantage, also, of the facilities then afforded, of obtaining government lands on credit,

to become an extensive speculator in that class of real estate. Much of his land holdings were in the "sunken lands" region, but he acquired, also, at different times, tracts in central Illinois, near Springfield.

The choicest plums in federal appointments in the new western states were those in the land offices. As settlement gradually invaded the wilderness, new "land districts" must be formed, and a Register and a Receiver for each must be appointed. Then, as now, the recommendations of senators and representatives were listened to with great respect by the executive; and then, as now, the President often grew restive under the feeling that the real appointing power rested more in those who "advised and consented" than in him from whom the appointment issued. Shortly after the contests in the Illinois legislature which had resulted in the election of Ninian Edwards and Jesse B. Thomas to be United States senators, new land districts were formed in that state, one of which took its name from the little log village which had just been made the county seat of Sangamon county, and became known as the Springfield district. Sangamon county and the Springfield district included all of Illinois north of Madison and Green counties. Col. Cox had been an ardent promoter of the election of Senator Edwards, had also supported Senator Thomas, and then had taken sides with the latter in the contest which he led to obtain a convention to amend the constitution of Illinois so as to permit negro slavery. It was not difficult, therefore, for the two senators to unite upon Cox as the recipient of one of the official positions required for the Springfield land district. The appointment seems to have been agreed upon in December, 1820, but the district was not organized until two years later. The alternative position was pledged by Pres. Monroe, at the solicitation of the Vermont delegation, to Pascal P. Enos, a New Englander, who had been recently a resident of St. Louis, but who had removed to Edwardsville, Ill., in 1821. The letter of Pres. Monroe, previously alluded to, finally de-

cides which office each candidate should receive, and reads as follows:

[Confidential]

January 23, 1823.

DEAR SIR:—On further consideration I think it will be best to withdraw the nomination of Mr. Cox and Mr. Enos, and to change the order for that first proposed by you, by nominating Col. Cox as Register and Mr. Enos as Receiver. Should the nominations be taken up, be so kind as to have them postponed for this purpose, tho' it will be better to say nothing as to the motive.

Very Sincerely Yours,

JAMES MONROE.*

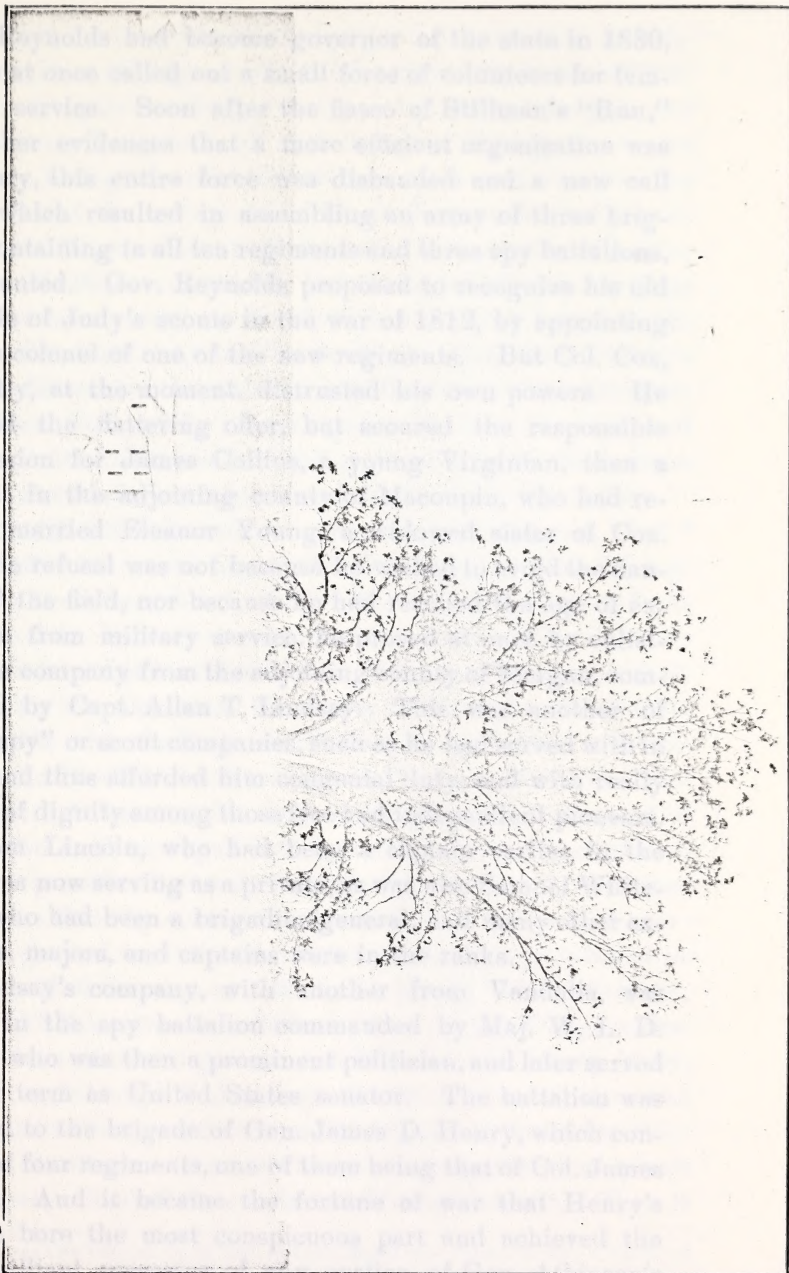
The commission of Thomas Cox as Register of the U. S. land office at Springfield was dated January 28, 1823, and he had removed there with his family sometime in 1822. Early in 1822, he, in partnership with Elijah Iles, a Kentuckian, who had engaged in merchandizing in a log hut the previous year, John Taylor, also a Kentuckian, sheriff of the county, and Pascal P. Enos pre-empted four quarter sections adjoining the hamlet of Springfield, and laid them out in town lots. All being ardent admirers of John C. Calhoun, who was then an avowed candidate for the presidency, they named their town site Calhoun. They did not succeed in extinguishing the name, Springfield, but land conveyances in that part of the city, which includes the state house site, still perpetuate the name of the celebrated South Carolina nullifier.

Col. Cox held the office of Register for a full term of four years, and was succeeded January 5, 1827, by Dr. John Todd, a whig Kentuckian, appointed by Pres. John Quincy Adams. Dr. Todd was an uncle of Mrs. Abraham Lincoln. About this time, the extensive land speculations in which Cox had engaged for several years, culminated in severe losses, which, aggravated by unwise endorsements for friends, into which his generous nature had led him, swept away almost his entire fortune. He again engaged in hotel keeping, but the next few years seem to have been a period of great depression of spirits.

The Black Hawk war came on in the spring of 1832.

*This letter is given in facsimile in the "Edwards Papers," to exhibit Pres. Monroe's handwriting.

Hickory tree under which Colonel Cox was buried. The farm buildings occupy the site of the Cox double log cabin. The view looks southwest across the Maquoketa river valley.



John Reynolds had become governor of the state in 1830, and he at once called out a small force of volunteers for temporary service. Soon after the fiasco of Stillman's "Run," and other evidences that a more efficient organization was necessary, this entire force was disbanded and a new call made, which resulted in assembling an army of three brigades, containing in all ten regiments and three spy battalions, all mounted. Gov. Reynolds proposed to recognize his old comrade of Judy's scouts in the war of 1812, by appointing him as colonel of one of the new regiments. But Col. Cox, evidently, at the moment, distrusted his own powers. He declined the flattering offer, but secured the responsible commission for James Collins, a young Virginian, then a resident in the adjoining county of Macoupin, who had recently married Eleanor Young, a widowed sister of Cox. That the refusal was not because he wished to avoid the dangers of the field, nor because he had reached the age of exemption from military service, he proved at once by enlisting in a company from the adjoining county of Morgan, commanded by Capt. Allan T. Lindsay. This was another of those "spy" or scout companies, such as he had served with in 1812, and thus afforded him congenial duty, and with really no loss of dignity among those free and independent pioneers. Abraham Lincoln, who had been a captain earlier in the year, was now serving as a private, as was also Samuel Whitesides, who had been a brigadier-general, and many other ex-colonels, majors, and captains were in the ranks.

Lindsay's company, with another from Vandalia, was placed in the spy battalion commanded by Maj. W. L. D. Ewing, who was then a prominent politician, and later served a short term as United States senator. The battalion was attached to the brigade of Gen. James D. Henry, which consisted of four regiments, one of them being that of Col. James Collins. And it became the fortune of war that Henry's brigade bore the most conspicuous part and achieved the most brilliant successes of any portion of Gen. Atkinson's

command, in the arduous campaign into the wilds of Wisconsin (then Michigan) which followed. The battle of Wisconsin Heights was fought and won by Henry's brigade and Col. Henry Dodge's small detachment of Michigan troopers alone. Ewing's scouts led in the attack and received the first fire of the savage foe. Black Hawk was nearly overtaken on the peninsula between Lakes Monona and Mendota, where Madison now stands, and Ewing's battalion swept as skirmishers across those classic hills when they were a trackless wilderness. At the battle of the Bad Axe, Ewing's scouts discovered the main force of the enemy after Atkinson had been decoyed by a stratagem away from the field, and Henry, with Collins and Jones' regiments, drove the savages to the river before Atkinson arrived to clinch the victory.

The Illinois volunteers were discharged in August, 1832.* Soon after his return home, Col. Cox removed from Springfield to the former home of his wife, the Daniel Bartlett farm on the Isle Bois river near Ste. Genevieve, Missouri, then occupied by his brothers-in-law, William and Lemuel Bartlett. In the meantime, the treaty of Gen. Scott and Gov. Reynolds with the Sacs and Foxes had opened up to settlement the Black Hawk Purchase on the west side of the Mississippi. It became the duty of the general government to have the land surveyed into townships and sections as rapidly as possible, that pre-emptors might define their claims. This was done by contract under authority of the U. S. surveyor general, and the contractors received appointment as deputy U. S. surveyors. W. L. D. Ewing was now (Dec., 1835) U. S. senator from Illinois; Gen. Henry Dodge, a Ste. Genevieve man, was governor of Wisconsin Territory (July, 1836), and George W. Jones, another Ste. Genevieve man, was delegate to Congress first from Michigan and then from Wisconsin Territory. Thomas Cox had had experience as a land surveyor, and all of these influential friends knew it. Thus it

*Thomas Cox enlisted June 6, 1832, and was discharged August 16, 1832,—“Roster of Illinois Soldiers in the Black Hawk War”, by Adj.-Gen. Elliott, 1882.

came that under date of May 6, 1837, he was appointed by Robert T. Lytle (U. S. surveyor general for the territory northwest of the Ohio), as U. S. deputy surveyor, and given the contract to subdivide into sections, townships 84 and 85 north, ranges 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 east of the fifth principal meridian. The townships thus described are Farmer's Creek, Perry, Jackson, Washington, South Fork, Maquoketa, Fairfield, Van Buren, Iowa and Union, in Jackson county, Iowa.

In anticipation of this appointment and to be near the scene of his labors, Col. Cox, in May, 1837, removed his family to White Oak Springs, in Iowa county, Wisconsin, twelve miles northeast of Galena, Illinois. This place had been, for several years, the home of Cox's brother-in-law, Col. James Collins, who was successfully engaged in lead mining, and of other relatives and friends from Springfield.

Settlements had begun in Jackson county as early as 1834, at Bellevue and a little later at Charleston (now Sabula), also on the Mississippi. A few families came into Van Buren township in 1836, and one or two took claims at the Forks of the Maquoketa the same year. Otherwise, his field of work was wholly unsettled when Cox began work in the spring of 1837. Emigrants arrived very rapidly that year, however, and the genial Colonel made the acquaintance of all of them. Some old pioneers are still living who remember the jolly surveying party with its tent and ox-team and good cheer. The foreman of the outfit was John G. McDonald, a skillful engineer, formerly of Indiana, with whom Cox had worked in Illinois. McDonald had evidence of the regard the Colonel ever had for his friends, in receiving through his influence appointments as brigadier-general of militia, doorkeeper of the territorial house, and commissioner to locate the county seat of Jones county. Gen. McDonald went to California in 1850 and died there after a few months sojourn.

It being the intention of Col. Cox to make a home in the new country which he was preparing for settlement, he took

early occasion to select a claim for himself. He chose a location where a trail, which had been established leading from Dubuque directly south to Davenport, crossed the Maquoketa, over a rocky ford. It was nearly three miles below where the north and south forks of the river united. The trail, which had followed ridges nearly all the way from Dubuque, here descended into a wooded ravine in which were several fine springs. Near these springs, the Colonel's double log cabin was erected, and here he removed his family, consisting of wife, two sons and four daughters, in the spring of 1838. He gave his claim the name of "Richland," evidently hoping that a town might be located there, but Springfield (now Maquoketa) at the forks began to grow, and the Dubuque-Davenport road was deflected to cross the river at Bridgeport, a mile and a half farther up.

On July 3, 1838, Iowa became a territory of the union, having been detached from Wisconsin Territory by act of Congress, passed June 12, 1838. The first division of the territory into districts for the election of members of the legislature, was made by the governor; and, in that division, Jackson county was placed in a representative district that was an empire in extent. It consisted of Jackson, Dubuque, Delaware, Clayton and Fayette counties, but Fayette extended to the line of British America, and included all of northern Iowa, nearly all of Minnesota and part of the Dakotas. It was entitled to four members of the territorial house of representatives and chose Thomas Cox, Col. Andrew Bankson (a comrade of Cox in the war of 1812 and the Black Hawk war, from southern Illinois), Hardin Nowlin, and Chauncy Swan, the latter three from Dubuque county.

We have no information as to what other candidates appeared at that election, or record of the number of votes cast. The prior legislative experience of Col. Cox and his thorough acquaintance in the county pointed to him naturally as the proper representative for Jackson, and a life long training had made him a past master in the arts of a politician.

The legislature met November 12, 1838, at Burlington, which had been the capital of Wisconsin Territory before the division. The House consisted of twenty-six members, of whom a large majority were democrats; but party lines were almost utterly ignored. A division soon appeared, however, that affected votes on many questions, being that between the south and north sections of the Territory. The southern counties, Lee, Van Buren, Henry and Des Moines, were the more thickly settled and supplied fifteen members of the House. Col. Andrew Bankson, of Dubuque, was appointed temporary Speaker, but the honors for the permanent position went, as their numbers entitled them, to the south. William H. Wallace, of Henry, although a whig, was elected, having received eleven votes, John Frierson (Muscatine), four, Thomas Cox, two, Andrew Bankson, one, James W. Grimes, one, and one blank. Six members were evidently absent.

Col. Cox, from the first day of the session, took a leading part in the routine work of the House. He was made chairman of the committee on Internal Improvements and member of the committees on Roads and Highways and Militia, and served frequently as chairman of the committee of the whole. He was not a lawyer and had little share in framing acts pertaining to legal technicalities and the practice of courts, but was keenly alert on the practical matters indicated by his committee assignments. For instance, Nov. 22:

Mr. Summers offered the following: *Resolved*, That the committee on Internal Improvements be instructed to inquire into the expediency of memorializing Congress for an appropriation for the improvement of the navigation of the Wabesipinicon river. Mr. Cox moved to amend by adding "and also the Big Maquoketa". Mr. Hastings moved to amend the amendment by adding "and the Cedar fork of the Iowa." The amendments were agreed to and the resolution passed.*

The records show that Cox was present on every day of the session and his name appears upon every roll call but one, although they were much more frequent than is now the practice in legislative bodies. In the remarkable contest

*Territorial House Journal.

which arose with Gov. Lucas, during the session, over his use of the veto power, Cox was an ardent partisan of the rights of the legislature as against the executive. One notable item in the contest was the resolution which he introduced on Dec. 3:

Resolved, That the postmaster at Davenport, Scott county, be and he is hereby authorized to have the mail from Davenport to Dubuque conveyed in two horse post coaches twice a week during the present session of the Legislative Assembly, and that the Postmaster General of the United States be memorialized by the Legislative Assembly to allow and pay the extra expense that may be incurred under this resolution.

This the Governor refused to approve, under his contention that the organic act gave him the right of absolute veto of all legislation. The veto, on January 4, 1839, of this and another resolution gave rise to the adoption of a motion by Mr. Grimes that a committee on vetoes be appointed. Grimes was made chairman of the committee and his report on January 7th, contains the following:

. . . . The first vetoed resolution submitted to this committee was in the following words [quotes]: This resolution was unanimously adopted by the Legislative Assembly, upon the suggestion of northern members that they were unable to receive petitions or hear from their constituents, or their constituents to hear from them. It was a matter of notoriety, which must have been known as well by the Executive of this Territory as by the members of this Assembly, that the mail from Davenport to Dubuque was irregular—that not a fourth part of the mail could be carried in the bags at one time—that, in requesting the Postmaster General to defray the additional expense, this Legislature had the example of the Wisconsin Assembly—and that that request was considered reasonable and complied with very readily by the Department at Washington. The resolution was nothing more nor less than a call upon the Postmaster General to establish, for the present winter at least, a sufficient mail route between Davenport and DuBuque. If power was assumed in that resolution, which could only be exercised by the Congress of the United States, the “veto” was perfectly proper (if it could be exercised at all); but your committee are not of the opinion. . . .

The report, which was signed by James W. Grimes, Chauncey Swan (Dubuque), Laurel Summers (Comanche), and Hawkins Taylor (Keokuk), condemned the Governor very severely and claimed that he had no right of veto. It was adopted by 16 to 6, Cox voting in the affirmative. On January 15, Andrew Bankson offered the resolution declaring

that "Robert Lucas is unfit to be the ruler of a free people," and calling upon the President to remove him from office, which was adopted 12 to 10, Cox in the affirmative. On the last day of the session, a resolution was adopted, on motion of Cox "that Messrs. Inghram (Council) and Temple be requested to forward to the President of the United States the joint memorial that he remove Gov. Lucas from the office of Governor of the Territory."

One of the most important matters that came before this first session of the territorial legislature was the selection of a permanent seat of government. The delegations from the southern counties seem to have agreed early in the session to push the claims of Mt. Pleasant, in Henry county, with the proviso that Burlington should remain the temporary capital for three years. A bill to that effect came up in the House for consideration in committee of the whole, on December 31. The northern members generally, including those from Muscatine, determined to defeat Mt. Pleasant, if possible, but were unable to bring forward an alternative location that would command the requisite support. Twenty-eight motions were made in committee to strike out Mt. Pleasant and insert as many different places, but all were voted down and the bill was reported back to the House for concurrence. But the motion to concur only brought on a renewal of the contest, which began in an attack on Burlington as the temporary capital.

Then Col. Cox came forward with a new proposition, evidently evolved, as we have said, from his experience in the first state legislature of Illinois. He moved to amend the second section as follows:

Strike out Mt. Pleasant and insert Johnson, Linn, and Cedar counties and that commissioners be appointed to locate the seat of government at the most eligible place in either of those counties.

The motion failed by 11 to 14, but it introduced a germ of thought that grew and grew. Then Nowlin moved to make Burlington the permanent capital. Lost 12 to 13, the Bur-

lington delegation themselves defeating it. But Hawkins Taylor of Lee moved to reconsider, James Hall of Van Buren joined him, and the Burlington motion was carried by 14 to 11. Then the bill was referred to a select committee of one from each electoral district and that ended the contest for the day. On the next day, January 1, the select committee reported back the bill with amendments which the journal does not disclose, but which evidently contained the original scheme of Mt. Pleasant for permanent and Burlington for temporary capital. The bill passed by 13 to 11, Cox in the negative, and then Nowlin moved to amend the title to read, "A bill to establish two seats of government and to squander the appropriation for erecting public buildings." Six voted for the amended title, including Cox. This transferred the fight to the Council, whence the bill came back on January 3, with the Johnson county amendment, and the House concurred by 13 to 12, the minority of January 1, being now the majority, with the aid of Geo. H. Beeler, of Des Moines and Laurel Summers, of Clinton. The new town in Johnson county was not named in this bill, but on January 15 a supplementary bill dictated by the Governor was passed, during the consideration of which "Mr. Cox moved to insert in the first section thereof the words, 'to be called Iowa City' which was carried." Thus Col. Thomas Cox is entitled to the credit of having originated the plan by which Iowa City became the capital of Iowa and of having given the city its name.*

*Hon. T. S. Parvin, to whom Iowa is greatly indebted for preserving its earliest history, made a curious mistake in some references to the history of this capital contest. In an address before the Iowa Lawmakers' Association, in 1892, he said: "His (Cox's) vote was the turning point in the location of the capital at Iowa City and the territory and state became indebted to him by whose vote the location was determined." In an address before the same body in 1900, Mr. Parvin told a circumstantial story, without mentioning the name, which intimated that the vote of Cox was obtained by influences not wholly creditable, in which a celebration of "Jackson Day," January 8th, bore a part. In a letter written by Parvin to Rev. Wm. Salter in 1900, which the writer has been permitted to copy, the incident is told in more of detail and it there appears that the venerable narrator had no personal knowledge of the matter, it having been told him by Hon. S. Clinton Hastings. Now the evidence of the House journal contradicts the whole story. From the first of the contest to the last, Cox's vote was never in doubt and he appeared definitely as a leader of the forces opposed to Mt.

In recognition of the efforts of Col. Cox, and because his profession supplied necessary qualifications, he was chosen, with Gen. John Frierson of Muscatine, as surveyor of the town site of the new capital. John G. McDonald, his able assistant in the Jackson county surveys, also helped in this important work, which was prosecuted during the summer of 1839.

A new apportionment was made before the election of 1839 by which Jackson county became a representative district by itself, in which Col. Cox was re-elected. Through rank treachery, the democratic nomination was obtained by W. W. Brown, afterwards identified as a leader of the Bellevue outlaws, but Cox ran as an independent candidate and defeated him. The assembly convened at Burlington November 4. In the election for Speaker, Edward Johnston of Keokuk was chosen with 17 votes, James Churchman received six votes, Alfred Rich, one and Thomas Cox, one. Cox received the chairmanship of the committee on Internal Improvements and was a member of those on Territorial Affairs, Militia, and Rules. The journal shows that he exercised the same vigilance and knowledge of parliamentary practice that characterized him in the preceding session.

On November 26, he joined with a majority of the committee on Territorial Affairs in reporting a resolution "that it is inexpedient to take any preparatory steps for admission into the Union as a State at the present session of the Legislative Assembly." The resolution was adopted by 21 to 4. That he still felt hostile toward Gov. Lucas is indicated by his votes adverse to sustaining the Governor's three vetoes, although two of them were ratified by large majorities of

Pleasant. The wavering votes can plainly be placed from the journal records and Cox was not one of them. Then the last ballots were taken and the contest definitely closed on the 3d day of January. "Jackson Day" could have had no share in any phase of it. Hastings' tale, repeated by Parvin sixty-two years after the event, may have had a substantial basis regarding some other session of the Territorial Legislature, but was certainly not an incident of the capital locating contest. Hon. Hawkins Taylor, a member of that first Territorial House from Keokuk, in a letter to the Iowa Pioneer Lawmakers' reunion of 1890 makes this positive assertion: "During the whole session I never saw a member under the influence of liquor."

the House. A resolution adopted on the last day of the session, January 17, 1840, to endorse a political action of Pres. Van Buren, shows the political affiliation of the House to have been, democrats 15, whigs 8. Cox voted with the democrats.

Shortly after his return home from this session, Col. Cox was called upon to take a stand for the defense of law and order in his community. He accepted with a vigor and determination that reflected great credit upon him, and resulted in freeing the county from a dangerous menace to its peace and good name. There was a large band of counterfeiters, horse thieves, and murderers infesting the frontier, which became generally known as the "Banditti of the Prairie." They had a sort of center at White Pigeon in the wilds of Michigan, with branch organizations in northern Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Missouri. Early in 1837, a party of emigrants from Michigan, came to Bellevue, the county seat of Jackson county. The leader of the party was W. W. Brown, a man of fine personal appearance, engaging manners and considerable culture. He engaged in business in Bellevue, keeping a hotel, and cutting wood to supply steamboats, and he gained property rapidly for those days. It soon became evident that the men he kept around him as boarders and employes were very undesirable citizens. Counterfeit money appeared in circulation; stolen horses and stolen cattle were traced to Brown's boarders, and Brown's own skirts were seldom clear of suspicion. Arrests were made, but alibis were always proven by weight of numbers, the witnesses coming from Brown's hotel. The sheriff of Jackson county was William A. Warren, a Kentuckian who had removed to Bellevue from the Galena lead mines in 1836, a young man of bravery and intelligence who bore a prominent part in the subsequent history of the county. By the spring of 1840, the criminal character of Brown's gang had become so apparent that the decent people of the village denied them social recognition. In revenge for this, James Thompson, one of

the most notorious of the outlaws, indulged in such outrageous conduct towards the family of James Mitchell as cost him his life in an altercation with Mitchell on the street. The homicide was taken into custody by the sheriff, but repeated attempts at lynching and other defiant acts by the criminal ruffians induced Sheriff Warren to call the leading men of the county into consultation. Col. Cox, by common consent, assumed leadership of the law and order men, and their advice was that warrants should be issued and that a posse be assembled on the first day of April, to assist the sheriff in taking the entire gang into custody. An information was sworn out before a country justice of the peace, charging W. W. Brown, William Fox, Aaron Long, and twenty others "as confederated together for the purpose of thieving, passing counterfeit money, robbing, and other depredations to the great injury of the community, in which they lived, and to the detriment of the public in general." William Fox, thus mentioned, was one of those afterward implicated in the robbery and murder of Col. George Davenport on Rock Island.

Cox and Warren rode through the townships to ask prominent men to assemble at Bellevue at 10 o'clock April 1, 1840, hoping that the moral weight and influence of the gathering would induce Brown and his coadjutors to surrender peacefully to the law. Cox arrived first with about forty devoted adherents, among whom was the distinguished hero of the Black Hawk war, Col. James Collins, of White Oak Springs, who, with his wife, was visiting that lady's mother and brothers, the Coxes.* They found that a red flag had been

*This Gen. James Collins was a once prominent pioneer whose memory was as completely lost as that of Col. Cox. No Jackson county pioneer could tell me anything about him except a vague recollection that he was a relative visiting at the home of John Cox. Frank E. Stevens, author of the "History of the Black Hawk War," wrote me that he had written more letters of inquiry about Col. Collins with less result, than about the many other hundreds whose names appear in his book. But tracing the Cox family led to facts about Collins also. He was elected to the Wisconsin territorial House for the session which met at Burlington in 1838. He then served in the Wisconsin territorial Council at Madison for six sessions, being elected its president in 1841. He ran for territorial delegate in 1845 as a whig, but was beaten by Morgan

raised in front of Brown's hotel and the gang were drunk and defiant. The sheriff, on arrival, obtained a parley with Brown, read his warrant, and demanded surrender to the law. This was refused, but Warren was detained by the drunken crowd as a prisoner, until Col. Cox formed his men for a rescue, when he was released. Further parley ensued until half past two o'clock, when Cox formed forty men for an attack with forty more in reserve, and ordered a charge upon the hotel with instructions not to fire unless they were fired upon, expecting that their determined attitude would force a surrender. They gained the front of the house with a rush. Cox and Warren called upon Brown to surrender. It is supposed that he intended to do so, but that his gun went off accidentally. The ball passed through Col. Cox's coat and the discharge was a signal for a general fusilade from both sides. Brown was shot in his tracks at the first fire, but his men mostly made their escape to the second story, from which and from an adjoining building, they continued the fight which resulted in the killing of four of the attacking force, Henderson Palmer, a prominent Bellevue citizen, Andrew Farley, a farmer from Deep Creek, John Brink and J. Maxwell, also of Bellevue. William Vaughn was severely wounded and afterwards died. Col. Collins was shot in the hand, and William Vance in the thigh. John G. McDonald, the surveyor, seeing a gun aimed at Col. Cox from the adjoining building, leaped to protect him and received the ball in his hip; he was also shot in the left wrist.

Of the outlaws, there were killed W. W. Brown, Aaron Day, and "old man" Burtis. Tom Welch, alias Buckskin Tom, was badly wounded and several others slightly. Prep-

L. Martin, democrat, of Green Bay. In 1847, having raised a company at Galena for the Mexican war, he was elected colonel of the 6th Illinois Infantry, and served at Vera Cruz and Tampico. He was presented with a fine sword by the Illinois Legislature, after his return. In 1849, he went to California and settled in Nevada county, from which he was elected to the California Assembly for two terms. He was commissioned brigadier general of the 4th brigade California Militia in 1860 and died in 1864, while treasurer of Nevada county. He was a native of Virginia, born in 1802, and settled in Macoupin county, Illinois, in 1832.

arations to set fire to the building finally resulted in the capture of thirteen who were endeavoring to escape by jumping from a shed at the rear of the building, but seven succeeded in getting away. The first impulse of the captors was to hang the bandits at once, indeed, ropes were procured and placed about the necks of some of them, but the earnest pleas of Cox and others for delay prevailed, and they were placed under guard for the night. A meeting of citizens was held that evening and adjourned to meet the next day, at which time the fate of the prisoners was discussed. The fact that the county contained no jail and that danger of rescue by accomplices was imminent induced many to advocate an improvised trial and short shrift. The alternative was proposed that they be whipped and forbidden to enter the county again. A ballot was taken with beans, white for hanging and dark for whipping, with the result that the black beans won by only three majority. The whipping was thoroughly done, and, so far as known, none of the bandits ever returned to the county.

In July, 1840, the second territorial assembly held an extra session. The organization of the regular session was not recognized as holding over, but a new election of legislative officers was held. Hon. Edward Johnston of Keokuk was again elected Speaker, but Thomas Cox was appointed Speaker pro tem. and appeared strongly in evidence as a candidate for the permanent honor. Three ballots were taken, in which he received three, four and three votes respectively. He appeared in his seat on the first three days of that session only, being absent the remainder of the term because of sickness.

For the third assembly, he was again elected to the House. The session began at Burlington Nov. 3, 1840. On assembling, only one nomination for Speaker was made.

Mr. (Laurel) Summers (from Clinton county) nominated Thomas Cox. The members then proceeded to ballot, after which, upon counting the same, it was found that Mr. Cox had received a majority of the whole num-

ber of votes given, and was therefore declared duly elected Speaker, and was conducted to the chair by Messrs. Lash (of Henry) and Lewis (of Van Buren), when he returned thanks in a short and pertinent address.*

In no other session of either body of the territorial assemblies was the presiding officer elected without a contest, or without the journal showing the record of the vote.

Col. Cox being Speaker, no bills were introduced nor motions made by him during this session. The journal shows that he voted upon every roll call up to and including January 4, 1841. There is little in the record to show the motives or reasons for his votes. Few questions arose that bear indications of having been decided by party feeling except frequently recurring contests on public printing. Cox generally seems to have voted on the "economy" side of propositions to expend money. He voted in one case against authorizing a lottery. January 5, he was absent at the morning session, absent again on the 6th and 7th, appeared at one session on the 8th, but never again during the session. Laurel Summers served during this period as Speaker pro tem. In his farewell address at the close of the session, January 15, he says that "on account of the indisposition of the Speaker it has become my duty to adjourn the House."

His faithful constituents again elected the Colonel to a seat in the House at the regular election in August, 1841, but we find upon the county records that, on November 2, he presented to the Board of County Commissioners his resignation. A special election was held November 29, at which James K. Moss of Bellevue was elected to fill the vacancy. We have been unable to find any old settler who remembers this resignation or its cause, but it was doubtless caused by the ill health which had interfered with his usefulness the two previous sessions.

When the election of 1842 came on, he appeared as a candidate for the Council, to represent the district consisting of Jackson, Dubuque, Clayton, Delaware and Fayette coun-

*Journal of the House, Third Legislative Assembly.

ties "and the territories adjacent," which extended to the British possessions on the north and the Missouri river on the west, but which held no voters north of the Turkey nor west of the Wapsipinicon, except the small St. Peters precinct at Fort Snelling. The regular democratic nominations were secured by Gen. Francis Gehon and Hardin Nowlin, but Thomas Cox and Stephen Hempstead (afterwards second governor of the State) came out as independent candidates.

At the election the voters of Jackson county all voted 'single shot' for Cox and he was elected, and there was a tie between Hempstead and Nowlin, and Gehon was behind. At a subsequent special election, Gehon, by the help of Jackson county was elected and both Hempstead and Nowlin were left. It was said at the time that the final outcome of the election was an agreement between Gehon and Col. Cox.*

Hon. F. M. Knoll, in a biographical sketch of Gov. Hempstead,† adds an interesting detail of this election:

In 1840, after the expiration of his first term in the legislative Council he was a candidate for re-election, General Gehon, afterwards U. S. Marshall being his opponent. At the day of the election, owing to his deep sense of honor and his proverbial courtesy, he could not bring himself to vote for himself, but cast his vote for his opponent, thus electing General Gehon by one vote.

The Council consisted of thirteen members. They convened with the fifth general assembly at Iowa City, on December 5, 1842. Cox found among them five with whom he had previously served as a member of the House. It seems difficult to determine just how this body was divided in political affiliations. Some had been elected on independent tickets, but newspapers of the day divided them positively into—six democrats and six whigs, leaving one man, Joseph B. Teas, of Jefferson county, who was claimed by both parties.‡ For President of the Council, Hon. Francis Springer

*A letter from Hon. P. W. Crawford, State senator from Dubuque, June 25, 1905.

†Iowa Pioneer Lawmakers' Association, 1898, pp. 139-140. Mr. Knoll makes a mistake in the date. The Councilmen elected in 1840 from the Dubuque district were Hon. M. Bainbridge of Dubuque and Hon. Joseph S. Kirkpatrick of Bellevue, Jackson county.

‡Gleaned from Iowa City newspapers of the day by Mr. John Parish, under direction of Prof. B. F. Shambaugh.

of Louisa was presented by the whigs and Shepherd Leffler, a democrat, nominated Joseph B. Teas. On the first day, three ballots were taken, Teas receiving six votes, Springer four and three were blank. The next day Springer was dropped out, and the result of the fourth ballot was John D. Elbert, a whig, of Van Buren, 5 votes, Teas 5, Thomas Cox 1, blank 2. The fifth ballot stood: Elbert 6, Teas 4, blank 3. "Then Mr. Gehon withdrew the name of Joseph B. Teas and nominated Thomas Cox for president." Result of the sixth ballot: Elbert 7, Cox 4, W. H. Wallace 1, blank 1, and Elbert was elected.

In the assignment of committees, Cox was appointed chairman of Military Affairs, and member of Roads, Territorial Affairs, and Agriculture. He appears to have been present on every day of the session and took an active part in all routine work, served on several select committees, being chairman of two, and introduced several bills. Among the latter were "a bill to establish new counties and define their boundaries in the late cession from the Sac and Fox Indians," and "a bill to organize, discipline, and govern the militia." The assembly adjourned February 17, 1843.

The sixth territorial assembly began its sessions at Iowa City, December 4, 1843. The Council serving the second year of the term for which they were elected presented no change in personnel. The uncertain character of their political affiliations again showed itself in the election of president. Francis Springer was appointed president pro tem. without opposition. Gen. Gehon did not appear in attendance at the beginning of the session, which probably induced Cox to move that the election of president be postponed until the fourth day of the session, which motion was carried. The balloting, however, resulted in a veritable deadlock. The same candidates appeared as at the previous session, Springer and Teas. Thirteen ballots in all were taken on December 7 and 8, and then a motion was carried to postpone the election to the second Tuesday in January. Teas' highest

vote was six on the first ballot. Springer received six on two ballots, and had five loyal supporters on all. Cox's name appeared with one vote on the third ballot, one on the fifth, two on the sixth and three on the seventh. Then, on the eleventh, Teas was dropped and the next three ballots stood Springer 5, Cox 5, blank 2. Balloting was resumed on January 9 and seven ballots were taken on that day. Cox received six votes on three of them, but Springer dropped off, dividing his support with John P. Cook, a whig (of Cedar, Jones, and Linn district). January 10, three ballots were taken, Springer rose again to six and Cox dropped to four. January 11, three ballots were again taken; Springer withdrew and Teas changed front by taking his place against Cox, the twenty-sixth ballot being Teas 5, Cox 5, James Jenkins, democrat (Van Buren) 1, blank 2. Then Teas withdrew, Wm. H. Wallace of Henry took his place as the whig candidate, and Thomas Cox was elected on the thirty-first ballot by Cox 7, Wallace 4, blank 2.*

The journal shows Cox to have been present at every session of the Council during the term, and that he took a prominent part in all legislation while serving on the floor. An important measure in this assembly, was the adoption of a memorial to Congress, asking for statehood and defining the boundary desired. During its consideration Cox moved an amendment which demanded for the north boundary, the forty-fifth parallel of latitude, extending west to the line of the Sioux river, which amendment was adopted. This recommendation, however, failed to receive the sanction of the convention which met in October, 1844. They adopted the St. Peters (Minnesota) and Blue Earth (Mankato) rivers as the northern boundary, but Congress further delimited the area of the proposed state and the people, therefore, rejected the constitution. During the discussion in the convention of

*The Iowa Official Registers and other authorities say that Cox was elected president of the sixth territorial Council on the forty-first ballot. This is a mistake. It was on the thirty-first.

the boundary question, Langworthy of Dubuque advocated the Cox proposition of making the parallel of 45° the north boundary, but did not secure votes enough to carry it. This line passes through the present site of Minneapolis.

A contest arose in the Council, beginning January 10, over how many delegates should constitute the constitutional convention, in which Cox fought strenuously for a favorable representation of the northern part of the Territory. He succeeded at one stage in getting an appointment of ten delegates for his Council district, but a final amendment on January 20, passed by a vote of 7 to 6, allowed only seven, and then he, with four others, voted against the bill.

The sixth assembly adjourned February 14, 1844. The usual vote of thanks to President Cox was moved by Mr. Elbert, and was very cordially expressed. The President's farewell address exhibited much feeling, and seemed to foreshadow his approaching end.

An extra session of this assembly was held in June, 1844, but its journal was never printed, and no record of its proceedings is known to exist. Diligent search for its journal in manuscript has been made by Curator Aldrich and other State officers, but so far without success. Whether the organization of the regular session was recognized at the special session, and Col. Cox thus retained his seat as president, or whether a new election was held as in the special session of 1840, we have no means of knowing; indeed, we have no definite information as to whether he was present at all. The story of the extra session of the sixth territorial assembly of Iowa in 1844 may never be told.

The end of his earthly career came to our sturdy old pioneer soldier and legislator, on the 9th day of November, 1844. He died at his "Richland" farm, of an attack of pneumonia, complicated with liver congestion. The officiating clergyman at his funeral, was a young Congregationalist who had come to the Territory during the previous year with the Amherst college "Iowa Band," and was then located at the little

rets." His name was William Siller, and he known to Iowa as an author and historian, and the unique record of more than sixty years with Divine Master in one pulpit, in the city of Burlington.

Nearly sixty-one years after that funeral, he stood in Mt. Hope cemetery in the city of Burlington, assisted in the ceremony of unveiling a granite monument. The unknown granite boulder which was the resting place of Jackson county's first lawmaker is typical of the rugged nature and pioneer history of an ancient moraine. It is marked that that geologic puzzle, the "driftless area", it is the gage of Hon. John Wiley, Jackson county, Iowa, 1866.

A boulder, carried by Nature's great forces, thousands of years ago, from the distant mountain ranges and laid down on a spot where it is as characteristic a monument to one of Jackson county's great men. It seems a necessity for the stone to be the most fitting monument to the stone. The rubbing, the carving, planing, was fifty years ago, slowly and patiently, Mother Nature's geological workshop. It had been left now found as it is, prepared by the big hand of the glaciers, and slowly slid over the surface of our new landscape.

Maquoketa, Iowa, November, 1905.

We can afford to be divided on questions of citizenship, or comparatively the differences of our currency are of no consequence. After all, the question is that of decency in the life of the homes and in public life. It makes little difference to the whether a democrat or a republican is president makes every difference to have all of our public honest and clean. The candidate is the candidate party, but the president, if he is worth his salt, is of the people.—Theodore Roosevelt, at Little Rock, October, 1905.

Monument in Mt. Hope Cemetery, Maquoketa, Iowa, unveiled July 4, 1905. The boulder of gneissoid granite is of the "Kansan drift" age, and was found on Section 10, Township 84, Range 3, east of 5th P. M., about one mile north of the Cox farm.

hamlet of Springfield near by, at the "forks of the Maquoketa." His name was William Salter, and he is still well known to Iowans as an author and historian, and as holding the unique record of more than sixty years' service for his Divine Master in one pulpit, in the city of Burlington.

Nearly sixty-one years after that funeral, Rev. Dr. Salter stood in Mt. Hope cemetery in the city of Maquoketa, and assisted in the ceremony of unveiling a monument to Thomas Cox. The unhewn granite boulder which marks the new resting place of Jackson county's first lawmaker is thoroughly typical of his rugged nature and pioneer history. A remnant of an ancient moraine which marked the boundary of that geologic puzzle, the "driftless area", it is, in the language of Hon. John Wilson, Jackson county lawmaker of 1866—

A monolith carried by Nature's icy river thousands of years ago from distant mountain ranges and laid down on a spot where it could be raised as a characteristic monument to one of Jackson county's pioneer noblemen. It seems unnecessary for the artistic hand of the sculptor to put many finishing touches to the stone. The rubbing, grinding, dressing, sawing, planing, was, many years ago, slowly and patiently executed in Mother Nature's great geological workshop. It had been left where it was now found so artistically prepared by the icy hand of one of the earliest glaciers that slowly slid over the surface of our now far-famed state.

MAQUOKETA, IOWA, November, 1905.

WE CAN afford to be divided on questions of mere partisanship, for comparatively the differences of tariff and the currency are of no consequence. After all, the real question is that of decency in the life of the home and honesty in public life. It makes little difference in the long run whether a democrat or a republican is president, but it makes every difference to have all of our public officials honest and clean. The candidate is the candidate of his party, but the president, if he is worth his salt, is president of the people.—*Theodore Roosevelt, at Little Rock, Ark., October, 1905.*

THE DUNKERS IN IOWA.

BY ELDER JOHN E. MOHLER.

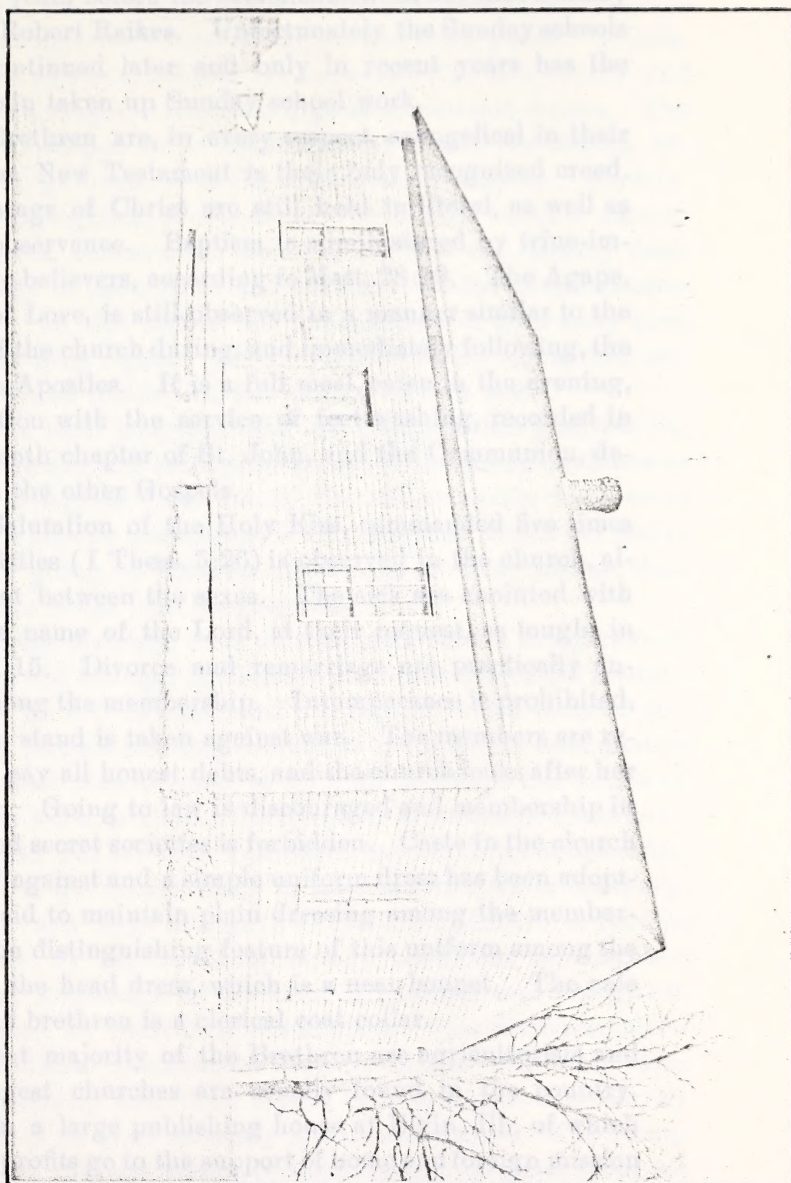
The organization of the Dunkers church (incorporated, German Baptist Brethren church) grew out of the great religious awakening which occurred in Germany during the closing years of the seventeenth century, when large numbers, becoming dissatisfied with the condition of spirituality in the State church, withdrew from it and met together for the worship of God.

In the village of Schwartzenau a small company, among whom Alexander Mack was a natural leader, met from time to time to study and read God's word. This company mutually agreed to lay aside all existing creeds and search for the truth in the Word, and having found it, to follow where it might lead. They were led to adopt the New Testament as their creed, and to decide in favor of a literal, combined with a spiritual, obedience to all the commandments of the Son of God.

In 1708 this group of eight souls were buried with Christ in baptism, in the river Eder, and Alexander Mack was chosen as their first minister, though he has never been regarded as the founder of the church. The infant church grew in numbers rapidly, but soon met with severe persecutions. William Penn invited them to settle in Pennsylvania, and in 1719 they commenced emigrating to America, and within ten years about the entire church found itself settled comfortably in the vicinity of Germantown and Philadelphia. From this nucleus the church spread out southward and westward, and now flourishing congregations are found in most of the states.

In those early days the Brethren wielded considerable influence in the religious affairs of the people. Christopher Sower, a printer at Germantown, printed the first German Bible published in America. About the year 1740 he printed a set of Sunday school tickets, which are still preserved, and which were used in the Brethren Sunday school. This was

One of the first Brethren (Dunker) churches built in Iowa—the oldest now standing. It is the "Dry Creek" church, near Robins.



over forty years before the establishment of the first Sunday school by Robert Raikes. Unfortunately the Sunday schools were discontinued later and only in recent years has the church again taken up Sunday school work.

The Brethren are, in every respect, evangelical in their faith. The New Testament is their only recognized creed. The teachings of Christ are still held in literal, as well as spiritual observance. Baptism is administered by trine-immersion, to believers, according to Matt. 28:19. The Agape, or Feast of Love, is still observed in a manner similar to the practice of the church during, and immediately following, the day of the Apostles. It is a full meal, eaten in the evening, in connection with the service of feet washing, recorded in the thirteenth chapter of St. John, and the Communion, described in the other Gospels.

The Salutation of the Holy Kiss, commanded five times in the Epistles (I Thess. 5:26) is observed in the church, although not between the sexes. The sick are anointed with oil, in the name of the Lord, at their request, as taught in Jas. 5:14, 15. Divorce and remarriage are practically unknown among the membership. Intemperance is prohibited, and a firm stand is taken against war. The members are required to pay all honest debts, and the church looks after her own poor. Going to law is discouraged and membership in oath-bound secret societies is forbidden. Caste in the church is labored against and a simple uniform dress has been adopted as an aid to maintain plain dressing among the membership. The distinguishing feature of this uniform among the sisters is the head dress, which is a neat bonnet. The rule among the brethren is a clerical coat collar.

A great majority of the Brethren are agriculturists and the strongest churches are usually found in the country. They own a large publishing house at Elgin, Ill., of which the main profits go to the support of home and foreign mission work. Flourishing churches have been established by the General Missionary and Tract Society in Denmark, Sweden,

France, and India, where a number of mission workers are being supported to further the work at those places. A number of excellent schools are maintained by this church, and several colleges, which rank high as educational centers. The oldest colleges are at Huntington, Pa., and Mt. Morris, Ill.

The government of the church is not complex. Each local congregation conducts its own affairs, chooses its own ministers, deacons, and bishops, the first two usually from the laity of the church, and the last from the advanced ministers. In this church all the members of both sexes have equal voting rights. Where possible each congregation settles its own difficulties, and directs its own work.

The local congregations are grouped into districts, for convenience, and each congregation in the group sends one or more delegates, from among its officers or the laity, to an annual district conference, which convenes within the radius of the group, to consider matters of a wider interest than pertains to the local congregation.

These districts, then, in turn, each send a delegate from among the bishops, or elders, within their respective bounds, to the Annual International Conference, which body of delegates forms a standing committee to deliberate upon matters of general interest, such as methods and ways and means of church work, or church discipline, or doctrines of the church. No creed but the New Testament has ever been adopted, the intent of the church being to keep herself open to the reception of new light in regard to the will of Christ, as may be received by the fraternity, as new conditions are met, and greater knowledge of the Lord is received, and brought to the front by individual worshippers. The decisions of the International Conferences are supposed to be binding upon the fraternity until their repeal, or they become obsolete, by reason of no more necessity of their observance. The voting power of this conference is vested in the delegates from the districts, as above named, together with a delegate from each local congregation in the brotherhood.

The church is not large in numbers, the total probably being about 100,000, nearly all of whom reside in the United States. It may be said that the proportion of active members compared with the actual membership, is quite large. The Annual Conferences have an attendance of from 15,000 to 40,000 and *The Gospel Messenger*, the official organ of the church, is read by about 70 per cent. of their entire membership.

Most of the ministers of the church give their labors without remuneration by their respective charges, esteeming it a privilege to thus labor for their Master, while they follow some secular pursuit for a living. As there are usually several ministers to a congregation, and farming is the occupation of a majority of them, the ministry is not necessarily a great burden, and by the sacrifices of the minister the surplus funds of the congregation often go to foreign and home mission boards. A pastor who gives much, or all of his time to his church is of course given the support he needs, financially.

The Brethren church congregations in Iowa have generally been established by immigration from the older states, and then added to from the inhabitants in the community, as the congregation gained a footing. Owing to incomplete records in many of the churches it is difficult to give any but a bird's-eye view of the denomination, in the State. In the following list of congregations it must be considered that one name of a church often really represents a number of places where preaching services are regularly carried on. For instance, not often are there more churches than one, in a county in Iowa, but in some instances, the county may be almost covered with preaching where the several ministers in the church hold forth the Word. About all the congregations have thriving Sunday schools, and at other places Sunday schools are kept up where no preaching services are had.

At this time there are between forty-five and fifty organized congregations in Iowa, with a total membership of about

three thousand. Many of the congregations have lost numerically within the last few years, from emigration to newer agricultural regions, and the influx of the members has been comparatively small, and the additions by baptism have not been more than usual. There are three active home mission boards in the State, and they are all promoting missions in the much needed places in the cities, besides looking after weak churches in the country, and responding to calls for preaching at isolated places. The chairman of each board, in the northern, central and southern parts of the State, respectively, are, O. S. Gilbert, Eldora, Iowa, W. E. West, Ankeny, Iowa, and S. F. Brower, Ollie, Iowa.

The first congregation in Iowa Territory was effected in 1844, in Jefferson county. Elder George Wolf, of Illinois, a noted minister of his day, assisted in the organization, and he probably retained charge of the congregation for some time. At the start there were eight members. Among the first ministers of this church were John Garber and Peter Lutz. In 1858 their first church building was erected three and one-half miles northwest of Libertyville, after which the congregation took its name. In 1876 this building was torn down and a new one built upon the old site. In addition to this building, another was erected at Batavia, in 1903, where Daniel Holden is pastor. W. N. Glotfelty, Batavia, is pastor of the old church. Elder C. M. Brower, South English, Iowa, has general oversight of the congregation. One of the deacons, Philip Albaugh, was baptized here in 1845, and he was perhaps the first convert in the State. He is 85 years of age. This church numbers seventy-five. The first members were from Pennsylvania. Some pioneer preaching was done by ministers from Illinois. The first ministers chosen here were John Garber and Peter Lutz. Others, deceased now, were Daniel Leedy, James Glotfelty, Enoch Prather, J. H. Filmore, and J. E. Eshelman. The early deacons were Michael Peebler, Philip Albaugh, Jesse West, and Wm. Roberts, all now deceased except the second named.

The Pleasant Hill church was organized out of the Libertyville church in 1896, and now has a membership of thirty-five. They worship in a house four miles southeast of Libertyville, which was built in 1888. E. G. Rodabaugh is elder, assisted by V. Anderson.

In 1851 the Mt. Etna church, Adams county, was organized, with fifty members and their first church building was put up in 1868. The present membership is forty-five, with J. M. Follis, Lenox, Iowa, and A. P. Simon, Mt. Etna, Iowa, as ministers.

The Fairview church, Appanoose county, was organized in 1853, with fourteen members. A building was erected in 1866. The present membership is fifty-seven, with A. Wolf, Udell, Iowa, pastor.

The next year the Monroe county church took form, with twenty members. At present this congregation has about ninety-four members. Peter Brower, South English, Iowa, is the elder, and Willis Rodabaugh, Frederick, Iowa, the pastor.

The English River congregation was organized in 1855, with about fifteen members. The families represented were Wolf, Wine, Brower, Flory, Harvey, and Stover. This little band took form in the log cabin of David Brower, which was one of the few dwellings in Keokuk county. David Brower was selected as the elder. Before a church building was put up large meetings, such as love-feasts, were held in sheds covered with native prairie grass. In 1877 a Sunday school was organized. Another church building was erected at North English in 1890, seven miles from the old church, which is three miles east of South English. The present membership is about 200, with an official corps of seven ministers and eleven deacons. Elder C. M. Brower, of South English, has charge of the church.

This congregation was formed by Elders Samuel Garber and Christian Long, of Illinois. The only charter members now there are Samuel Flory and sister Wolf. The deacons

chosen at the organization were Samuel Flory and Daniel Wine. The early membership came principally from Virginia and Ohio. The elders who succeeded David Brower were Jacob Brower, Samuel Flory, C. M. Brower, H. C. N. Coffman, and Peter Brower. The assistant ministers at present are Joseph Coffman, Daniel P. Miller, and John Brower. B. Frank Flory has the honor of being their first Sunday school superintendent.

Although, as noted, the first love-feast was held in a straw-covered shed built for the purpose, in or about 1860, Elder Jacob Brower built a large barn, and until the church was built this was used to hold the Communion services in. Ordinary services were held in the Liberty school house. The present church building is 40x60 feet and cost about \$2,000.

In 1856 the Decatur county congregation was organized, with twenty-six members. The name has since been changed to the Franklin church. A house of worship was built in 1874, about five miles northeast of Leon, Decatur county. The present membership is about thirty-six, although upwards of 300 persons have been identified with this congregation since its organization. A. Wolf, of Udell, Iowa, is the elder in charge, and L. M. Kob, of Garden Grove, Iowa, is the pastor. This flock was formed by Elders Frank Myers and John Garber. S. A. Garber and Wm. J. Stout were the first ministers.

The Indian Creek congregation, Story county, was also organized in 1856. There were twelve members at first, with Henry Flory, Sr., chosen as minister. In 1881 a house for worship was built near Maxwell, and the present membership is about eighty, with Elder H. H. Troup in charge, assisted by Samuel Bowser and A. W. Flory, all of Maxwell, Iowa. This congregation has, since its organization, given rise to five other congregations, which have been formed separately from time to time, several of which are at this time stronger than the mother church. They are the

Harlan, Coon River, Panther Creek, Dallas Centre, and Des Moines Valley churches.

The first deacon chosen was Joel Brubaker. The members were organized by Elders Henry Neff, of New Paris, Ind., and Isaac Neff of Virginia. Henry Flory, their pastor, sought out members who had moved from the east to adjoining counties, including Polk, Warren, Dallas, Guthrie and Shelby, and doubtless to his labors were due the later organization of so many congregations from this one. The total number of ministers who have been chosen by the church, and who have moved into her fold, has been thirteen, and of deacons, fifteen. The greatest number of members in this congregation at any one time was 125. At present there are three ministers and two deacons.

In the same year the Waterloo church, Black Hawk county, was organized with twelve members. Elder J. Hauger was in charge, and in 1868 their first church house was built where it still remains, about five miles south of Waterloo. It was a large building for those days, seating 800 persons, with a dining room in the basement capable of feeding 400 persons at one time. The cost of the building was about \$7,000. In 1873 another building was put up northwest of Hudson, and in 1880 a church was built in Waterloo, upon the site of the present building which was erected in 1902. The present membership of Waterloo is about 340, with Elder A. P. Blough as pastor. The city Sunday school averages in attendance 130, while the average in the Sunday school in the country is 250.

Probably the first member of the church to set foot in Black Hawk county was Elder Elias Buechley, in 1854. He stopped at Waterloo, at the Sherman House, then a one-story log building, near where the Central House now stands, on Commercial street. He returned to Somerset county, Pa., and spread the good news of Iowa's fine country, and the first settler of the Brethren, in the county was Martin Buechley, a cousin of the Elder, who removed to

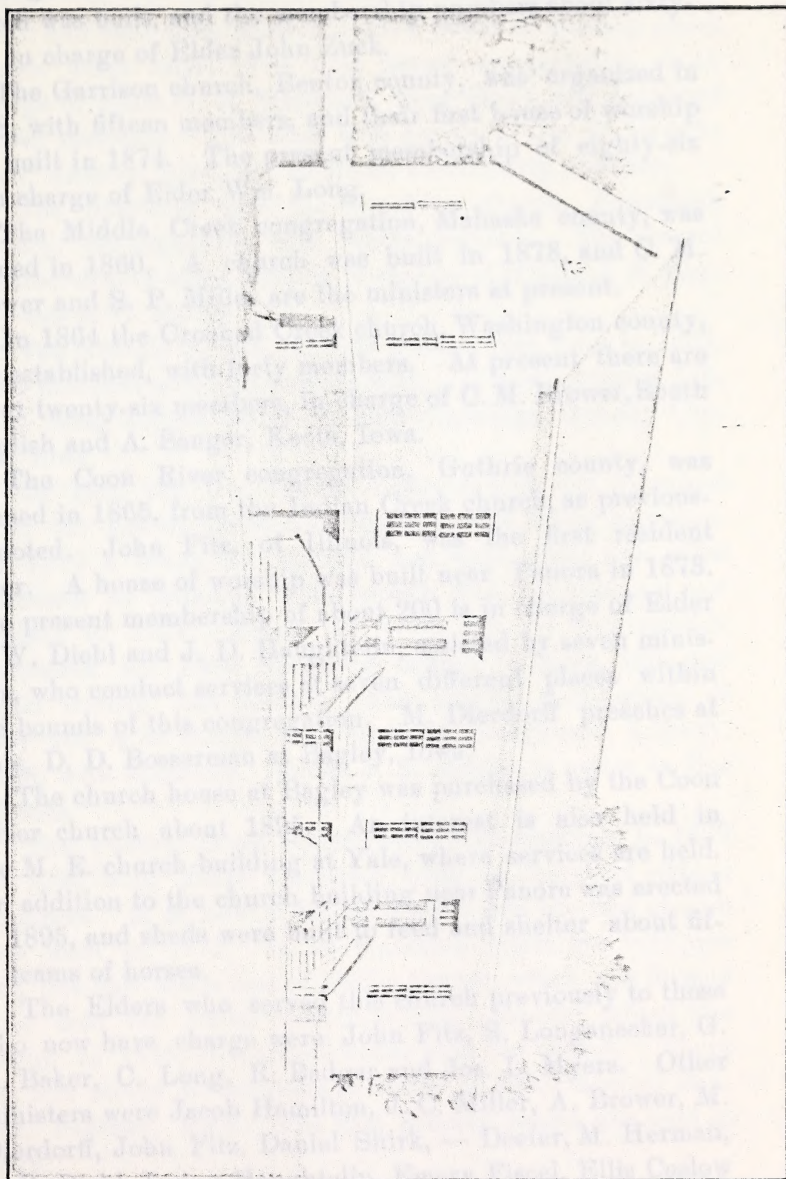
Waterloo in 1855. Others, all from Somerset county, Pa., soon followed. Meetings were first held in private houses, and later in either Capwell's or Weaver's Hall, in Waterloo. The ministers in those early days were John Speicher, Joseph Ogg, and Jesse Myers. Among the early families were the Buechleys, Lichtys, Millers, Fikes, Berkleys, Klingamans, Shrocks, Wellers, Saylor and Mausts.

The Dry Creek church, Linn county, was also organized in 1856. Two years previous T. G. Snyder and family, of Blair county, Pa., had settled there, being the first members of the church in the county, and the only ones, until the year of the church organization. That year the church was formed with ten or more members. In the fall of the year their first love-feast was held in T. G. Snyder's barn, at which time the owner of the barn was set apart for the ministry. Two years later they erected their first church house, which still stands in a good state of preservation. This was one of the first houses built in the State, the Libertyville house having been built the same year. Two other church houses have since been built by this congregation, one of which is in the city of Cedar Rapids. The congregation numbers about seventy-five, with D. W. Miller, pastor of the country congregation, and S. F. Miller, pastor in Cedar Rapids.

The year 1856 witnessed another organization, named the Iowa River church near Marshalltown, Marshall county. It now numbers about seventy members, and is in charge of Elder F. M. Wheeler. An Old Folks' Home for the patronage of the churches in the State was established in 1904.

In 1857 the church at Greene, Butler county, Iowa, was formed, with twenty-one members, and Philip Moss as minister. Following him was Elder J. F. Eikenbury, who in turn was followed by Harvey Eikenbury, their present Elder. A house of worship was built in Greene in 1873, which remains the meeting place of the present congregation, of seventy-four.

The Clarence church, near Clarence, Cedar county, was also organized in 1822, with twelve members. In 1876, a



South Waterloo church, south of Waterloo five miles. Probably the largest country church in the State.
Size 40 x 80 feet. Seats 800 persons.

The Clarence church, near Clarence, Cedar county, was also organized in 1852, with twelve members. In 1876, a church was built, and the membership numbers about sixty-five, in charge of Elder John Zuck.

The Garrison church, Benton county, was organized in 1858, with fifteen members, and their first house of worship was built in 1874. The present membership of eighty-six is in charge of Elder Wm. Long.

The Middle Creek congregation, Mahaska county, was formed in 1860. A church was built in 1878, and C. M. Brower and S. P. Miller are the ministers at present.

In 1864 the Crooked Creek church, Washington county, was established, with forty members. At present there are about twenty-six members, in charge of C. M. Brower, South English and A. Sanger, Keota, Iowa.

The Coon River congregation, Guthrie county, was formed in 1865, from the Indian Creek church, as previously noted. John Fitz, of Illinois, was the first resident elder. A house of worship was built near Panora in 1873. The present membership of about 200 is in charge of Elder J. W. Diehl and J. D. Haughtelin, assisted by seven ministers, who conduct services at seven different places within the bounds of this congregation. M. Dierdorff preaches at Yale, D. D. Bosserman at Bagley, Iowa.

The church house at Bagley was purchased by the Coon River church about 1895. An interest is also held in the M. E. church building at Yale, where services are held. An addition to the church building near Panora was erected in 1895, and sheds were built to feed and shelter about fifty teams of horses.

The Elders who served this church previously to those who now have charge were John Fitz, S. Longanecker, G. R. Baker, C. Long, R. Badger and Jos. L. Myers. Other ministers were Jacob Hamilton, J. C. Miller, A. Brower, M. Dierdorff, John Fitz, Daniel Shirk, — Deeter, M. Herman, J. B. Diehl, Irving Haughtelin, Emery Fiscel, Ellis Caslow and L. D. Bosserman.

In Poweshiek county, the Deep River church, and in Shelby county, the Harlan church, were also organized in 1865, and each congregation built a house of worship about eleven years later. The first named congregation is in charge of Elder G. H. Hopwood, Deep River, and has about fifteen members. The other is in charge of Jas. O. Goughnour, Ankeny, Iowa, and numbers about thirty members.

The following year the Brooklyn church, Poweshiek county, was organized, with twelve members. The present membership of about sixty is in charge of Elders J. S. Snyder and S. C. Miller.

The Grundy church, Grundy county, took form in 1867, with nineteen members to start with. It now numbers 145, with Silas Gilbert and J. E. Jones in charge, Grundy Center, Iowa.

In 1868 the Des Moines Valley church was organized from the Indian Creek congregation, with thirty members. In 1876 a house for worship was built about four miles northeast of Ankeny, Polk county, and was enlarged and refitted in 1904. About ten years ago the congregation purchased the Free Methodist church building, 16th and Lyon streets, Des Moines. The present membership of over 100 is in charge of Elder S. M. Goughnour, Ankeny, Iowa, with assistants. Elder J. E. Mohler is pastor in Des Moines.

The Panther Creek congregation was organized in 1869 in Adel with Elder Christian Long in charge of sixteen members. It is now in Dallas county, and the first church was built in 1872. In 1875 another house was built one and one-half miles east of Dallas Centre, which was formed later into the Dallas Centre church. Sunday school was begun in 1873, in a school house near the church. There are now ninety-six members in charge of Elder Samuel Badger, Panther, Iowa. The first Sunday school was held in 1873.

The Ames church, near Ames, was established in 1869, and is in charge of Elder S. M. Goughnour, Ankeny, Iowa.

The South River congregation, Warren county, organized in 1870, with eighteen members, now numbers twenty-five members, and is in charge of W. W. Folger, Osceola.

The Nora Springs church, Floyd county, organized in 1872, with thirty-six members, has now a membership of twenty, with O. J. Beaver, as pastor.

In 1876 the Maple Valley organization, Cherokee county, was formed with ten members. Its forty members are now in care of Charles Delp, Aurelia.

The Dallas Centre church, Dallas county, was organized the same year, by separation from the Panther church, with fifty-seven members, in charge of Elder Michael Sissler. A church building had been erected near Dallas Centre the previous year, and is still in use. Another building was put up in Beaver, Boone county, a few years ago, where J. L. Hudson preaches. There are about 160 members in the Dallas Centre congregation, presided over by Elder S. M. Goughnour, Ankeny, Iowa. The resident ministers are Elders B. F. Miller, John Weber, C. B. Rowe, Harvey Royer and Maurice Eikenberry.

In 1877 Wayman Valley church, Clayton county, and Pleasant Valley church, Appanoose county, were formed with about twelve members each. The former is now in charge of C. T. Stone, Edgewood, Iowa.

The Pleasant Prairie church, Plymouth county, has twenty-seven members in charge of H. T. Maust, Ireton, Iowa.

In 1884, the Kingsley church, Woodbury county, was organized with thirteen members, by Elder J. W. Trostle. Their first house of worship was built in 1889, and two years later they had a membership of more than 100. In 1893 they built another house west of Kingsley. The present membership of the Kingsley church is about ninety, with Elder D. T. Dierdorff as pastor.

The Prairie City church, Jasper county, was organized in 1894, with twenty members, in charge of Elder J. L. Thomes. It is now under the care of Elder I. W. Brubak-

er, Monroe, with about forty-two members. The church building was erected the year of the organization.

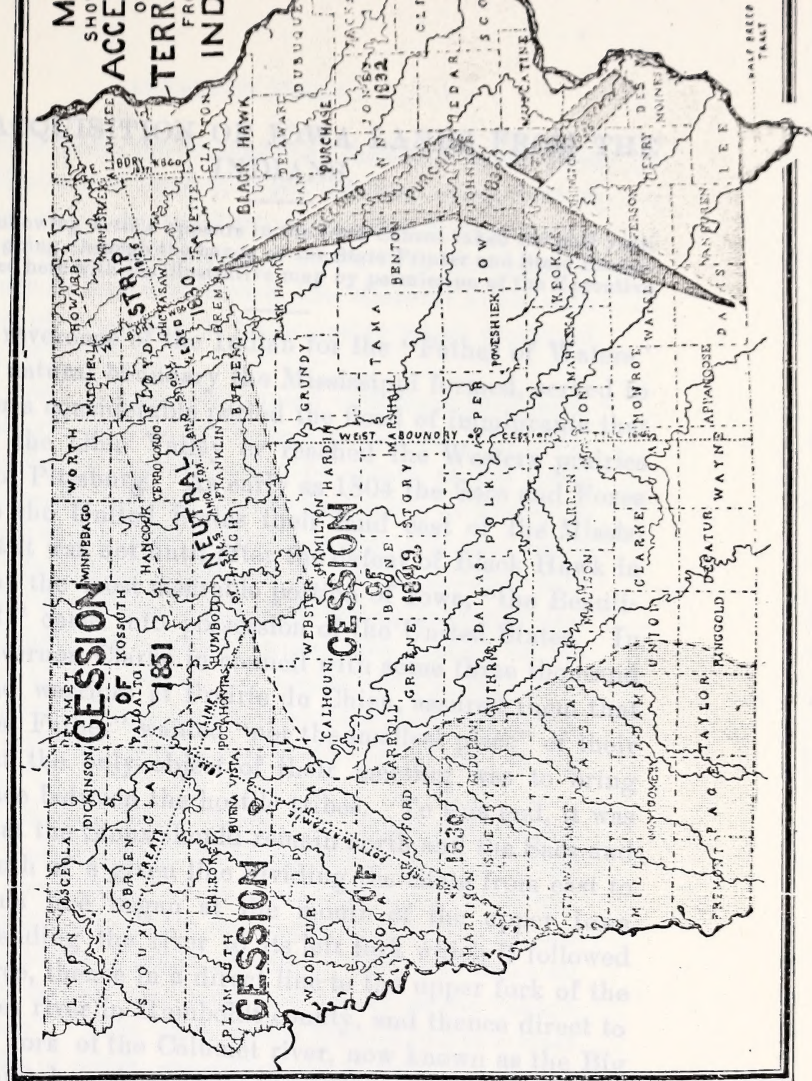
In 1896 the Pleasant Hill church was organized from the Libertyville congregation, as before noted.

The South Ottumwa church was organized in 1900, and a building erected in 1901. Elder C. E. Wolf, Ottumwa, is the pastor. The first preaching services in the city were held in a private house at 316 South Moore St., in January, 1900. In August of the same year tent meetings were held by Elder Abram Wolf and Orlando Ogden. The first convert in the city was an aged Catholic. The first love-feast was held August 16, with twenty-eight members, in charge of Elder J. M. Follis. The committee to whose labors the present comfortable church building in the city is largely due, consisted of C. M. Brower, O. Ogden, Mankin Wray, and the pastor, Elder C. E. Wolf. The dedication sermon was preached by Elder L. H. Eby, of Mound City, Mo.

Besides these there exist a number of churches organized on dates unknown to the writer. Among these are the Ollie church, Keokuk county, with S. F. Brower, Ollie, Iowa, pastor. Aurelia church, Cherokee county, and Laurens church, Pocahontas county, in charge of Elder J. D. Haughtelin, Panora, Iowa.

South Keokuk church, Lee county, has fifty-three members, with E. G. Rodabaugh, Libertyville, Iowa, in charge. Franklin county church, in care of W. H. Pyle, Hampton, Iowa, has twenty-five members. Twenty members forming the Lake Park church, Dickinson county, are in the care of W. H. Eikenbury, Reading, Minn. The Sheldon church, Sioux county, has forty members in care of Elder J. E. Ralston, Sheldon. Gillett Grove church, Clay county, with twelve members, is in care of Geo. Brallier, Greenville, Iowa. Spring Creek church, Chickasaw county, with twenty-six members, is presided over by Harvey Gilliam of Fredericksburg, Iowa.

DES MOINES, IOWA, December 1, 1905.



This imaginary line, however, followed the tendency of the warlike tribes and in 1830 several bands of the Sioux asked a strip two or three miles in width from the Missouri River to the Rocky Mountains north and adjoining the land of the treaty of 1825. At the same time the confederated Sioux, Cheyenne, Arapaho and Kiowa made a likecession south of the treaty line. The two acquisitions constituted the so-called Neutral Strip.

THE ACQUISITION OF IOWA LANDS FROM THE INDIANS.

The following article appears in the Iowa Census taken the past year, and now going through the hands of the State Printer and State Binder. It is copied here with the illustrative map by permission of the Executive Council.

The reverence of the Indian for the "Father of Waters" and the natural boundary the Mississippi formed, served to check for a considerable period the flood of immigrants that followed the Ohio Valley or reached the Western prairies by way of Pittsburg. As early as 1804 the Sacs and Foxes ceded to the United States their land east of the Mississippi, but it was not until after the defeat of Black Hawk in 1832 that the most desirable portion of Iowa, "the Beautiful Land," came into possession of the United States. In 1825 Governor Clarke in council with some three thousand chiefs and warriors at Prairie du Chien, assured them that the "Great Father" wanted "not the smallest piece" of their land, that the only object of their meeting was to bring about peace between the hostile tribes. To this end, it was agreed that the Sioux should remain north and the Sacs and Foxes south of a given line dividing the State from east to west. This line began at the mouth of the upper Iowa river, ascending the river to its left fork which it followed to its source, thence in a direct line to the upper fork of the Des Moines river in Humboldt county, and thence direct to the lower fork of the Calumet river, now known as the Big Sioux, which branch according to earlier surveys, lies north of the Rock river.

This imaginary line, however, failed to restrain the hostile tendency of the warring tribes and in 1830 several bands of the Sioux ceded a strip of land twenty miles in width from the Mississippi to the Des Moines river situated north and adjoining the line of the treaty of 1825. At the same time the confederated tribes of the Sacs and Foxes made a like cession south of the treaty line. The two acquisitions constituted the so-called Neutral Strip.

In the same treaty the tribes of the Sacs and Foxes gave the United States that portion of the territory lying west of the watershed dividing the Missouri and Des Moines rivers, eastward to the Neutral Strip, northward to the present state of Minnesota and westward to the Missouri river, with the exception of a portion of Lyon county which remained in possession of the Sioux.

This vast tract of land was granted with the understanding that it should be used for Indian purposes. The Neutral Strip might be hunted upon by either of the tribal parties to the treaty, and the United States was at liberty to settle upon any of the lands acquired at this date such other tribes as the President might see fit. In accordance with this agreement, the Winnebagos after selling their land east of the Mississippi were settled upon that portion of the Neutral Strip to the east of the Cedar river in its course through Butler and Floyd counties, and the Pottawattamies, were given 5,000,000 acres in the southwestern part of the State of Iowa.

The noted warrior Black Hawk had vigorously refused to recognize the treaty of 1804 and although in 1816 he "touched the goose quill," as he expressed it, to the instrument affirming the treaty, his reluctance to give up the land in question led to the conflict of 1832. He was defeated and compelled to sell the land now known as the "Black Hawk Purchase." This gave to the United States a tract about fifty miles in width, extending along the Mississippi river from the Neutral Strip to the Missouri line, with the exception of the Keokuk Reserve of four hundred square miles along the Iowa river in Louisa county. By this means the eastern portion of the State was secured with the exception of a small tract of land lying between the Des Moines and Mississippi rivers and south of a line drawn west from Ft. Madison, reserved under the treaty made in 1825, for the half-breeds of the Sacs and Foxes of Missouri, and known as the Half-Breed Tract.

Immigration rapidly spread over the territory thus acquired and in 1856 the Keokuk Reserve was given over to the United States. A year later, the need of more land being imperative, a tract of 1,250,000 acres lying immediately west of the Black Hawk Purchase was obtained, making what is known as the "Second Purchase."

The treaty of 1830 recognized the claim of the Yankton band of the Sioux, to the land ceded at that time, and in 1837 the government purchased their interest thereby securing undisputed title to the northern portion of the Neutral Strip. At the same time the Missouri Sacs and Foxes as distinguished from the confederated tribes of Iowa, ceded their interest in the land south of the treaty line of 1825 and between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. The Iowa bands who had long been recognized as part owners of the same territory gave over their interest in 1838, but it was not until 1842 that the confederated tribes of the Sacs and Foxes wavering before the tide of immigration, ceded to the United States all other land east of the Missouri. They agreed to vacate at once that portion of the territory to the east of the line running due north and south from the Painted Rocks on the White Breast fork of the Des Moines river, and within three years from the ratification of the treaty to move west of the Missouri.

The remaining rights of the Indians to the State, were procured when the Winnebagos in 1846, ceded their interest in the Neutral Strip and the Sioux in 1851, gave title to the northern portion of the present State.

PURCHASE PRICE OF IOWA LANDS.

The exact amount paid the Indians for the lands of Iowa cannot be determined. The treaties state the purchase price in terms of money, annuities and merchandise, which latter item it is impossible to fix a value upon at the present time. Another element of uncertainty lies in the overlapping areas of some of the cessions and the extension of several tracts beyond the present confines of the State.

The Neutral Strip and cession of 1830 was ceded to the United States by certain tribes of the Sioux and the confederated tribes of the Sac and Fox Indians for a sum total of \$284,132. The remaining tribes having rights in the territory gave them over in 1837. In the case of the Missouri Sacs and Foxes, however, the cession included not only the above mentioned tract, but all the land between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, as far north as the treaty line of 1825. The exact extent of the territory claimed by this tribe cannot be determined, but it is probable not over one-fourth of the grant was in the cession of 1830. The same area was included in the treaty with the Iowas in 1838 for which they received practically the same amount of money as the former tribe. Assuming this proportion to be correct, the total cost of the 20,000 square miles of land was \$370,007 or about three cents per acre.

The Black Hawk Purchase adjoining the Neutral Strip upon the south, although taken as a result of the Black Hawk war, was made of a strip of land about fifty miles in width, extending along the Mississippi to the southern border of the State and comprising some 7,500 square miles. For this, the government agreed to pay the sum of \$655,000 besides giving annually for thirty years, forty kegs of tobacco, and forty pounds of salt. At the time of making the treaty the tribe was given, for the benefit more particularly of the women who had lost husbands in the war, a present of thirty-five beef cattle, twelve bushels of salt, thirty barrels of pork, sixty barrels of flour and six thousand bushels of Indian corn. Without estimating the value of these latter products, the cost of the tract to the United States, was about fourteen cents per acre.

The Keokuk Reserve was secured for \$198,599.87 $\frac{1}{2}$, giving the United States four hundred square miles of the Iowa valley at a little less than eight cents per acre. The land immediately west of this tract was more expensive. This purchase included 1,250,000 acres of land, and was secured

for \$377,000 or a little over thirty cents per acre. Of this sum, \$200,000 was to be held in trust, the government agreeing to pay at least five per cent. interest per annum upon the same. The remainder not required for debts or presents was to be expended to procure laborers to help in agricultural pursuits, break up and fence the land still in their possession to the westward, erect two grist mills, and purchase a large amount of goods desired by the Indians.

What appears upon the map as the cession of 1842, was secured by the treaty with the Iowas in 1838, and from the Missouri Sacs and Foxes in 1837, under the conditions previously mentioned. The confederated Sacs and Foxes, however, had the greatest interest in this land, and in 1842 sold the same to the United States for \$1,058,566.00 which sum added to the amounts previously mentioned, made the total cost of the tract \$1,137,941.00 or ten cents per acre. Of this sum, \$878,725 was held in trust by the United States upon which the usual charge of five per cent. interest was to be paid.

The remaining strip of land now within the boundaries of the State was along the northern border and legally the property of the Sioux Indians, although at the period they had moved to the northward and occupied what is now southern Minnesota. By 1851 they were convinced of their inability to hold the lands against the advancing whites, and sold what is now a large portion of the State of Minnesota, together with their remaining land in Iowa for a sum total of \$1,390,000. The greater portion of this was to be held in trust under the usual conditions. It appears that about one-tenth of this cession was in the State of Iowa, and therefore the sum \$139,000 may be said to have been paid for this northernmost tract.

Accepting this estimate, the State of Iowa would have cost the United States government the sum total of \$2,377,547.87, a little over eight cents per acre.

TITLE	TRIBE AND DATE	CASH OR PRESENTS	ANNUAL PAYMENTS	SUPPLIES	ITEMS NOT ESTIMATED	TOTAL
NEUTRAL STRIP AND CESSION OF 1830.	Sioux Sac and Fox, 1830.	\$5,132 Presents.	\$19,000 annually for 10 years, \$190,000 \$3,000 annually for 10 years, educa- tion, \$30,000	\$2,900 iron and steel for ten years, \$29,000 Six blacksmiths at \$500 per annum for ten years (es- timated), \$30,000		
	Total	\$5,132	\$220,000	\$59,000		\$284,132.00
	Yankton Sioux, 1837.	\$4,000 Presents.				4,000.00
	Missouri Sac and Fox, 1837.	\$2,600 Merchandise, probably one- fourth in this cession, \$650	\$157,400 held at 5 per cent. interest by the U. S., pro- bably one-fourth this Cession, \$39,350			40,000.00
	Iowa, 1837.	\$2,500 in Presents for Neutral Strip.			Ten houses, 18x20.	2,500.00
Iowa, 1838.			\$157,500 held by U. S. at 5 per cent. interest, proba- bly one-fourth in this Cession, \$39,375			39,375.00
	Total	\$12,282	\$298,725	\$59,000		\$370,007.00

TITLE	TRIBE AND DATE	CASH OR PRESENTS	ANNUAL PAYMENTS	SUPPLIES	ITEMS NOT ESTIMATED	TOTAL
BLACK HAWK PURCHASE.	Sac and Fox, 1832.	\$40,000 cash in pay- ment of debts to traders.	\$20,000 annually for 30 years, \$600,000	One blacksmith for 30 years at \$500 per annum (esti- mated), \$15,000	40 kegs tobacco and 40 lbs. salt annually for 30 years. 12 bushels cattle, 35 bushels salt, 30 bbls. pork, 60 bbls. flour, 6,000 bus. corn.	
	Total	\$40,000	\$600,000	\$15,000		\$655,000.00
KEOKUK RESERVE.	Sac and Fox, 1836.	\$30,000 cash, \$48,458.87 to pay debts, \$ 1,000 to wife of murdered trader, \$ 9,200 for care of half-breed child- dren.	\$10,000 annually for 10 years, \$100,000	200 Horses to cost \$9,341		
	Total	\$88,659.87	\$100,000	\$9,341		198,588.87
SECOND PURCHASE.	Sac and Fox, 1837.	\$100,000 to pay debts, \$4,500 Presents.	\$200,000 held by U. S. at 5 per cent. interest.	\$2,000 annually for 5 years, aid in agriculture, \$10,000 Break up and fence ground, \$24,000 Two grist mills, \$10,000 Goods, \$28,500		
	Total	\$104,500	\$200,000	\$72,500		377,000.00

TITLE	TRIBE AND DATE	CASH OR PRESENTS	ANNUAL PAYMENTS	SUPPLIES	ITEMS NOT ESTIMATED	TOTAL
CESSION OF 1842.	Sac and Fox, 1842.	\$258,556 to pay debts.	\$800,000 held by U. S. at 5 per cent. annual interest.			\$1,058,566.00
	Iowa, 1838.		One-fourth Cession of 1830, \$39,575			39,375.00
	Missouri Sac and Fox, 1837.	One-fourth Cession of 1830, \$650	One-fourth Cession of 1830, amount at 5 per cent. \$39,350			40,000.00
	Total	\$259,216	\$878,725			1,137,941.00
CESSION OF 1851.	Sioux, 1851.	\$1,360,000 held at 5 per cent. interest by the U. S., pro- bably one-tenth in Iowa, \$136,000	\$30,000 for im- provements, pro- bably one-tenth in Iowa, \$3,000			139,000.00
	Total	\$136,000	\$3,000			
	Grand Total	\$640,656.87	\$2,081,050	\$158,841		\$2,877,547.87

EXECUTION OF THE CONFEDERATE SPY SAMUEL DAVIS.

BY MAJ. GEN. G. M. DODGE.

(From the Confederate Veteran.)

When Gen. Grant ordered Gen. Sherman (whose head of column was near Eastport, on Tennessee river) to drop everything and bring his army to Chattanooga, my corps (the 16th) was then located at Corinth, Miss., and I brought up the rear.

Gen. Grant's anxiety to attack Bragg's command before Longstreet could return from East Tennessee brought on the battle before I could reach Chattanooga. Gen. Grant, therefore, instructed Gen. Sherman to halt my command in Middle Tennessee and to instruct me to rebuild the railway from Nashville to Decatur. The fulfilling of the above order is fully set forth by Gen. Grant in his Memoirs.

When I reached the line of the Nashville and Decatur railroad, I distributed my troops from Columbia south towards Athens, Alabama. I had about 10,000 men and 8,000 animals and was without provisions, with no railroad or water communication to any base of supply, and was obliged to draw subsistence for my command from the adjacent country until I could rebuild the railroad and receive my supplies from Nashville.

My command was a part of the "Army of the Tennessee," occupying temporarily a portion of the territory of the "Department of the Cumberland," but not reporting or subject to the commander of that department.

Upon an examination of the country, I found that there was an abundance of everything needed to supply my command, except where Sherman's forces had swept across it along Elk river. He wrote me "I do not think that my forces have left a chicken for you." I also found that I was in a country where the sentiment of the people was almost unanimously against us. I had very little faith in convert-

ing them by the taking of the oath of allegiance; I therefore issued an order, stating that the products of the country I required to supply my command, and to all who had these products, regardless of their sentiments, and would bring them to the stations where my troops were located, I would pay a fair price, but if I had to send and bring the supplies myself, that I should take them without making payment, giving them only receipts. I also issued instructions that every train going for supplies should be accompanied by an officer and receipt given for what he took. This had a good effect, the citizens generally bringing in their supplies to my command and receiving the proper voucher, but it also gave an opportunity for straggling bands to rob and charge up their depredations to my command. This caused many complaints to be filed with the military governor of Tennessee and the department commander of the Cumberland.

Upon investigation, I found most of those depredations were committed by irresponsible parties of both sides, and I also discovered that there was a well organized and disciplined corps of scouts and spies within my lines, one force operating to the east of the line, under Capt. Coleman, and another force operating to the west, having its headquarters in the vicinity of Florence, Alabama. I issued orders to my own spies to locate these parties, sending out scouting parties to wipe them out or drive them across the Tennessee river.

My cavalry had considerable experience in this work in and around Corinth, and they were very successful and brought in many prisoners, most of whom could only be treated as prisoners of war.

The 7th Kansas Cavalry was very efficient in this service, and they captured Samuel Davis, Joshua Brown, Smith and Gen. Bragg's Chief of Scouts and Secret Service, Col. S. Shaw, all about the same time. We did not know of the importance of the capture of Shaw, or that he was the Capt.

Coleman commanding Bragg's secret service force. Nothing was found on any of the prisoners of importance, except upon Davis, who evidently had been selected to carry the information they had all obtained through to Gen. Bragg. Upon Davis were found letters from Capt. Coleman, the commander of the scouts to the east of us, and many others. I was very anxious to capture Coleman and break up his command, as my own scouts and spies within the Confederate line were continually reporting to us the news sent south from and the movements of Coleman within my lines.

Davis was brought immediately to me, as his captors knew his importance. They believed he was an officer and also knew he was a member of Coleman's command.

When brought to my office I met him pleasantly. I knew what had been found upon him and I desired to locate Coleman and his command and ascertain, if possible, who was furnishing the information, which I saw was accurate and valuable to Gen. Bragg.

Davis met me modestly. He was a fine soldierly-looking young man, dressed in a faded Federal soldier's coat, one of our army soft hats and top boots. He had a frank, open face, which was inclined to brightness. I tried to impress upon him the danger he was in, and that I knew he was only a messenger, and held out to him the hope of lenient treatment if he would answer truthfully, as far as he could, my questions.

He listened attentively and respectfully to me, but, as I recollect, made no definite answer, and I had him returned to the prison. My recollection is that Capt. Armstrong, my provost marshal, placed in the prison with him and the other prisoners one of our own spies, who claimed to be one of the Confederate scouting parties operating within my lines, and I think the man More whom the other prisoners speak of as having been captured with them and escaping, was this man. However, they all kept their own counsel and we obtained no information of value from them.

The reason of this reticence, was the fact that they all knew Col. Shaw was one of our captives, and that if his importance was made known to us he would certainly be hung, and they did not think that Davis would be executed.

Upon Davis was found a large mail of value. Much of it was letters from the friends and relatives of soldiers in the Confederate army. There were many small presents, one or two, I remember, to Gen. Bragg, and much accurate information of my forces, of our defences, our intentions, substance of my orders, criticisms as to my treatment of the citizens and a general approval of my payment for supplies, while a few denounced severely some of the parties who had hauled in supplies under the orders.

Capt. Coleman mentioned this in one of his letters.

There were also intimations of the endeavor that would be made to interrupt my work, and plans for the capture of single soldiers and small parties of the command out after forage.

I had Davis brought before me again, after my provost marshal had reported his inability to obtain anything of value from him. I then informed him that he would be tried as a spy; that the evidence against him would surely convict him, and made a direct appeal to him to give me the information I knew he had. He very quietly, but firmly, refused to do it. I therefore let him be tried and suffer the consequences. Considerable interest was taken in young Davis by the provost marshal and Chaplain Young, and considerable pressure was brought to bear upon them by some of the citizens of Pulaski; and I am under the impression that some of them saw Davis and endeavored to induce him to save himself, but they failed. Mrs. John A. Jackson, I remember, made a personal appeal in his behalf directly to me. Davis was convicted upon trial and sentenced. Then one of my noted scouts, known as "Chickasaw," believed he could prevail upon Davis to give the information we asked.

He took him in hand and never gave it up until the last

moment, going to the scaffold with a promise of pardon a few moments before his execution.

Davis died to save his own chief, Col. Shaw, who was in prison with him and was captured the same day.

The parties who were prisoners with Davis have informed me that it was Shaw who had selected Davis as the messenger to Gen. Bragg, and had given him part of his mail and papers.

I did not know this certainly until a long time after the war. I first learned of it by rumor and by what some of my own scouts have told me since the war, and it has since been confirmed confidentially to me by one of the prisoners who was captured about the same time that Davis was and who was imprisoned with him up to the time he was convicted and sentenced, and knew Col. Shaw, as well as all the facts in the case.

The statement made to me was that Col. S. Shaw was the chief or an important officer in Gen. Bragg's secret service corps; that Shaw had furnished the important documents to Davis, and that their captors did not know Shaw and his importance.

Col. Shaw I sent with the other prisoners north, as prisoners of war. I also learned that Shaw was greatly alarmed when he was informed that I was trying to induce Davis to give me the information he had.

This is where Davis showed himself a true soldier. He had been entrusted with an important commission by an important officer, who was imprisoned with him, and he died rather than betray him. He knew to a certainty, if he informed me of the facts, that Shaw would be executed, for he was a far more important person to us than was Davis.

During the war I had many spies captured; some executed who were captured within the Confederate lines and who were equally brave in meeting their fate.

By an extraordinary effort I saved the life of one who was captured by Forrest. Through my efforts this man es-

caped, though Gen. Forrest sized him up correctly. He was one of the most important men we ever had within the Confederate lines.

Forrest was determined to hang him, but Maj. Gen. Polk believed him innocent and desired to save him.

Great interest was taken in Davis at the time, because it was known by all of the command that I desired to save him.

Your publication bears many evidences of this fact. It is not, therefore, necessary for me to state that I regretted to see sentence executed; but it was one of the fates of war, which is cruelty itself, and there is no refining it.

I find this letter bearing upon the case; it may be of interest. It is my first report to Maj. B. M. Sawyer, assistant adjutant general, Army of the Tennessee, notifying him of the capture of Davis. It is dated Pulaski, Tenn., Nov. 20th, 1863, and is as follows:

I herewith enclose copy of dispatches taken from one of Bragg's spies. He had a heavy mail, papers, etc., and shows Capt. Coleman is pretty well posted.

We have broken up several bands of mounted robbers and Confederate cavalry in the last week, capturing some five commissioned officers and one hundred enlisted men, who have been forwarded.

I also forward a few of the most important letters found in the mail. The tooth brushes and blank books I was greatly in need of and therefore appropriated them. I am,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
G. M. DODGE, Brigadier General.

The severe penalty of death, where a spy is captured, is not because there is anything dishonorable in the fact of the person being a spy, as only men of peculiar gifts for such service, men of courage and cool judgment and undoubted patriotism are selected. The fact that the information they obtain is found within their enemy's lines and probably of great danger to an army is what causes the penalty to be so very severe. A soldier caught in the uniform, or a part of the uniform of his enemy, within his enemy's lines, establishes the fact that he is a spy and is there in violation of the Articles of War and for no good purpose. This alone will prohibit his being treated as a prisoner of war, when caught as Davis was in our uniform, with valuable documents upon him, and seals his fate.

I appreciate fully that the people of Tennessee and Davis' comrades understand his soldierly qualities and propose to honor his memory. I take pleasure in aiding in the raising of a monument to his memory, for although the services he performed were for the purpose of injuring my command, they were given in faithfully performing the duties he was assigned to.

NEW YORK, June 15, 1897.

THE REIGN OF THE COMMON PEOPLE.

In the broadest sense, therefore, the common people rule, their joint action prevails, their harmonious wishes dominate education. There is no efficiency like their efficiency. There is no power like their power. There is no development like their development. They stand supreme to all those who serve their interests in any capacity. They love their accepted leaders, they admire their patriotic teachers, they ardently accept their highest conception of what is best. They are ready to grant their allegiance to the truth; they are strong in their admiration for genuine capability, while they hate all shams, sycophancy and trickery. Manliness has in such an environment an influence that cannot be measured in terms of speech, efficiency in service is recognized by the mightiest applause, while the spirit of honor and strength gives to civilization its greatest elevation. The time has come to learn this lesson in the management of public education of relying upon the common people. The great demand for the present is for a stronger affiliation with the father and the mother of the boys and girls in the school room on the part of every would-be educator. The largest and most effective career is possible alone to those who know their allegiance to the principles of democracy and who intelligently apply these principles to the solving of the great problems that are daily found in the work.—*President H. H. Seerley, State Normal School.*

AN EARLY WEST POINTER.

BY CHARLES ALDRICH.

CAPTAIN ADAM A. LARRABEE (father of Honorable William Larrabee, of Clermont, Iowa, eighteen years—1868 to 1885—a State Senator, and more recently—1886 to 1890—Governor of the State) graduated from the United States Military Academy at West Point, March 1, 1811. In accepting his appointment he wrote to the Secretary of War, General Henry Dearborn, as follows:

WINDHAM, CONN., February 8, 1808.

SIR: I have been honored with an appointment of cadet of artillery attached to the military school at West Point, and in compliance with your request I transmit you my answer as accepting said appointment, at the same time pledging my sacred honor and my life in defense of my country and its liberties. I avail myself of this opportunity of tendering my sincere acknowledgments to His Excellency the President of the United States for the important favor which he has been pleased to confer upon me, at the same time assuring him that when my country calls no exertions shall be too arduous to deter me from fulfilling my duty.

I am, sir, with the most profound respect,

Your obedient and humble servant,

ADAM A. LARRABEE.

HON. HENRY DEARBORN, Secretary of War.

In pursuance of this appointment the young man, then twenty-one years of age, reported at the academy in due season, and remained until his graduation. Upon the completion of his studies he was appointed second lieutenant of light artillery. His promotion to a first lieutenantcy followed a couple of months later. His service at that time was in garrisons on the Atlantic coast, though he also participated in the campaign along the northern frontier in 1812. His next service was under General Wilkinson on the St. Lawrence, where he was engaged in the attack on La Colle Mills, March 30, 1814. In this engagement he was shot through the lungs, the bullet lodging against the shoulder-blade, whence it was removed by the surgeon, really passing through the body. He was reported killed, but fortunately recovered from the terrible wound. It was almost a miracle

for the surgeons of those days to save the life of a soldier as badly wounded, though it speaks volumes as to the powerful vitality and fine physical condition of the patient.

In this fight General Wilkinson had attacked some two hundred of the British forces who were strongly posted in the stone mill at La Crosse. Two pieces of artillery were brought up and planted within two hundred yards of the mill. General Wilkinson succeeded in expelling the British and capturing the mill. Captain Larrabee fell shot through the thigh during the fight. Lieutenant Larrabee took his place but was wounded, when the command devolved upon him. After being thus wounded Larrabee was hauled about twenty miles in an ambulance to the home of the illustrious Chancellor Shreve. He was tenderly cared for by the family. It was no doubt due to this excellent nursing that his life was saved. He was afterwards promoted to a captaincy, but resigned his commission in 1815.

Captain Larrabee was married to Hannah Gibbs Lester in 1817, who bore him nine children, all of whom survived him except John, who died in 1852. In 1825 the subject of this sketch was chosen a member of the board of visitors to the Military Academy. He also served as presidential elector in the great Tippecanoe campaign of 1840.

The business of his civil life was farming rather than politics, and in this way he won very conspicuous success. He

the old savings bank of Norwich, Connecticut, the deposits your debt & humble servant

Adam A. Larrabee

for the surgeons of those days to save the life of a soldier so badly wounded, though it speaks volumes as to the powerful vitality and fine physical condition of the patient.

In this fight General Wilkinson had attacked some two hundred of the British forces who were strongly posted in the stone mill at La Colle. Two pieces of artillery were brought up and planted within two hundred yards of the mill. General Wilkinson surrounded it, expecting to dislodge and capture the enemy, in which he failed on account of the strength of the walls. Captain McPherson fell, shot through the thigh, and was carried off the field. Lieutenant Larrabee took his place, but was very soon wounded, when the command devolved upon Lieutenant Sheldon. After being thus wounded Lieutenant Larrabee was hauled about twenty miles in an open sleigh to the home of the illustrious Chancellor Reuben H. Walworth, where he was tenderly cared for by the family. It was no doubt due to this excellent nursing that his life was saved. He was soon after promoted to a captaincy, but resigned his commission in 1815.

Captain Larrabee was married to Hannah Gallup Lester in 1817, who bore him nine children, all of whom survived him except John, who died in 1852. In 1828 the subject of this sketch was chosen a member of the board of visitors to the Military Academy. He also served as presidential elector in the great Tippecanoe campaign of 1840.

The business of his civil life was farming rather than politics, and in this way he won very conspicuous success. He was for over fifty years continuously one of the trustees of the old savings bank of Norwich, Connecticut, the deposits in which at the time of his death had increased to almost \$9,000,000. Tradition assures us that he was a most excellent financial manager, an enviable trait which was transmitted to more than one of his sons. He was not only a hard worker, but very frugal and saving in his habits, as one would judge upon seeing his portrait in the Iowa Historical Collections; but to proper objects of charity, and the cause

of religion, he was always a most liberal giver. He was punctual in the discharge of every trust that was committed to him, always present at the meetings of the bank trustees, and taking a thorough interest in all its transactions. The scars which he carried to his grave, as well as the promotions he received, afford abundant evidence that his youthful pledge to the President of the United States, who had appointed him to his cadetship, was faithfully and patriotically carried out.

When peace was declared he had no liking for the monotony of regular army life, but promptly resigned to take his chances in a business career. His systematic training at West Point was visible in all his after years, and his ideas of hard work, economy, business integrity, order, and punctuality were a most precious legacy to his sons, who have abundantly prospered through the same praiseworthy qualities. He was born in Ledyard, Connecticut, March 14, 1787, and died in Windham, Connecticut, October 28, 1869.

In the same compartment of the Iowa Historical (Aldrich) Collections which contains his autograph letter there is one addressed to him, as follows:

NORWICH, CONNECTICUT, 22d July, 1813.

SIR: I have received your letter of the 12th instant. The militia are again ordered to New London, and I hope you will make a good fight if the enemy should attack.

I am, sir, with esteem, your most ob't servant,

JACOB KINGSBURY, Inspector General.

To LT. ADAM LARRABEE, Groton, Connecticut.

Since I prepared the above sketch in 1891, for Mrs. Martha J. Lamb's Magazine of American History (v. 25, pp. 371-74), I have come into possession of a few additional facts relating to Captain A. A. Larrabee, which I will here set down.

He served as railroad commissioner of the state of Connecticut, but I have no data as to the time or length of his service.

According to his friend, Hon. James O. Crosby, of Gar-

navillo, Iowa, he was a model banker. Tuesdays and Fridays were the only days when the finance committee, of which he was a member, met in the bank parlor to consider and decide upon loans. For fifty years Captain Larrabee never failed to be present at these important business meetings, save when he was absent in the west visiting his children. He expressed his belief to Mr. Crosby that the disasters to banks came from their great anxiety to make money too fast. "High rates of interest mean poor security."

After the death of his father he came into possession of the old family homestead, consisting of 100 acres east of the town of Windham. Later on he acquired 500 acres adjoining the old farm—a very handsome estate. All accounts agree that he was a model farmer and business man.

While he was at West Point there was no "class rank." This distinction did not come until 1818. His number in the line of graduates, from the beginning, was 55. That he was a bright and industrious scholar is evidenced by the fact that he was from the first assigned to studies in artillery, the highest branch of the regular service, after the engineers.

The State Historical Department some years ago received from the family of Captain Larrabee, his uniform coat, waistcoat and ivory-hilted sword, which were on his person at the time he was so seriously wounded in battle. These, with others of his personal belongings, including the remnants of his over-coat and the great British bullet which came so near ending his life, are now carefully preserved in the well-known "Larrabee case" in the Iowa Historical Museum.

THE FOLLOWING are the officers of the State Historical Society, located at Burlington, for the present year: Rev. Wm. Salter, President; David Rorer, Vice President; Dr. Philip Harvey, Corresponding Secretary; A. D. Green, Recording Secretary; W. D. Gilbert, Treasurer; R. M. Green, Librarian.—*The Iowa Citizen (Des Moines), Feb. 23, 1858.*

tangible property and choses in action, we may doubt if any one can find in any considerable number of our local public offices the chief record books covering the official transactions of their pioneer periods adequately bound, numbered, indexed, cataloged and shelved in vaults proof against fire and damp. Further, excepting records in current use, there are few, if any, city or town halls or county court houses wherein the archives pertaining to affairs prior to 1880 are either completely or properly preserved. We probably should not do violence to the truth if we should say that the same condition is to be found down as late as 1890.

The county court houses of recent construction are doubtless fireproof, and in addition they contain fireproof vaults of greater or less capacity. The same may be said of some of the city halls in our larger cities. But, generally speaking, the protection of local archives against destruction by fire is meagre in the extreme. Many, if not most, of our city or town halls are firetraps, being old frame buildings or brick structures in constant danger from defective chimneys or from electric wiring hastily installed or poorly insulated. Most of the offices have, of course, what are alleged to be "fireproof" safes, of ancient construction, that seldom stand severe treatment; but these are utterly inadequate even if they afford real protection in time of fire, because they cannot possibly contain more than the record books and vouchers in current demand.

Another fact generally overlooked that greatly aggravates the dangers of loss of local archives by fire or dispersion is that even current records of towns and small cities are not always to be found in the safes or vaults of town halls. They are more often than not scattered about here and there in their several communities, in the desks or pigeon holes of bankers, lawyers, merchants, or real estate agents who act as clerks, or treasurers, or as chairmen of councilmanic or township committees. Some of these officials have fireproof facilities for safe keeping records, but it is rare that such is the

case. Besides the imminent danger of losses by fire, the likelihood of irretrievable loss by mutilation, or gross neglect, is notoriously increased by this common practice of scatteration.

But surprise rapidly develops into amazement if one examines into the sort of care given local archives in the quarters assigned them in our county court houses and city halls. Records of periods prior to 1890, and even of more recent date, are to be found in all sorts of places and in all sorts of conditions. In various county and city offices decent care is attempted; books and papers are properly bound, numbered, listed, classified, and filed in places fit for their preservation from vermin, mice and mould. But, except in recently constructed public buildings, this is not common. One is likely to find the "old" out-of-date records or files "put away" high upon shelves out of easy reach, their whereabouts forgotten, or in boxes in some old junk room unfit or undesired for other use, or in attics, cellars, closets or vaults, and sometimes in outbuildings. The books and papers are generally in greater or less confusion. It is the exception if they have not been tossed, dumped or kicked into their present place by reckless or inconsiderate persons, official and other. Dust and grime or mould make labels undecipherable. Pages of records are often so badly mildewed as to be illegible. Sometimes valuable books and files of letters and vouchers are found in indiscriminate, unsightly heaps on floors. Covers have been wrenched and torn; leaves have been badly jammed, mutilated, and pulled out, and the collection is the sport of bugs, rats and mice; an object of disgust to those who perchance stumble upon the heap, or must needs search through it.

If local records are worth keeping at all, and it is to be presumed that it is worth while, then such lack of fire protection is in and of itself the height of imprudence. Among a people so boastful of their native common sense and thrift this neglect is surprising.

A prudent business man who has valuable books, heirlooms, accounts, papers, policies of insurance, records, and securities, provides fireproof, water-tight deposit boxes, safes or vaults for their preservation. . He does this as a matter of course. Even householders, if they have any considerable number of like valuables and do not possess adequate facilities for their safe keeping on the home premises, rent safe deposit boxes from their banker or trust company. Common sense and common prudence alike call for similar precautionary measures by counties and municipalities in the preservation of their local archives. The people of the State at large, and the legislature in particular, have for years exhibited an increasing interest in the preservation of the State's archives and historical records, documentary and general. The public has peremptorily demanded and secured more facilities for insuring due protection and care thereof. It is high time that the people of our cities and towns realize that their local official records are in grave danger of irreparable loss both by sheer neglect and by fire, and preventive measures should be instituted immediately and vigorously.

FINE PRINTING IN IOWA.

There are few directions in which, during the past dozen years, more substantial progress has been made in Iowa than in that of fine book and general printing. There are several well known firms at the capital whose book and job printing has attained remarkable excellence. Our attention has been called to this subject more distinctly by learning that some of the large book sellers in eastern cities have come to Iowa for their best printing. In one instance one of our Iowa printers has manufactured a book which sells for \$20 a copy, for which he received the sum of \$10 for each one printed. Lately he informed us that he had ten books in hand which he was manufacturing for a distinguished firm in Cleveland.

These books were to be printed in limited editions and the contract required a high class of work in the points of printing, paper and binding. In another Iowa town a large number of splendid books are constantly in process of manufacture and appearing at frequent intervals. This should be a matter of great pride to our people who are interested in artistic work. The subject appeals to us more especially from the fact that most of the printing to which we refer is in the direction of historical publications. Of course, these books bear high prices and very justly, when the quality of the work and the limited number issued are considered. We always rejoice to see such books, and more especially when they bear the imprint of an Iowa publishing house. Again, in the direction of calendar printing, it has long been widely understood that some of the finest in the United States emanate from an enterprising Iowa town, where the establishment has grown, through the high quality of its work, to simply immense proportions. Its "traveling men" now visit every state in the Union. Some of the pamphlets issued by our county auditors are especially fine. The quality of general newspaper printing shows equal improvement. Some special editions that come to the Historical Department are not surpassed in the points of printing and illustration, aside from the fact they are precious epitomes of the history of their several localities. All this emphasizes the well known expression that, "In all that is good, Iowa affords the best." We need hardly add that it gives us great pleasure to place these twentieth century facts upon record.

THE BUILDING STONES OF IOWA.

It has been very much the custom heretofore whenever a public building has been erected to send out of the State for the principal part of the materials. In doing this our people have patronized the states of Indiana and Minnesota. As a

matter of course these materials are excellent, else our builders would not have chosen them. But the writer of this item has long been of the impression that there are just as good building stones in our State as can be found anywhere in the United States, in the direction of sedimentary rocks. We have, however, few crystalline rocks which are used in building, but the sedimentary material is excellent. An example of this can be seen in the Historical Building which is now close on to completion. Certainly no more beautiful stone can be found anywhere. Its whiteness is that of marble, and its appearance seems to improve with age, while many other stones suffer from discoloration due to atmospheric agencies. We need not particularize more definitely, for samples of both kinds of material are in distinct evidence to whomsoever visits the capitol at Des Moines. This building material exists in many of our counties. Some of our northeastern counties are "full of it." While we have no especially definite information, we believe that in twenty Iowa counties excellent building stone should be readily obtained. Why there should be a prejudice against this one of our important resources we will not undertake to set forth. That it exists is palpable to every observer. That it is ill-founded, we believe to be equally true.

Again, it is a well known fact that in the direction of brick Iowa produces some of the very best. Some of the lighter colored specimens seem to be equal to the famed brick of Milwaukee. Our deposits of clay are absolutely inexhaustible, and as competition results in demonstrating their excellence we may expect that in a few years Iowa bricks will be in demand wherever the best class of building (and paving) material is required.

This item is not intended as an advertisement for any particular quarry, but simply to place on record the fact that there is no need of going abroad for the best building material in the United States.

TWO OLD LETTERS.

The old settlers of Burlington, Iowa, held an "Anniversary Meeting" on some date in June, 1858, extending invitations among others, to Messrs. Edward Kilbourne, of Keokuk, and Charles Negus, of Fairfield. Mr. Kilbourne was a Connecticut man, born at Marlborough, Jan. 22, 1814. He came to Iowa in 1836, residing first at Montrose, Lee county, and later in Fort Madison and Davenport, finally settling in Keokuk in 1848. This was thenceforth his home until his death. He was a man of affairs, a leader in business enterprises and in the Episcopal church. He engaged in steamboat navigation and the building and management of railroads. In this last direction the most important work with which he was connected was the Des Moines Valley Railroad. He died Feb. 3, 1878. Mr. Kilbourne responded to the invitation from Burlington as follows:

KEOKUK, June 1st, 1858.

GENTS: Your polite invitation to attend the "Anniversary Meeting of the Old Settlers" came duly to hand, and it was my intention to be present and assist in the celebration, but I regret to say that it will not be possible for me to do so.

Twenty-two years ago to-day I arrived in Chicago, a youthful adventurer in quest of health and fortune. Chicago at that time contained from 1,200 to 2,000 inhabitants, while Iowa, then known as the "Black Hawk Purchase," was almost an unbroken wilderness. A month later I was traveling up the Mississippi on the good steamer Dubuque, Capt. Geo. W. Atchison commanding, and Capt. LeRoy Dodge clerk. We passed the present site of the city of Keokuk in the night, and the next day—the 1st day of July, 1836,—landed at Burlington, (as I find noted in my journal) "a new town in Wisconsin." Our stay was brief, but long enough for me to ascertain that the price of the best lots was \$500 each, which from the then appearance of the place I deemed to be extravagantly high, but readily accounted for in view of the wild mania for speculation then prevailing. I may add that I am happy, however, to learn from some of my "ancient" Burlington friends that an investment at that time, even at the prices mentioned, notwithstanding the present stringent times, would have proved a remunerative one.

The day following we passed the town of Davenport, then recently laid out but containing no buildings, Stephenson (now Rock Island) containing about 30 houses, mostly built of logs, and landing at the island of Rock Island Col. Geo. Davenport came on board and went with us to Galena. He informed me that emigrants were going into the "Black Hawk Purchase" in great numbers and he was of the opinion, extravagant as it might appear, that not less than three to four thousand had already settled there. Previous to this time, and up to the 4th of July, the territory comprising the present State of Iowa was under the government of Michigan

and the title to all the lands to which the Indian title had been extinguished (except the Half Breed Reservation in Lee county) remained in the U. S., and so remained for a period of two years.

How wonderful the change! There were then two counties in the Territory and a population of 4,000. Now we have one hundred counties with a population of 600,000, and it is gratifying to know that this unparalleled increase in population has brought with it to the early settlers and founders of this fair commonwealth generally a corresponding increase in wealth, in the comforts and luxuries of life, educational advantages, and all those things which distinguish the dwellers in cities from the settler on the frontier.

Trusting that the "Pioneer Hawkeye Association" may hold their annual celebration while any of the original band remain, and that I may have the pleasure at some future gathering to meet with them,

I am, Gents, very respectfully,

EDWARD KILBOURNE.

To Messrs. J. C. Hall, A. W. Carpenter, Ebenezer Cook, Committee, Burlington, Iowa.

Hon. Charles Negus, of Fairfield, was also the recipient of an invitation to attend this "anniversary meeting." He was a pioneer of very considerable note in southern Iowa—a self-made, but highly cultured man. He was a lawyer, and at one time served as Judge of Probate for Jefferson county. He was elected to the lower house of the general assembly in 1850. He also served a term as prosecuting attorney. His most valuable service, however, and that for which he will longest be remembered, was the writing of many excellent articles on the early history of Iowa. For the most part these were published in the 1st series of THE ANNALS OF IOWA.

FAIRFIELD, June 1st, 1858.

To Messrs. Hall, Carpenter and Cook:

SIRS: Yours, inviting me to attend the old settlers celebration at Burlington, has been received, and I feel highly honored by the compliment you have shown me; and could I get to your city by any reasonable exertion I should most certainly attend your celebration. But mud and water render the undertaking almost impracticable, so I shall have to forego the pleasure of participating in your festival to the old settlers. I desire to be represented on the occasion and for this purpose I herewith send you a toast:

"The old settlers of the Black Hawk Purchase—may they live to see Iowa the first state in the Union."

Yours most respectfully,

CHARLES NEGUS.

COL. THOMAS COX—HARVEY REID.

Our leading article presents an interesting sketch of the life and public services of Col. Thomas Cox, who was a conspicuous personage in the political affairs of Iowa Territory. It is from the ready pen of Mr. Harvey Reid, of Maquoketa, who is demonstrating that he possesses rare capacity as an original investigator of historical subjects. When he undertook to learn something concerning Col. Cox, the sources of information were practically hidden from view. His subject had resided in Illinois when it was a territory, and had migrated to Iowa early enough to be elected to a seat in its first territorial house of representatives. He had served with credit in several military organizations and had borne an honorable and most efficient part in ridding Jackson county of a banditti which threatened the property and lives of its citizens who were peacefully inclined. In this last affair he showed his admirable qualities as a soldier, for it was necessary to organize the equivalent of a military command to capture and punish the banditti. The "war" in Jackson county was one of the most interesting and thrilling episodes in our early history. It will now be understood by those who read this sketch of Col. Cox. Mr. Reid admirably presents these facts which have caused him a world of trouble to unearth, showing that Col. Cox was a hero in both his public and private life, and a leading and useful pioneer whose memory should be gratefully cherished in Iowa. He has also succeeded in acquiring much other historical information, from hitherto hidden sources, which will be given to the public hereafter.

NEW PORTRAITS.

There have recently been placed in the Art Gallery of the Historical Department oil portraits of three representative pioneer journalists of this State—Hon. John D. Hunter, Hon. W. W. Junkin and Hon. Matt Parrott. Mr. Hunter

is still living in Webster City, Iowa, though he is a stricken invalid, whose recovery from a painful disease is doubtless out of the question. In addition to his newspaper work he served his county two terms in the Iowa House of Representatives, where he was the author of a bill foreshadowing the later enactment providing for the present board of control of State institutions. Messrs. Junkin and Parrott are dead. Mr. Junkin resided for quite fifty years in Fairfield, where he was one of the founders of *The Ledger* of that city, and one of the most efficient promoters of its public library. Mr. Parrott, in addition to founding *The Waterloo Reporter*, was a conspicuous and highly useful man in public life. He served two terms as State Binder, a four years' term in the Senate, and as Lieutenant Governor, narrowly missing a nomination for the Governorship of the State.

These are excellent portraits of pioneer Iowans who were well known and influential in their several fields of usefulness.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

The Rending of Virginia, A History, by Granville Davisson Hall. Glencoe, Ill., 1902, pp. 622.

This is a thorough representation and elucidation of one of the most unique and important events in American history, the organization of the State of West Virginia and its separation from the original State of Virginia. The time was critical. Making West Virginia free was of the same momentous consequences as making Kansas free. The preservation of the Union depended upon both. They were the beginning of the end of slavery. The author, a native of West Virginia, bore a strenuous part in the work. He gives a full and accurate history of the acts and proceedings by which, when the "Old Dominion" lapsed from the Union, another star arose in our national firmament. Speaking of Virginia under the slave regime, he says: "The breeding of negroes was more lucrative than breeding of cattle, or raising tobacco, and not so exhaustive of the soil. There was a good deal of cross-breeding, and a large percentage of the human stock shipped to the Gulf States bore the best blood of the F. F. V." p. 49.

Poccalito, A Tale of Telegraph Hill, by Eugenie Kellogg. San Francisco, Cal., 1903, pp. 130.

The story of a little Italian child, whose father got his living upon the fishing-grounds about the City of the Golden Gate, is here told in an inter-

esting manner and with tender pathos. It is followed by an exceedingly vivid description of a bull-fight which the author witnessed in the City of Mexico, and by other stories relating to different sorts of people. All show a wide range of observation, and the large sympathy of the author with the toiling and submerged children of our common humanity, the castaways of a boasted civilization. The book should awaken the public conscience to wiser and more effective measures than have yet been found for the moral and industrial education of every child that is born, for a more equitable distribution of land, and for a better housing of the poor in the crowded cities. The early life of the author was in Woodbury county, Iowa, where her mother died in 1863, a martyr to "the blizzards of the savage wilderness" in the pioneer days of northwestern Iowa.

Miriam. By Julia Baldwin McKibben. N. Y., Eaton & Maines, 1905, pp. 331.

This is a story of the civil war, of a southern plantation, and of a slave girl with a good deal of white blood in her veins, who through many moving incidents, divers adventures, and the whirligig of war, rises above racial inferiority and gains respectability and a good standing among white people. Her "mammy" is a well-drawn character, though with a pathos of negro dialect in her shrewd common sense. The book is written in the interest of humanity, in sympathy with the industrial work of Booker Washington, and the amelioration of the race problem. The author is a native of Van Buren county, daughter of the late Charles Baldwin, of Keosauqua: her mother was a sister of the late George G. Wright, Chief Justice, and U. S. Senator.

W. S.

Biographical Review of Des Moines County, Iowa, containing Biographical and Genealogical Sketches of Many of the Prominent Citizens of To-day and also of the Past. Illustrated. Chicago: Hobart Publishing Company. 1905.

The title of this handsome volume describes it fairly and fully. In its 1101 large and beautifully printed pages it presents well-written sketches of the noted men who have lived in Burlington and Des Moines county from the time of their early settlement. It is not a work in which no man appears who does not pay money for that privilege, but is impartial, like a general cyclopedia, freely giving its subjects space in accordance with their position and consequence in the community and State. Many of the sketches are accompanied by fine steel or half-tone portraits, adding greatly to the attractiveness of the book, which in all respects is the finest of the kind published in the State—a work which will be very useful in Iowa libraries. Most appropriately, the frontispiece is a splendid steel portrait of the lamented Philip M. Crapo, philanthropist and statesman. The only objection we can see to this volume is its great size and weight, and its liability to go to pieces. It should have been issued in two or three octavos.

Report of the Iowa Commission to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, St. Louis, 1904. Compiled and edited by the Secretary, Freeman R. Conaway. The Register and Leader Company, Des Moines, 1905.

In this handsome volume of 418 pages, Mr. Conaway presents a very full and comprehensive report of the part taken by Iowa in the great Exposition at St. Louis. While his work has been largely that of a compiler of reports by others, he has collected a great variety of material which will be of the highest service in the writing of Iowa history. The volume is copiously illustrated with portraits and views of edifices and scenery. It possesses permanent value as an Iowa work of reference, and Mr. Conaway deserves the thanks of our people for the admirable manner in which he has discharged his difficult work.

CORRESPONDENCE.

AN OMISSION CORRECTED.

WEBSTER CITY, IOWA, Sept. 14, 1905.

EDITOR OF THE ANNALS: I have read with much interest the valuable contribution of Col. Charles A. Clark in THE ANNALS OF IOWA for July, 1905, entitled "Congressional Medals of Honor and Iowa Soldiers."

In giving the list of Iowa soldiers, and those who have long been citizens of this State but who served in military organizations from other states, to whom these medals have been issued, through mistake, one name has been omitted.

In justice to the gallant soldier whose name does not appear I hand you the following copy of letter, and extract from another, which, at my request, Mr. Kephart has placed in my hands:

THE MILITARY SECRETARY'S OFFICE, }
WASHINGTON, D. C., June 6, 1905. }

MR. JAMES KEPHART, Webster City, Iowa.

Sir: I am directed by the Acting Secretary of War to inform you that, in accordance with the act of Congress approved April 23, 1904, a Medal of Honor of new design has this day been issued to you to replace the medal awarded you April 25, 1899, under the act of Congress approved March 3, 1863.

E. R. HILLIS,
Military Secretary.

The following is an extract from the letter of the Adjutant General to Mr. Kephart advising him of the award of the medal which was replaced by the one referred to in the foregoing letter:

The Secretary of War has awarded to you a Medal of Honor for most distinguished bravery in action, at Vicksburg, Miss., May 19, 1863. At the assault on the Confederate works Mr. Kephart, then a private of Company C, 1st Battalion, 13th U. S. Infantry, voluntarily and at the risk of his life, when the battalion was about to retreat, returned, and under a severe fire from the enemy, aided and assisted to the rear an officer who had been severely wounded and left on the field, thereby saving him from capture.

Mr. Kephart informs me that the officer rescued was Lieut. Joseph L. Horr who commanded one of the companies in the assault. Mr. Kephart

NOTABLE DEATHS.

RICHARD PERKINSON CLARKSON was born in Brookville, Indiana, April 16, 1840; he died in Des Moines, Iowa, October 3, 1905. The published biographical sketches of Mr. Clarkson say little concerning his early education, except that he learned the printing trade in the office of *The Brookville American*, which was owned by his father. The family removed to Grundy county, Iowa, in 1855, and settled upon a tract of land which became widely known as "Melrose Farm." Upon this farm Richard labored for some years. He came to Des Moines in 1861 and worked a few months as a printer in the office of *The Des Moines Register*, then published by Frank W. Palmer. In October of that year he enlisted in Company A, 12th Iowa Infantry, which soon afterwards left for the front. The regiment participated in the battle of Shiloh, where, after hard fighting, it was captured on the 6th day of April, 1862. Richard spent seven months in Confederate prisons, after which he was exchanged and returned to his regiment, with which he served to the end of the war. Returning from the army in 1865, he resumed his labors on Melrose Farm, where he remained until 1870. In that year the Clarksons, father and two sons, Richard P. and James S., purchased *The Des Moines Register*. In 1872 the sons purchased their father's interest. In the year 1889 James sold his interest to Richard, who published it thereafter until he sold the establishment in July, 1902, to George E. Roberts, now Director of the U. S. Mint. Some months after he left the office he was appointed U. S. Pension Agent for the district of Iowa and Nebraska. Mr. Clarkson was one of the leading journalists and representative men of this State from the time that he acquired *The Des Moines Register* until his death. Whatever engaged his attention he was sure to prosecute with all the energy he could command. A man of marked intelligence and great earnestness, he retained to the last vivid impressions of his army life. Several questions arose touching the service of the regiment and the tactics of the division of which it formed a part, in the discussion of which he entered with great zeal. In fact, his whole life was an exemplification of his characteristic earnestness. On the farm there was no more untiring laborer, nor one who had a more intelligent idea of what he was doing. While editing *The Register* he brought to the attention of the farmers of Iowa—from his actual experience—the fact that they were losing hundreds of thousands of dollars every year by the use of poor seed corn. He prosecuted the discussion arising therefrom occasionally throughout his entire editorial career. This subjected him to much badinage, which he never dignified with the slightest notice. He lived, however, to see his ideas become a part of the agricultural literature of the State. In this discussion, which has resulted in great profit to the farmers of Iowa, he was unquestionably the pioneer. Its substantial results entitle him to grateful remembrance. As a practical printer and later as an editor, earnestness and devotion to duty as he comprehended situations, marked his entire career. For many years he himself made up the forms of *The Weekly Register*. On Thursdays one could always find him at his post, wearing a newspaper in lieu of an apron, and so engaged in this weekly duty that he would suffer no ordinary interruptions. As an editor he was an ardent, uncompromising partisan. In one direction, however, he was extremely liberal. If he had given offense to any man, that man could always have a hearing over his own signature in the columns of *The Register*, a privilege which all journalists did not concede. It mattered not how severely Mr. Clarkson was criticised, his opponent could always have his "day in court." In his later years he was afflicted with deafness, and this led him to adopt a very retired life. Two places claimed his entire time and attention—his home, and the editorial rooms of *The Register*. In the direction of business he was very successful and at his death left a

handsome fortune. This was the result of his habits of prudence and economy no less than of his large business ability. While he was strictly economical in his personal habits, and cautious in his expenditures, those who were closest to him and knew him best have known that he was always charitable to the unfortunate, dispensing gifts with a liberal hand to the deserving poor. Aside from the acrimony arising from strenuous politics, and the many bitter memories which so long survived the civil war, he was a man of kind and genial disposition—a man of many friends. While he remained in editorial life he often indulged in kind words concerning the Historical Department. No man in Iowa was more deeply pleased to hear of its continued growth. An unusually fine photograph, with one of his rare autograph letters, are pleasant memorials of this pioneer farmer and journalist.

JAMES D. WRIGHT was born in Belmont county, Ohio, Nov. 30, 1820; he died at Chariton, Iowa, Dec. 26, 1905. His parents were pioneers in Ohio, and as was usually the case with the children of early settlers, his youth involved much hard work on the farm, with meager education. His first experience with the world at large came at the age of sixteen, when he teamed across the mountains over the government pike to Baltimore. A few glimpses of the world made him realize the need of education, and he left home and for three years attended Monroe Academy at Woodfield, O. In 1840 he began the study of medicine and graduated from the Medical College in Cincinnati in 1843. He immediately set out for New York, pursuing further courses in medicine and surgery, soon receiving the appointment of physician of a district including the Five Points in New York. His experience in this celebrated region was varied and valuable in the development of professional skill, but it convinced him that his future was in the west, and he returned to Belmont, where he began the practice of medicine. At the outbreak of the Mexican war he sought service as a surgeon, but his health was broken by illness at Nashville, and he was obliged to return home. In 1856 he came west, intending to go beyond the Missouri, but inclement weather prevented, and he settled in Knoxville, Marion county, where he lived until 1861, when he removed to Chariton, where he continued to reside until his death. Besides his interest in his profession, Dr. Wright was generally concerned in outside business undertakings and in the promotion of civic and social enterprises. He was actively engaged in the building of the B. & O. R. R. in Ohio, and later in promoting the Burlington road in Iowa. At Knoxville he was active in organizing the County Fair Association and was identified with the State Board of Agriculture, of which he was a director for eleven years. At Chariton he purchased a flouring mill and conducted it for a number of years. It was an important institution in those days, being the only mill within many miles of that point. So important was the mill that he was unable to secure competent help to manage it during the early days of the civil war, and was thus prevented from enlisting, as he greatly desired to do, because the operation of the mill was essential to the people of Lucas county. It was not until 1864 that he secured a competent substitute and thereupon enlisted as a private in the 46th Iowa. Very soon thereafter he was made surgeon of the 47th Iowa. Owing to the illness of other physicians he was given the care of an additional regiment and at one time was in charge of a refugee hospital. After the war he was elected to the State senate from the 5th district and served during the 12th and 13th general assemblies. He won high esteem and general confidence, and was elected a trustee of the Iowa State College of Agriculture at Ames, and served during the important formative days of that institution. In 1874 Dr. Wright was stricken with paralysis, but he was a man of firm, vigorous will power, of cheerful disposition, and in large part overcame the ailment and continued to be a strong, influential citizen to the day of his death.

GEORGE W. BEMIS was born in Spencer, Mass., Oct. 13, 1826; he died at Independence, Iowa, Sept. 24, 1905. When he was eleven years old his family removed to Genesee county, N. Y., where they settled upon a farm. His youth was mainly spent at the old home where he worked through the summer and attended school in the winter. He also attended Carey Collegiate Seminary in Otsego county, N. Y. Shortly after reaching his majority he spent two winters teaching in Wisconsin, and in 1854 removed to Iowa and settled in Independence, where he resided until his death. His first public employment was that of county surveyor of Buchanan county, while he also carried on an extensive real estate and banking business. He was chosen a member of the eighth general assembly in 1859, serving in the house during the regular session of 1860 and the extra war session of 1861. He was chairman of the committee on the State University and also a member of the appropriations committee. During the session of 1860 Mr. Bemis introduced an important bill relating to the duties of county surveyors, which elicited much discussion at the time. After the expiration of his legislative service he was appointed postal clerk on the Du-buque and Sioux City Railroad, in which capacity he served seven years. About the year 1868 a vacancy having occurred in the Board of Commissioners in charge of the erection of the insane asylum at Independence he was appointed by Governor Merrill to fill the place. He resigned from this position in 1871, but was reappointed by Governor Carpenter the following year. He served as State senator in the sessions of 1872 and 1874, where he held several important places on committees, and was chairman of that on public buildings. In 1876 he was elected State treasurer and re-elected to the same office in 1878. Upon the expiration of this latter office, he retired to Independence where he resided the remainder of his life. Mr. Bemis was a public officer of marked ability and most unquestioned integrity. He won distinguished credit in every place, and no breath of suspicion of the least wrong doing was ever raised against him. The State has never had a more efficient public servant.

ANDREW J. FUHRMEISTER was born in Dardensheim, Prussia, August 29, 1832; he died in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, Dec. 13, 1905. His father was a veteran of the German army of liberation who fought under Blucher at Waterloo. The father came to America primarily to save his sons from compulsory military service in the German army and in the faith that in free America his sons could develop into more useful men. The family landed in Baltimore in 1841, and came by way of canal boat and rail to Pittsburg, thence down the Ohio river and up the Mississippi to Muscatine, arriving at Iowa City Oct. 14, 1843. They settled on a farm near Ely. Mr. Andrew J. Fuhrmeister was for many years in business at that place. He was a trustee of Putnam township for 21 years, secretary of the Ely Independent District for about 12 years, and treasurer of the West Side Mutual Insurance Company for 11 years. In 1891 he was elected to the general assembly, serving in the house of representatives one term.

GEORGE W. RUDDICK was born in Sullivan county, N. Y., May 13, 1835; he died in Waverly, Iowa, Dec. 12, 1905. He graduated from the Albany Law School in 1856, and immediately came west, settling in Waverly, where he resided until the day of his death. In 1859 Mr. Ruddick was elected to the State legislature, serving one term in the house of representatives. In 1868 he was elected circuit judge. Before the end of his term he was elected to the judgeship in the 12th judicial district. In 1894, after a continuous service of twenty-four years, he voluntarily retired from the bench. In 1892 he was a candidate before the Republican State Convention for supreme judge, and was a prominent though unsuccessful candidate. On his retirement he re-entered the practice of law.

HENRY ANSON, founder of Marshalltown, was born in Canandaigua, N. Y., April 19, 1826; he died at Marshalltown, Iowa, Nov. 29, 1905. In 1836 his parents removed to Erie county, O. In 1851 he started from Trumbull county, O., for Iowa. His progress towards Marshall county was seriously impeded by the heavy rains which made that year a celebrated one in the history of the State. He was so impressed with the beauty of the prairies round about the site now covered by the city of Marshalltown that he determined to locate there and lay out a town. He was a vigorous promoter of any project in which he was thoroughly interested, and in succeeding years was a powerful factor in the upbuilding of the city of Marshalltown. He actively entered into the work of securing additions to the population, bringing in new industries, promoting a saw mill, stores, railroad connections, flouring mills, and in all directions working for the growth of the young city. Among his various projects for increasing the population of Marshalltown was the standing offer of a town lot to any man who would become a settler in the city, and in this way secure a vote, which would increase the chances of Marshalltown in the bitter fight for the county seat. These town lots were given from land owned by Mr. Anson. Few Iowa communities have had more vigorous promoters than Henry Anson. In 1881 he was elected mayor and served one term. Local historians claim for Mr. Anson the distinction of being not only the founder of the town, but the father of the first white child in the community. At the time of his death he was a large property owner, being interested not only in lands and realties which he had owned since the early days of the State, but in brick and coal industries. Among his children is Adrain C. Anson, known in the world of sports as the famous captain of the Chicago base ball clubs in years gone by and now prominent in politics in the city by the lakes.

CYRUS A. MOSIER was born in Mansfield, O., in 1837; he died in Des Moines, Iowa, Nov. 12, 1905. During his infancy his parents removed to Ft. Leavenworth, where their residence was made unpleasant by the fact that they were abolitionists and opposed to slavery. About the year 1846 they removed to Iowa and settled in Des Moines. Mr. Mosier received his education in the common schools of Des Moines, his attendance being confined to the winter months. He taught one of the early schools in Polk county, alternating his teaching with such manual labor as was in demand at that time. He educated himself in stenography and held the position of official stenographer of the Polk county court continuously for twenty-five years. At the time of his election as court stenographer it is said that he was the only person west of the Mississippi who understood shorthand. In 1867 he was elected county superintendent of schools, but shortly after resigned as the duties of the office interfered with his court reporting. In 1855 he organized the first brass band in the town. It consisted of eleven pieces and was a great feature at the Fourth of July celebrations and other festive occasions. He was long a member of the Old Settlers' Association and its president for several years. He was always a student, an inveterate reader and investigator, and a collector of such curios as eventually find their way into museums. He was highly esteemed by the early settlers of Polk county, many of whom were deeply interested in the man during his last illness. The Des Moines papers paid earnest tributes to his memory.

JOHN C. KENNAN was born in New Haven, Conn., May 6, 1833; he died in Vinton, Iowa, Jan. 2, 1906. He settled on a farm in Cedar township, Benton county, in 1855. This was his residence until 1900, when he removed to Vinton. He enlisted in Company A, 8th Iowa Infantry, which saw much hard service, and was captured at the battle of Shiloh. At the close of the war he returned to his farm. In 1888 he represented his county in the Iowa house of representatives.

MRS. C. D. VAN VECHTEN (*nee* Ada Amanda Fitch) was born Feb. 2, 1841, in Van Buren county, Michigan, and was educated at Kalamazoo. She was married Aug. 8, 1891, and with her husband lived in Van Buren county until 1876 when they removed to Minneapolis. Mr. and Mrs. Van Vechten came to Cedar Rapids, Iowa, in 1877, and made that city their home until her death, which occurred early Sunday morning, Nov. 12, 1905. Her death was mourned by all in her home city. The municipal offices were closed during the hour of her funeral service, which was attended by the city officers in a body. Mrs. Van Vechten always took a deep interest in the club life of Cedar Rapids, and was ever an earnest worker in the Universalist church. In a large measure to her efforts was due the establishment of a free public library in Cedar Rapids. It was her quiet and effective work that carried the day at the election when the question was submitted to the electors. At the request of Mayor Lincoln, who was then at the head of the city government, Mrs. Van Vechten was given the privilege of naming the first board of trustees. That was ten years ago. She was chosen the first president of this board, and held the position continuously until her death. She was widely known throughout the State, especially by those interested in library and club work. The entire city of Cedar Rapids feels her loss deeply, the city council and several other organizations having put upon record expressions of their sense of loss. A memorial service was held for her Sunday morning, Nov. 19, at the Universalist church.

B.

JOHN N. IRWIN was born on Christmas Day, 1843, at Hamilton, Butler county, O.; he died at Hot Springs, Ark., Dec. 22, 1905. This death closed the career of one of the foremost business men and statesmen of southeastern Iowa. He was for the most part educated in the public schools of Keokuk, and at Miami University. At the age of 17 he enlisted as a private in the 45th Iowa Infantry, where he served several months, when he was discharged on account of defective sight. He then entered Dartmouth College, from which he graduated in 1867. Engaging in the wholesale dry goods trade with his father and T. F. Phillips, the firm became prominent and highly successful and was well known throughout the middle west. He served in the Iowa house of representatives in the session of 1882, from which time forward he was one of the most widely known public men in Iowa. In 1883 President Arthur appointed him Governor of Idaho. In 1890 President Harrison appointed him to the governorship of Arizona. He was appointed U. S. Minister to Portugal in 1899 by President McKinley, from which position he resigned a year later. During the intervals in his public service he was the recipient of many lesser honors at home. His life was one of great activity and usefulness.

HARVEY SOUTHMIT BRUNSON was born at Euclid, Cuyahoga county, O., May 10, 1814; he died in Fayette, Iowa, Dec. 8, 1905. Mr. Brunson had but limited educational opportunities in his youth, but made up for his meager schooling by constant self-education and study. In 1840 he entered the ministry of the Methodist church. After 1875 he was principally interested in commercial and industrial enterprises. He was engaged in construction work on the Davenport and St. Paul Railroad, afterwards part of the Milwaukee system, in 1861, and for several years was a director in the company, serving also for some time as its assistant treasurer. In 1864 he removed to Fayette in order to provide for the education of his children in Upper Iowa University, with the founding of which he had no small part. In 1862 and '64 he served as a member of the Iowa senate. Among other public positions filled by him was that of mayor of Fayette and justice of the peace. He had also been one of the presiding elders of the Methodist church in northeastern Iowa.

WILLIAM E. REED was born in Mercer county, Pa., Feb. 25, 1826; he died at Sturgis, S. D., Oct. 13, 1905. This death closed a most romantic career of one of the early settlers of Jackson county, Iowa. He was a veteran of the war with Mexico, serving with both Generals Taylor and Scott, and under the immediate command of Jefferson Davis. He served in the detachment of U. S. troops which removed the Winnebago Indians from Iowa Territory to Minnesota. He was a very early Baptist clergyman and well known in eastern Iowa. Our correspondent, Mr. Harvey Reid, of Maquoketa, has secured full information concerning the military and civil career of the Rev. Mr. Reed, which will be given to the world ere long in a history of that section of Iowa Territory. The book promises to possess much historic interest.

LOREN L. DELANO was born on a farm near Marietta, O., Jan. 17, 1846; he died at Atlantic, Iowa, Nov. 1, 1905. He was of English and French ancestry. He grew up on the home farm and was in the main educated in the common schools, though he took a course of instruction at the Glendale High School in Washington county. He taught school a short time after reaching the age of eighteen and then came to Iowa. He stopped awhile in Indianola, where he studied law with the firm of Maxwell & Brian. He was admitted to the bar in 1868. He then removed to Atlantic where he resided until his death. In the autumn of 1903 he was elected to the Iowa house of representatives, of which he became a well-known and leading member. He took a prominent part in the contest with the railroads upon the question of return transportation for shippers of live stock to Chicago. This contest made his name quite familiar to the people of the State.

T. W. STILES was born near Connersville, Ind., March 20, 1832; he died at Winterset, Iowa, Nov. 29, 1905. He came to Iowa in 1858, settling in Warren county, residing first in South township and later at Patterson. He entered the Union army in 1862 as second lieutenant in Company F, 39th Iowa Infantry, in which he later was promoted to the rank of captain. His retirement from the service was consequent upon a severe wound he received at the battle of Corinth. He was a prominent and useful citizen and at various times held positions in the government of his city, township and county. He served three terms as member of the board of supervisors of Madison county.

JAMES R. CRAWSHAW was born in Philadelphia, Pa., July 4, 1834; he died in Des Moines, Iowa, Dec. 23, 1905. Particulars concerning his early life are very meager. He was, however, a soldier in the civil war, in which he made a creditable record. Some of his interesting personal belongings while in the army he recently took occasion to place in the State Historical Museum. He came to Des Moines to live nearly fifty years ago. He was a contractor of much experience and had been successfully employed in superintending the building and subsequent improvement of the capitol, enjoying the confidence of the State officers and all others with whom he was associated. He bore the reputation of being a useful and honorable man.

W. P. COWMAN was born in Rockbridge county, Va., Oct. 2, 1831; he died at Casey, Iowa, on Christmas night, 1905. He came to Iowa with his parents in 1849. After some years' experience in journalism in Jasper county, he secured an interest in *The Casey Vindicator*, with which he was connected up to the time of his death. He enlisted in Company G, 18th Iowa Infantry, where he was appointed orderly sergeant. He held many positions in civil life, the most important of which was that of member of the Iowa house of representatives from Jasper county in the 15th general assembly. An earnest advocate of temperance, genial in his intercourse with others, and a friend and protector of birds and dumb animals, he was a man whose list of friends was coextensive with his acquaintance.

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3D SERIES.

MONONA COUNTY, IOWA, MORMONS.*

BY C. R. MARKS.

The origin and development of the Mormons as a religious body, and a social and civil organization, during this century is part of the history of the United States; and the rise and fall of the colony at Preparation, Monona county, Iowa, should have its record added to the others. This colony was founded by Charles Blancher Thompson, and something of his former career and his previous connection with the general body of Mormons, throws much light on the actual origin of this settlement at Preparation. We give it as written by himself.

Charles Blancher Thompson was born January 27, 1814, at Niskanna, Schenectady county, New York. His father was a Quaker; his mother died when he was three years old, and his father supported him until he was eight, from which time until he was fourteen he earned his own living, and then commenced to learn the tailor's trade. When seventeen years old he became interested in religion and at eighteen joined the Methodist church, and commenced business as a tailor in Watervliet, N. Y. At twenty he withdrew from the Methodist church, traveled a year, as he says, searching for the Church of Christ, when he heard an elder of the Latter Day Saints preach. He went to their then headquarters at Kirtland, Ohio, Feb. 10, 1835, he then being twenty-one years old, and was baptized, and afterward confirmed by Joseph Smith, as a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

*This interesting chapter of Iowa history has been somewhat abbreviated from a paper read by Hon. Constant R. Marks, before the Sioux City Academy of Science and Letters, January 11, 1898, and printed in Vol. I of the Proceedings of that organization. It presents a clear account of a curious episode in the annals of early Mormonism in our State.

the vision, and in fact it was not published for several years. He was married again in 1846 and sailed for time and eternity under what the apostles called "The Endowment." When the twelve apostles started west on their journey which finally ended in Utah, Thompson began to have doubts and regarded them as apostates and tried to agree with the faction that followed Mr. Strang, known as the "Strangites," but they were regarded him as an impostor, and he went off by himself to St. Louis and again went to work at the tailor's trade. In January, 1848, he claimed to have received a revelation or proclamation from "Baneum," a spirit successor to Joseph Smith, by whom he was appointed agent, and in 1849 he claimed to have received the "Golden Key" which qualified him to act as "Chief Teacher of the Schools of Preparation," and in 1850 he organized what he called a church, based on the seven-ant. About January 1, 1851, he commenced to publish a small monthly magazine of eight pages, which he styled "Zion's Harbinger and Baneum's Organ." This paper was full of Mormon theology and treated of the different views of the numerous factions into which the Mormon body had been divided after the death of Joseph Smith. It contained letters from numerous correspondents and subscribers. In it Thompson published his claims as Chief Teacher under his visions and revelations from Baneum and gathered something of a following. His spiritual claim was that Joseph Smith was only a spiritual teacher, and by assuming temporal authority had provoked divine wrath and that there was no direct spiritual successor to Joseph Smith, but under the authority as set out in the Book of Mormon, the Lord would raise up in time some one to take up the work, and that by revelation the Spirit of God would reveal such authority, and in like manner Thompson was his (Baneum's) authorized successor. Thompson was also a seer, and would only be revealed to those found worthy to receive the key words of the Holy Priesthood.

Constantine C. Marks

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He wanted to preach, and claimed that he was called of God in answer to special prayer. He was ordained by Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon. Thompson, in one of his papers, gives in full what he claims were the words of such blessing and commission, which purport to confer great spiritual power, and prophesy great things for him. He then started out to preach the new doctrine among his old acquaintances in New York, with indifferent success. In the fall of 1835 he came back to Kirtland, Ohio, and spent the winter, and again in 1836 went back to New York and preached in various places and was married that year. In the summer of 1837 he organized a church of Latter Day Saints at Sandusky, Ohio. In the summer of 1838, following the westward migration of the Mormons, he moved with his family to Kirtland Camp in far west Missouri, and soon afterwards to "Adam Ondie Ahem" in Daviess county, Missouri; under the exterminating order of Governor Boggs of Missouri, he was compelled to leave and went out of that state to Quincy, Illinois, with other Mormons. Early in 1839 Thompson was sent by the Mormon twelve apostles to New York, where his wife soon died from the effects of exposure in the expulsion from Missouri, leaving a five months old baby. Thompson preached in New York for about four years, baptized about 200 converts, ordained elders and teachers, and organized there what was called the "Genesee Conference of Latter Day Saints." In 1841 he published a book on the "Evidence in Proof of the Book of Mormon." In 1843 he came back from New York and under direction of Joseph Smith settled at Hancock, Illinois, twenty miles from Nauvoo, and the following year was ordained a High Priest. After the death of Joseph Smith he removed to Nauvoo, and assisted in voting the power of the church into the hands of the twelve apostles, and at first had confidence in them, but September 1, 1845, he had one of those visions so conveniently common to Mormons of that day, in which he says that he saw all the tribulations the Mormons had passed through, and that it was a punishment for their errors. Then he saw into the future; that the Lord's Hosts, under new methods, triumphed in the West. He did not then understand

As an illustration of Thompson's classical ability in derivation of language, word making and general style of theological writing, I give his own definition of this word, Baneemy:

Why is the successor of Joseph Smith called Baneemy? First, because his mission is to give public notice of the rejection of the church, and to make public proclamation interdicting its continuance, which is a curse upon the Gentiles; for "Ban" signifies a proclamation or edict; a public order or notice, mandatory or prohibitory. Second, to say unto Zion, "Behold your God reigneth," and to Jerusalem, "Behold your warfare is accomplished and your iniquity is pardoned, for you have received of the Lord's hand double for all your sins"—for "ee" is the initials of "ecce" (Latin) "Behold." Third, to cry in the name of the Lord, "Behold my curse, interdiction, and notice of future work"—for "my" is an affix to "Banee," and is a personal pronoun in the possessive case, and stands in this affix for Jehovah, our father in Heaven; whom Baneemy personates as the Father of Zion, which his name signifies in the Adamic or pure language. But as it stands in English "Baneemy" signifies, the voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, and giveth notice of God's curse upon the Gentiles, in the rejection and interdiction of the church among them, and also of that which is to come, proclaiming the day of vengeance of our God, and the preparation necessary to be made for the restoration of Israel and their salvation in "that day."

Ten years later, in testifying in the litigation that followed, Thompson had evidently forgotten the foregoing definition, for he then said that the word "Baneemy" was composed of two Hebrew words *Bene* and *Emmi*, signifying "my mother's sons, or my brothers."

In February Thompson published a notice, that thereafter there would be three solemn assemblies of his organization which he called "Schools of Preparation of Jehovah's Presbytery of Zion," to-wit: on April 15, August 29, and December 27 of each year, the first one to be held April 15, 1852, at St. Louis. This assembly met at Thompson's house, and this appears to have been its first regular organization. Thompson was Chief Teacher and they elected one man a Chief of Quorum of Traveling Teachers, and another Second Chief of Traveling Teachers.

At this meeting in April, 1852, a committee was appointed to select a location for the gathering of the schools and travel-

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Why is the successor of Joseph Smith called Baneemy? First, because his mission is to give public notice of the rejection of the church, and to make public proclamation interdicting its continuance, which is a curse upon the Gentiles; for "Ban" signifies a proclamation or edict; a public order or notice, mandatory or prohibitory. Second, to say unto Zion, "Behold your God reigneth," and to Jerusalem, "Behold your warfare is accomplished and your iniquity is pardoned, for you have received of the Lord's hand double for all your sins"—for "ee" is the initials of "ecce" (Latin) "Behold." Third, to cry in the name of the Lord, "Behold my curse, interdiction, and notice of future work"—for "my" is an affix to "Banee," and is a personal pronoun in the possessive case, and stands in this affix for Jehovah, our father in Heaven; whom Baneemy personates as the Father of Zion, which his name signifies in the Adamic or pure language. But as it stands in English "Baneemy" signifies, the voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, and giveth notice of God's curse upon the Gentiles, in the rejection and interdiction of the church among them, and also of that which is to come, proclaiming the day of vengeance of our God, and the preparation necessary to be made for the restoration of Israel and their salvation in "that day."

Ten years later, in testifying in the litigation that followed, Thompson had evidently forgotten the foregoing definition, for he then said that the word "Baneemy" was composed of two Hebrew words *Bene* and *Emmi*, signifying "my mother's sons, or my brothers."

In February Thompson published a notice, that thereafter there would be three solemn assemblies of his organization which he called "Schools of Preparation of Jehovah's Presbytery of Zion," to-wit: on April 15, August 29, and December 27 of each year, the first one to be held April 15, 1852, at St. Louis. This assembly met at Thompson's house, and this appears to have been its first regular organization. Thompson was Chief Teacher and they elected one man a Chief of Quorum of Traveling Teachers, and another Second Chief of Traveling Teachers.

At this meeting in April, 1852, a committee was appointed to select a location for the gathering of the schools and travel-

ing missionaries were sent to other states. The location committee investigated St. Joseph, Mo., but land there was too high, and September 1, 1852, they reported that they had selected the region around Kaneshville (Council Bluffs), Iowa, and bought a house there; but there were no funds for the removal of Thompson.

Thompson in his paper advised his followers to go ahead to Kaneshville, as it was a proper place to start a new church where the old one went to pieces; referring to the migration from there to Utah.

A branch solemn assembly of Thompson's followers was held at Job V. Barnum's house near Kaneshville, Dec. 27, 1852, which was attended by about twenty-five persons.

In the February, 1853, number of his paper, he took his followers to task for their neglect, in a long article, and did what before and after was characteristic of him, when not supported as he wished; laid down the law of special revelation and commandment and for the first time published such revelation in detail, though he assumed it had actually been given months and years before. In this case he announced that the recorded command given to this committee was: To search out a location and to "make provision for Chas. B. Thompson and his family that he may be speedily located in a proper place to qualify my servants in their great and last mission," etc. That the time set by revelation for the opening of the second department of the School of Works was December 23, 1853, and that Thompson must be there by that time, or the curse would rest on them.

In the March, 1853, number of his paper, Thompson published a revelation made by Baneemy the previous January 28, 1852, as to their assemblies and feasts saying, "I appoint Chas. B. Thompson Chief Steward of my house * * * and to receive, hold and manage and direct all the sacred Treasures of my house, the obligation gifts, tythings and sacrifices of my people, that he and his family shall dwell in my house, eat at my table, and be clothed in my raiment."

At their Solemn Assembly held at St. Louis, April 15, 1853, they voted to *recommend* to their committee on loca-

tion, *selected by revelation*, to re-consider their action and select a more suitable place than Kanesville, but near there, and to make the selection quickly, and they appointed a sub-committee of three to act with them.

Finally Thompson and his family on September 9, 1853, with a new printing press, left St. Louis on the steamer El Paso and arrived at Council Bluffs, as he then names it, on the 16th. The brethren had to raise part of the money to pay the freight. A location had in the meantime been selected at a place they named Preparation, near the south line of Monona county, Iowa, near the stream called the "Soldier." A house for Thompson was in course of construction and he moved to this November 4, 1853, and set up his printing press there, and November 26th published the September number of his paper, and his colony was fairly started.

The town was laid out into acre lots and all the timber within six miles was pre-empted by members of the colony under United States laws, and at first this timber and the town were all that was contemplated to be held by the Church, or Presbytery. Thompson held the claim to the town plat. The form of the town organization was much the same as that formerly adopted by the Mormons in their settlements, especially at Nauvoo; to give each settler a block or lot of one acre for a home, and the farming to be carried on outside by those living in the town. By the time of the important Solemn Assembly, December 27, 1853, the colony had its settlement established at Preparation, and at this meeting upwards of one hundred persons were present, though not all were members of the colony; a religious service was held and a feast given on each of the three days and the real business and organization of Jehovah's Presbytery of Zion began.

Thompson claimed to be commissioned by Baneemy as Chief Teacher in the Schools of Preparation; and there were also to be Schools of Faith and Schools of Works, several degrees of each, but up to this time there had been but three degrees in the Schools of Faith and only two degrees established in the Schools of Works. There were long formal covenants to be entered into by the members of each, and officers

and teachers were elected to the subordinate positions in these schools.

There was also a traveling department in the Schools of Faith, the members of which acted as missionaries, and these were divided into quorums or groups of fifteen men, who were assigned to different sections of the country.

So the School of Works had its quorum or groups of men to whom duties were assigned in the nature of the civil government or business management of the colony, and one of the early things attended to was to enclose about 1,500 acres of tillable land in the vicinity of the town for the next year's cultivation in which portions would be set off for each one according to his needs or ability to farm, as each member was then working financially for himself. The law of tything was established, by which each gave to the Presbytery one-tenth of all he or she possessed, money, clothing, cattle and all, and also one-tenth of his annual income, and one-tenth of his labor besides; so giving one-tenth of his time, and one-tenth of the products of the other nine-tenths.

Thompson's paper, "The Harbinger and Organ," continually warned his followers of the necessity of being faithful to the covenants if they expected to progress in these Schools of Faith and Works, and to be ready for the third degree in the School of Works, which was to be opened at the Solemn Assembly in August, 1856. He warned them to observe the law of tything and also the law of gift obligations which had been in force for some time. This seemed to be the making of donations by the brethren in other districts, towards the common cause, as well as by the members of the colony. Books of account had been opened and the several gifts and tythings were set down in detail.

Thompson seems to have had prepared at St. Louis a blank book in which had been written in a good legible hand some of his revelations and covenants, and in the back of this he entered the names and contributions under the various tythings, gifts and sacrifices, and many of the members subscribed their names to some of the covenants written there. This book, which I have examined, was regarded by them as

the chief record of the Presbytery. The book commences with a title-page and the three following leaves are written in a fine hand setting out the revelations of April 15, 1850, and one or two covenants, and the rest is mostly in Thompson's writing. The revelation of April 15, 1850, while good enough for the purposes of that period was hardly explicit enough to sustain Thompson's authority at later periods when he was managing his colony at Preparation, and one significant interlineation in Thompson's poor handwriting, as it stands beside that other fine penmanship is characteristic of his whole career. It had been written originally as follows:

"And now behold I send unto you my servant Baneemy in the spirit and name of Elias to write in your heart my law," etc.

Thompson interlined and corrected it so as to read:

"And now behold I send unto you my servant *Charles B. Thompson in whom is regenerated my dear son Ephraim my first born with the voice of Baneemy* in the name and spirit of Elias," etc.

Baneemy was evidently in his spiritual authority not quite potent enough to control a frontier settlement, and Thompson found it necessary to have a direct revelation as to his own personal authority.

One of the early acts of the quorum of Works, which acted as a sort of town council, was to forbid hogs from running at large under penalty of forfeiture at the pleasure of the Chief Steward, Charles B. Thompson. He was impatient for the success of his town, and published the following invitation:

"Let all those who desire to be instructed in the things pertaining to their salvation and deliverance with Israel come on speedily with their tythes, gift obligations, and sin offerings to the House of God that they may be justified from sin and receive an inheritance," etc.

In the early spring of 1854 Thompson seems to have conceived the possibility of a great enlargement of his spiritual and temporal organization, and through his paper outlined his plans for gathering in the followers. His system of or-

ganization for his quorum of traveling teachers in his schools of faith was as elaborate in its details of organization as that of a large army. At the Solemn Assembly in April this year and in the subsequent issue of his paper, he explained the financial arrangements under the law of tything, gift oblations and conducting the colony; as now that the work was actually begun, those who joined, wanted to know how it was to be carried on, and just what the plan was. When a convert joined the colony, the practical questions arose, what amount of tything he had to pay down, what he should do with his family, on what land he should labor, and what he should get for it.

A record had been kept of the gift oblations, chiefly in small sums, but on becoming members of Jehovah's Presbytery of Zion at Preparation, an inventory of all worldly possessions was taken, and one-tenth of this was paid into the Lord's treasury, that is, to Charles B. Thompson, generally in kind, even to clothing; and in the first year each one who could work was expected to labor one day in ten for the Presbytery (Thompson).

Most of those who joined had very little property beyond tools, stock and furniture; only seven, as shown by the tything record, had over one thousand dollars worth of property each, though it cropped out later that some who had money, discreetly gave it to their children, and so were enabled to honestly take the oaths and covenants, and yet keep a little money for emergencies.

Thompson's explanation as to the disposition that would be made of the tything was, that it ought to be sufficient to know that it would be used as directed by the Lord. He had appointed an agent (Thompson) to receive it and manage it, and this ought to be a sufficient guaranty; that but one person was ever appointed by revelation to receive and manage the tything. "If the Word of God is not sufficient assurance to any man that his tything will be prudently managed and used where most needed if *payed* into the hands of the Lord's Steward, he had better not pay it." That it was to be used, first, to create a capital for the establishment of the House of

the Lord, etc.; second, to create a capital to be expended in establishing schools among the Indian tribes; third, to create a fund to purchase Mount Zion.

Thompson was profuse in his promises as to the great results that were to come from this organization. By the spring of 1854, twenty families were already established at Preparation, and at the April Solemn Assembly one hundred and twenty partook of the feast, all from the vicinity. Monona county, Iowa, was organized in April of that year and Thompson was elected to the chief office, that of County Judge, and a majority of the county officers, and all the township officers were members of the Presbytery. There was only one other township. So for the time the civil government of the township and county was in their hands, and soon after, when the postoffice was established, Thompson was appointed postmaster.

Thompson seems also to have carried on a mercantile business, as he advertises as follows: "Flour, meal, pork and butter are for sale at the Lord's storehouse in Preparation." "Wanted, at the Lord's storehouse, on tything and gift oblations, all kinds of country produce, money, dry goods and groceries, young stock, cows, horses, oxen, harness, wagons and farming tools." He also republished in his paper some of the early proclamations or revelations that came to him in 1848. He also had a new revelation in June, 1854, which begins as follows:

"The word of the Lord by the voice of Baneemy, came unto Charles B. Thompson, Chief Steward of the Lord's House, in June, 1854, saying: 'Behold I say unto you, my son, I have beheld the works which thou hast done in Preparation, and am well pleased,' " etc. Then followed a review of what had preceded, and a scathing rebuke for some who had evidently held back, who had been expected to join the settlement, and had not paid their tything; of these he says, "Woe unto them, for their reward lurketh from beneath and not from above, for they have lied unto me," etc.

During this summer Thompson went to St. Louis to buy more printing material and a mill, going by team to south-

eastern Iowa, and the rest of the way by boat, stopping at Nauvoo to moralize over the sins that had caused the downfall of that settlement; he returned by the same route.

Affairs at Preparation were not at all harmonious. The first year in a new settlement is hard at best, and in addition to this a sort of surrender of independence, an acknowledgment of Thompson's authority and the paying in of one-tenth of all one's earthly possessions and services, created a condition which required the spirit of a saint to endure. Those who had paid would criticise those who had not, and some who had been prominent in organizing the colony seceded, and in the Kanesville paper denounced Thompson as an imposter and tyrant, and declared that none but fools would allow themselves to be controlled by him.

An unexpected difficulty had presented itself in the matter of the land; when Thompson and his followers first came to Preparation the land there had been surveyed by the United States authorities, but was not all subject to private entry and could only be taken by actual settlers under pre-emption laws, and they intended to claim two congressional townships and had filed pre-emptions on the pieces that were timbered, but the General Land Office had ordered the land thrown into market to be publicly offered for sale in September, 1854, when speculators would enter the land. At that time, this was sure to be the case, especially as bounty land warrants for soldiers in the Mexican and other wars, had been issued by the United States and were bought up for this purpose by capitalists who located on such lands. The land had to be taken in some valid form in order to hold it for this colony.

So Thompson announced that while it had not been originally intended to open up the third degree in the School of Works until the August Solemn Assembly of 1856, yet he now advised all to anticipate that period and to enter a new order of sacrifice, which, while not strictly obligatory, and would not exclude from the Presbytery those who did not join it, yet would sanctify those who entered it. The order of sacrifice was that each one should surrender to Thompson, the Chief Steward, all his property and enter into bond to work for

him two years; he to furnish them with board, lodging and clothing not exceeding in value a specific sum per year. Written bonds from the husband and wife of each family were entered into in August, 1854, by thirty families, nearly all that remained faithful.

They were organized into a quorum, as it was called, and the work of the colony was apportioned. Specified ones were to do the sowing, reaping, grist and saw-mill work and logging; a head cook was appointed, and thereafter, until August, 1855, they were all fed as one community. An inventory of property thus put into the Chief Steward's hands, exclusive of the saw and grist mills, printing establishment, agricultural and mechanical tools and household goods, was as follows: 27 horses, 300 cattle, 61 hogs, 80 sheep.

At the Solemn Assembly in August, 1854, several were expelled for apostacy, heresy, misrepresentation and lying to immigrants on their way to Preparation, and calumniating the chief teacher, Charles B. Thompson. For some cause the order for public sale of the lands by the government was not carried out, and they were not obliged to buy all the land or prove up on the pre-emption, but Thompson bought some, including the town site. There can be no doubt that these members who thus sacrificed their property to the common cause were sincere and devout and possessed more than ordinary self-denial.

In September, 1854, Thompson started a weekly newspaper called "The Preparation News," after the plan of an ordinary country weekly religious and family newspaper. His former monthly "Zion's Harbinger and Baneeemy's Organ" had been irregularly published and at times was not issued until three or four months after its ostensible date, the December, 1854, number contained news under the date of May, 1855. In the spring of 1855 this magazine was consolidated with "The Preparation News" which latter paper was called "Preparation News and Ephriam's Messenger." His "Organ and Harbinger" he was to publish thereafter three times a year immediately after each Solemn Assembly, and it was to be the grand channel of promulgating the ecclesiastical laws of

Jehovah through Baneemy to Ephriam and to make known the decrees of Heaven unto men.

After the colony had thus gone into the order of sacrifice for two years, Thompson became a sort of dictator in a communistic settlement and the utmost economy of living was observed. All were instructed in the healthfulness of a vegetable diet. Rich foods were an abomination and for their spiritual welfare and physical health plain food was required; meat was forbidden. At one time butter was regarded as a useless and unknown luxury, and though an extensive dairy of forty cows was carried on, the butter and cheese were all sold at Council Bluffs. Some pork and beef fattened for meat was killed and sold with the butter to increase the fund to buy the land for an inheritance.

It was claimed by the irreverent that the Chief Teacher, Thompson, did not share in all this self-denial. He taught that this abstemiousness was not to be perpetual, but was essential in those two years for the common good of themselves and others who might join, so that in the end after purification they would all come again into their inheritance in the spiritual and temporal things in store for them.

Some became discontented and departed without settling with Thompson, leaving their sacrifices, tythings and oblations with him. Others made a settlement, got some of their property back and exchanged receipts, for Thompson was getting careful to put his dealings in writing, as only by a show of fairness to those who had left, was he able to hold those who remained; but he grew more cautious and sought to get renewed binding contracts according to accepted business forms at every possible opportunity. At and after the Solemn Assembly of August, 1855, Thompson prepared to put his business on a legal basis. He organized two corporations, one called the "Sacred Treasury of Jehovah's Presbytery of Zion," and the other the "House of Ephriam."

The first was a corporation of a single individual, Charles B. Thompson, as he expressed it in the article; "incorporating that portion of my individual prosperity which has been obtained by my labors and by the voluntary gifts, tythings

and sacrifices of the members of Jehovah's Presbytery of Zion for that purpose." Its object was, "To establish schools of preparation for the intellectual, moral and physical culture of the members of the colony, to publish books and papers, to buy land and improve it for the future inheritance of the saints who shall be found worthy; and to erect the necessary edifices for schools, colleges and temples." The capital was to be \$10,000.00, to be increased indefinitely. The funds of the corporation were to be the individual property of Charles B. Thompson and he to be the manager and director of the business. Any person who wanted to, whether a member of Jehovah's Presbytery or not, could contribute to the funds by gift oblations, tythings or sacrifices; but such donations could never return to those donors nor were they to be entitled to any pecuniary remuneration therefor, but must abide the final issue of the work of Jehovah's Presbytery of Zion for their reward.

The other corporation, the "House of Ephriam," was composed of members of Jehovah's Presbytery of Zion; its capital stock was \$6,000.00 in shares of \$5.00 each, which might be indefinitely increased, and certificates of stock were to be issued. Its purpose was to carry on farming, milling and mechanical business. Its affairs were to be managed by Charles B. Thompson, and from one to seven patriarchs appointed by him, and Thompson for his compensation was to receive one-tenth of the annual increase of its capital stock. Dividends of the annual increase could only be drawn by the shareholders in case of their actual need thereof for the necessities of life.

All persons, whether Jew, Gentile or Ephriamites, who should pay into his other corporation, "The Sacred Treasury of Jehovah's Presbytery of Zion," one-fifth of all their worldly possessions should be eligible to take stock in this House of Ephriam to the amount of all their remaining surplus property.

Thompson had blank bills of sale printed with space for the enumeration of horses, cattle, sheep, swine, grain, tools, vehicles, furniture, clothing and credits, and he had each one

of the colony make one or more bills of sale to him personally enumerating the specific property, which included the houses in which they lived, and their wearing apparel; judging from the price the houses were very simple affairs, as for instance one enumerates a "cave" valued at ten dollars.

For the Sacred Treasury he had formerly taken a tything of one-tenth, but the change to one-fifth at this time was, as he told them, in order to make it equal to cash. The remaining four-fifths of their property was conveyed to him for stock in the House of Ephriam. He also had title before this to much of the common property, as the mills, printing-press, the gifts and their proceeds. So now Thompson had title to everything the colonists possessed, even to the clothes on their backs. For some balances of property he gave them a due bill or certificate for a small specified amount in goods or grain out of the House of Ephriam and took from each a receipt in full for the certificates.

In the spring of 1856 Thompson proposed to buy their stock in the House of Ephriam and pay for it in script to be given by him in the House of Ephriam, which he might sell them from that owned by this corporation; which proposition, being compulsory, was accepted, and they all assigned their stock to Thompson and took his script for it and gave a receipt for the script, and published notice that they had all sold out, but that the business of the corporation would be carried on as usual by Thompson. These corporations were a sort of legal myth to cover the personal transactions of Thompson, as under these forms he had received all the stock in both corporations.

Their land had not come into the markets in the fall of 1854 as expected, but did so come in the spring of 1856, and they were compelled to enter it from the United States, or take pre-emptions upon it which would need to be proved up on and paid for within a year. A great strain was put upon the financial resources of the colony, for if the members did not get the land, the object of all their labor and sacrifices would be lost. As many as legally could took pre-emptions; and as in law it would be necessary for all to take these pre-emptions

in their own name, and build houses and reside on them, there was danger that when the full titles were secured it might be hard to control them.

So the most solemn rites and ceremonies were gone through at the August Solemn Assembly in 1856; a full and complete sacrifice was called for. It was argued by Thompson that as every one had for the past two years been in the "order of sacrifice" and hence was incapable of taking or holding title to anything, that everything acquired during that period went under the law of sacrifice into the Chief Teacher's (Thompson's) control, to be laid up for future inheritance. So each again gave Thompson a bill of sale of everything for the House of Ephriam, including growing crops and clothing; a list of these things was written on a piece of paper, and all came into a darkened room where Thompson poured alcohol on the paper and burned it over the fire in token of their complete sacrifice of all they had; then all, both men and women, were required to go through the ceremony of a sacrifice and consecration of their bodies to the Lord.

The two chiefs, right and left supporters of Thompson, Guy C. Barnum and Rowland Cobb, came into the room stripped naked and surrendered their clothing in token of complete surrender and sacrifice of their bodies, and they were then given a single coarse cotton garment or frock, coming below the knees like a nightshirt, such as used to be worn in early days as an over garment by New England farmers, called a smock frock. This Thompson named the "Garment of Holiness." Barnum and Cobb then seated themselves on either side of Thompson, and the rest of the members, men and women in turn, came into their presence and went through a like ceremony. This garment was worn for a short time, but was not retained as a permanent fashion, but they kept only such clothing as was barely necessary, in fact, this had been the case for some time; practically all their clothing and jewelry was given into the custody of Thompson, and he had large quantities stored in chests and boxes in his house. In consideration of the actual necessary clothing given back to them, which he nominally valued at ten dollars for each

family, and five dollars for single persons, he again took a receipt and release from each, discharging himself and his two corporations from all demands to date; and from many who had had money for any purpose, and especially from those heads of families who were again living by themselves on pre-emptions, for the value of the very property sacrificed, such as furniture, teams, and tools needed to farm, which he then re-sold to them, or let them use. At this time, he took notes or bonds payable seven years thereafter, with interest at ten per cent. per annum, thus having the title to the property, and their note for its value besides. The inventoried value of the whole property sacrificed at this time as recorded in his official book by families, was the sum of \$11,174 26, from forty-four persons.

In August, 1856, Thompson and Butts commenced the publication of another paper called the "Western Nucleus and Democratic Echo," which supported James Buchanan's claim to the presidency, though many of Thompson's religious writings were against slavery.

In the spring of 1857 it became necessary to pay up for the land. The winter had been very severe and one hundred head of cattle worth about \$2,000.00, which had been an expected source of getting money to pay for the land, had died, and some were unable to prove up. Directions were given to prove up the best claims and to some extent individuals were allowed to use such property as could be converted into money for that purpose. But as entries of the land were made, Thompson demanded that each one should convey the land to him, for the reasons given before, that it was all taken while they were on the sacrifice and hence belonged to the Sacred Treasury. In some cases the money to enter was borrowed of money lenders to whom the land was conveyed for security and a time bond taken back and later paid for, and deeded to Thompson. Much dispute afterwards arose over just what was agreed on at this time when the deeds were given.

The people afterwards claimed it was all to be deeded back to them when they were out of the sacrifice, the period of

which Thompson had prolonged beyond the time at first set. two years from August, 1854, giving as the principal reason that it was necessary to include the time for the entry of the land, and that divine commands were therefor. At any rate Thompson got deeds for most of the land; in some instances giving back bonds for deeds at largely increased prices, in which the time of payment was made the essence of the contract, and with conditions of forfeiture if not paid for. and then in some instances getting the bond surrendered. He also entered in his own name from the United States considerably more land with the money that came into his hands from the proceeds of sales of stock and produce, also borrowing some on short time.

On February 17, 1857, Thompson had another opportune proclamation or revelation by the voice of Baneemy, concerning the treasurers of the Kingdom of Zion, which ordered in substance: that the funds were to be expended under the direction of the Steward in purchasing land for the future inheritance of the Saints who should be found worthy. That no one could receive his inheritance until there was sufficient land owned by the Chief Steward to furnish an inheritance for each family entitled thereto. That the title should be vested in "Charles B. Thompson in whom Ephraim the first born of Israel is regenerated." This revelation was a very full and long creed, minute in details of church government and indicating a return to missionary work.

After Thompson had secured title to the land early in 1857 he planned a reorganization of the colony for the purpose of either keeping the members employed with new thoughts or the better to confirm his title to the property and to prepare for a winding up of his connection with it.

On April 15, 1857, what he called the "Congregation of Jehovah's Presbytery of Zion," was organized, of which Guy C. Barnum was appointed Bishop and Chief Scribe. This seems to have been intended as a sort of return to a mere church organization. The unmarried ones seemed to have stayed in Thompson's household and to have worked in common, as did all in 1854. But the married heads of families

had gone out onto their pre-emptions, and paid to Thompson one-third of the crop as rent.

At the Solemn Assembly in August, 1857, Thompson declared the schools of Preparation, Faith and Works, closed and called on all to settle up the affairs of the schools preparatory to the organization of what was called the "Traveling Ministry of the Congregation of Jehovah's Presbytery of Zion." This was organized at the Solemn Assembly, but only four settled up at that time, and three only were ordained Traveling Presbyters and started on missions to the eastern states.

This settling consisted in giving Thompson a new bill of sale of property to which each might possibly have a claim, followed in a day or so by a written release by each to Thompson for all demands, and then a turning back to each head of a family some of the property named in the bill of sale, such as furniture to enable them to carry on the farms under the family stewardship which he then organized, under which they paid rent for such land as they cultivated. They did not all settle until in February, 1858, but in August, 1857, Thompson made a change in the temporal management evidently intended to allay the growing dissatisfaction. He appointed a number of the most reliable men as stewards and gave them each farms to manage. Stewardship was a great honor and each one of these gave his personal bond in the sum of fifty thousand dollars, conditioned to perform the duties of family assistant steward of the Ecclesiastical Kingdom of Jehovah's Presbytery of Zion, and account to Charles B. Thompson, Chief Steward, for all property that came into his hands. And later, when he settled with them, as above stated, Thompson delivered to them household goods and clothing with which to carry on this stewardship, and he took their receipts for it as held under their bond. It is noticeable that this receipt and bond say nothing of the two corporations which nominally held title to all the property; but as before stated just before giving them such property under their stewardship he took the precaution to take from each this new release to himself and to both of his corporations

for all sums named equal to the stock they had before had in the House of Ephriam.

Thompson in 1857 published a book of about two hundred and ten pages entitled "The Law and Covenants," which contained all the proclamations, revelations and covenants, including those for his new congregation. It was divided into chapters and sections, the latter numbered up to 746, and was indexed. It was pocket size, its pages about 2½ by 4 inches. This book is a veritable medley, a combination of the writings of the Bible, the Book of Mormon, church government, orders and decrees, and is hopelessly entangled, and judiciously interlarded with commands as to the authority of Charles B. Thompson in things spiritual and temporal.

After he made his settlement under the old order of schools of Preparation, his new plan was to be in force. Hitherto it had been only preparation; now his disciples were fully educated in these schools and were graduates in the ministry, and were fully ordained in the order of the "Traveling Ministry of the Congregation of Jehovah's Presbytery of Zion," and all were "Traveling Presbyters" ready to go out on missions, chiefly to organize new congregations of Jehovah's Presbyteries of Zion, the people at Preparation forming the first of such congregations. Then on paper Thompson had got the title to and possession of all the personal property except household goods and such tools and teams as were in the hands of the family stewards and they were paying rent for the land to all of which he had title.

Most of the parties after proving up on their claims had moved back into Preparation, preferring to live in town, so the religious congregation composed of his tenants could go on, but as they still clung to his oral promises that after these sacrifices of the past they should come into their inheritance, something had to be done to divert their minds.

Thompson still found it hard to control them all. From what he said in confidence to some, as appeared from their testimony later in the suits, it seems probable that he thought it advisable to send the leaders out on their missions to different parts of the country, while he managed affairs at home

getting ready for departure. It is said the commands to go on these missions were sent suddenly to each by a messenger telling them they were commanded to go instantly, just as they were, to the places named to them and to take no money.

Take two instances, as related by the parties afterward: Rowland Cobb, about seventy years old, one of the chief stewards, was coming home from towards the Missouri river with a load of lumber, and was met by a messenger from Thompson, telling him he was commanded by the Lord to start without an instant's delay, without money or change of clothing, and go to Virginia (I think it was), to the Legislature in session there, and pronounce the vengeance of the Lord upon them if they did not free the slaves. Cobb at once gave his team to Thompson's messenger to take home, and started across the country on his mission and actually went to Virginia, and delivered his message to the state officers. They treated him decently, and from his dress and the strangeness of his mission evidently thought him insane, or what we would now call a crank, and most likely from his relation of it afterwards he had himself lost faith in the likelihood of his mission being successful. He then wrote Thompson for permission to visit his old home at Elliottville, N. Y., where he had been once a leading business man. He got such permission in due time, and made a visit, and while there received a letter from J. J. Perrin, one of the leading stewards of Preparation, which indicated that all was not harmonious, and Cobb at once hastened home.

Another chief man, Thomas Lewis, well educated and intelligent, originally from Kentucky and very devout, while ploughing, had taken off his boots and stockings, coat and vest, and left them at one end of the field; he was met by a messenger from Thompson with the same command for Kentucky that Cobb had for Virginia. He started instantly in his straw hat, shirt and pants, without crossing back to get his other clothes, and without money, went to the Kentucky Legislature. His advent seems to have been regarded as a huge joke, and the members of the Legislature and state officers treated him with mock distinction. He was allowed to ad-

dress the Legislature either in or out of official session. They got up a supper for him; raised quite a purse with which they got him new clothes, and money for expenses, but there is no record in their proceedings that they acceded to the demands of a message from so potent an individual even as Charles B. Thompson.

Thompson had started another newspaper in Onawa, which town had become the county seat. This he called the "Onawa Advocate," and in 1858 he moved to Onawa, and his head man, Guy C. Barnum, was with him there more or less.

Thompson corresponded with his missionaries, but somehow or other the people had become suspicious. He had deeded some property in the summer to his wife and to Barnum. The leaders sent out to preach, seemed by contact again with the world to have recovered their mental balance, and took a different view of matters than the one they had when under the immediate influence of Thompson, and some of them came back in 1858 sooner than was anticipated, and disconcerted Thompson's plans for getting his property disposed of, if he had formed any. It was afterwards asserted that Thompson had said that by his numerous bills of sale, bonds, receipts, corporations and other papers, he had got them all so tied up they could do nothing in law, and that he would sell the personal property and deed the land to some one and go away, but that Guy C. Barnum had advised that the better course would be to settle with the dissatisfied ones on some cheap basis, give the others, faithful ones, some land, and keep the rest for themselves (Thompson and Barnum). Thompson, however, stood upon his rights, and when a few leaders made trouble, he refused to settle, and turned them out of his Presbytery. Among these were Rowland Cobb, Charles C. Perrin and George Rarick.

This only aggravated the trouble, as it provoked discussion among the rest, and others, who had left before, came back to Preparation, and canvassed the situation. Expecting Thompson to come from Onawa on a certain day in October, 1858, a crowd assembled intending to demand of him a settlement. Sentinels who had been posted on the bluffs saw him

coming with Guy C. Barnum in the distance over the Missouri bottom lands. But one, Melinda Butts, a daughter of one of the colonists who lived in Thompson's family, probably sent by Mrs. Thompson along the road to warn him of the possible danger, met Thompson and Barnum, and told them of the crowd assembled; they immediately turned their team around and started at full speed back to Onawa.

News of this return soon came to Preparation and several men at once started on horseback to follow them, and did, so closely that Thompson and Barnum unhitched their team and fled on horseback, two pursuing them to Onawa. Thompson sought protection among the citizens of Onawa, and that night fled to Sioux City, staying a week; negotiations were had seeking a settlement, but Thompson made only promises, and worked for delay. The men returned to Preparation the next day and went to his house and took possession of the household goods and clothing that had been put into the sacrifice, and in Mrs. Thompson's presence opened the trunks and boxes in which they were stored, and returned the articles to the original owners who were there to identify them. No property was destroyed except a collection of Thompson's printed books, tracts and papers, and some pork and mutton killed for food. The sheriff of the county, and Judge Whiting came over from Onawa to keep the peace, and witnessed much of this last day's proceedings. Mrs. Thompson, with much of her furniture and goods, was moved that day to Onawa. Suits were begun in replevin to get possession of the farming tools and other property. Thompson had conveyed away all but 40 acres of land, that being his homestead; about 1,000 acres to his wife, who afterwards deeded it to his brother, D. S. Thompson in St. Louis, and 1,360 acres in trust to Guy C. Barnum, this part for settlement with those who had remained faithful, in case anything might be due them, and to allay the excitement as he said; 320 acres to Barnum personally, and later 320 acres to Thompson's brother, so that Thompson, himself, held about 3,000 acres.

The report of the mob had reached Thompson, who kept himself in hiding for several days in the attic of Judge Addi-

son Oliver's house in Onawa; the judge was then acting as his attorney. Mrs. Thompson stopped there also, and it was said she had a small bag of jewelry, presumably that which had been given up in the sacrifice by the women. She seemed to set great value on this collection, much beyond its real worth. When Thompson was driven up to Sioux City and Sergeant Bluffs, Woodbury county, he seemed to be in great fear of personal violence, and would start at every sound.

Thus ended the unity of the colony and the religious organization. A suit was brought in behalf of the colonists against Thompson and those to whom he had conveyed the property in the nature of a bill in equity, to declare the colony a partnership, and Thompson a trustee, holding the title in trust for the members, and to set aside the conveyance from him to his wife, brother and Barnum.

Thompson's defense was that so far as the people had put any property in his hands it was in payment for his services as chief teacher and that this was expressly understood between them and that the written contracts he made with them established these facts.

The case went to the Supreme Court of Iowa, and the people won. There was an order for an accounting between the members as to what they had put in, and a division of the property was had. Addison Dimmock and Isaac Parrish, of Onawa, and Pat Robb and Wm. L. Joy, of Sioux City, represented the people, and in different stages Addison Oliver, B. D. Holbrook, of Onawa, Wakely & Test, Polk & Hubbell, and Thos. F. Withrow, of Des Moines, appeared for the defendants. J. C. C. Hoskins was appointed under the order for apportionment (Mr. Hoskins being from Sioux City), as referee to take the evidence as to what each one had contributed, and report the facts, and finally a distribution was made among the numerous persons entitled to it. Though the litigation began in 1859 it did not end until about 1867. The decision of the Supreme Court of Iowa is found in 21 Iowa Supreme Court Reports, page 599, Scott vs. Thompson.

In the trial of this cause the records, the newspapers, publications, contracts, bonds, notes and bills of sale, gathered

during the continuance of the colony, with much oral testimony, were offered in evidence and were thus preserved, and it is from these that the definite details of this Mormon settlement at Preparation have been obtained.

With the meeting of the people at Preparation when they forcibly divided the clothing and personal property in sight in October, 1858, the colony or organization of Jehovah's Presbytery of Zion under its many names, ended. Many remained in that vicinity until they got their lands by suit, and they and their descendants are living in northwestern Iowa, scattered like any western people. Only three or four finally remained faithful to Thompson; but many of them, though denouncing him as a false prophet, remained believers in the general Mormon religion.

In all, about one hundred and fifty persons were connected with the colony, men, women and children; it endured for five years. Thompson, in that time, had, with the pre-emptions taken by the settlers, and his own entries, got title to over 3,000 acres of land, at a cost primarily of \$1.25 an acre, but with the expenses of the sums borrowed at high rates to enter part of it, it must have cost over \$1,500 in money, besides the improvements. The gifts, tythings and sacrifices nominally inventoried amounted to about \$15,000.00, but considerable of this in clothing, tools and teams was practically kept by the people, while most of the money raised went into the buildings, mills, printing material and living expenses, but on the other hand, the increase of the cattle, and the sale of the crops provided quite an income.

Barnum seems to have been the chief leader and business manager for Thompson. He was much shrewder and had more directness in business matters, and less sanctimoniousness. He went to Columbus, Neb., became a member of the State senate, and later for a time went insane. I am as yet unable to trace Thompson's later career; he resided in St. Louis for several years.

Most of these colonists were sincere, honest, upright, devout citizens, with strong religious convictions, and lived up to their beliefs and hoped and expected much from their

long season of sacrifice and self-denial. Having accepted the divine authority of Thompson, they felt compelled to yield obedience to it, and were more easily deluded by his plausible promises.

It is hard to measure Thompson's motives. From the beginning he was undoubtedly a combination of fanatic and knave. So long as the colonists yielded obedience to his commands and leadership, he was apparently working to build up his Presbytery, and he knew that so long as he held ownership to the property he could better control them; but when any became dissatisfied, he was revengeful and wished to get rid of them as cheaply as possible. He had been poor all his life, and the possession, even as the Lord's Steward, of the little property that came into his hands at first, seems to have excited his cupidity, and he was, as time progressed, more and more reluctant to part with it, and convinced himself that it should all belong to him.

He was a man of very ordinary ability, and the times and circumstances were not calculated to insure such a man success. He could only control for a time such a limited number of persons as were pure minded and faithful; had he possessed the ability of Brigham Young and contented himself with a less avaricious financial policy, he might have filled northwestern Iowa, which was then entirely unoccupied by settlers, with the so-called followers of Mormonism, who were opposed to polygamy.

The times were then ripe for it, but Thompson was not the man, and his colony scarcely made an impression on the large number that were even then in northwestern Iowa. His followers remained chiefly those whom he had attracted by the publication of his paper at St. Louis. He never had any really clear idea of what his belief and mission was, and could not make plain to others that which was a fog on his own mind, and he concealed his thought in a great mass of words, prophecies, revelations, proclamations, orders, decrees and systems which were ever being changed.

YOUTHTIME IN FRONTIER IOWA.

BY GEORGE C. DUFFIELD.

I would like to show how, before the establishment of industries, markets and schools in Iowa, the youth of the land were managed, and how they were made into anything but ignorant, thriftless members of society.

"Defense," or some equivalent, is an ancient word. Such works as the Great Wall of China prove the statement. Half way around the earth from, and ages after the time of the erection of, the first defensive structures known, civilized life began in America behind defenses contrived from tree trunks, and "stockades" became the symbol of safety against the American savage. These wooden defenses were pushed on, so to speak, ahead of the establishment of society until they disappeared with savagery itself. In modified form, however, these defenses became merely "fences," with the plain function of protecting and controlling property. Since my youth, passed in Iowa immediately after the abandonment of stockades, and before the erection of fences, greater change has come over the materials and construction of fences, and in the methods of caring for and handling live stock, than probably occurred before. From 1837 to 1842 our family went through a ceaseless effort at "improvement." In daytime the year round the heads and hearts of the elders were set upon the preparation of materials and the erection of fences and cabins, while the muscles of the youth were given no rest from the same plans for improvement. During the winter nights the family joined in the effort at mental improvement which, in the absence of better school privileges, sufficed to prevent relapse into illiteracy among all, and to advance the younger ones in the rudiments even before school came. I have spent nearly seventy years in one Iowa locality, during the greater portion of which I have kept a daily journal of personal and local transactions, and I feel qualified to deal with some of the interesting phases of the two things for which I have seen Iowa celebrated—agriculture and education.

Nearly every settler came into the Chequest Creek settlement by a cattle team, the team often consisting of an ox and a cow. Indeed, it was not rare to see an ox and a cow, a cow and a bull or either of these and a horse or mule coupled together and bringing into the country some family whose name was to become an ornament to the community and State. When father brought us across the Des Moines river in April, 1837, the two yoke of oxen and "Old Jule" constituted the largest collection of domestic live stock then west of the river. Samuel Clayton had an ox, but there were no other domestic animals. "Old Jule" found a colt the second night after we landed, and this was the first in the territory.

After we were settled in our new cabin and had our first crop planted, with my brothers, from almost the smallest to John who was grown, I was put at constructing a "defense." Not a defense against the Indians who were living all around us, it is true, but against our own stock, and that of the other settlers; from the Indian ponies, the herds of deer, and the elk that remained. And the protection of crops, while a great problem, was not the only one. Acquiring, increasing and identifying domestic animals was an immense and important work. A few hogs, for instance, would be brought into this new country and turned out into the open with those of other settlers, where the woods, the streams and annoying enemies encouraged them to shun the settlements; to recover these animals was difficult and required a system of identification forever gone from Iowa. The difficulties increased with the population and with the numbers of live stock.

For the year 1840 and prior thereto, I can find no property lists among the archives of Van Buren county, but I can recall some fifty families who settled west of the river. Let me relate an experience which was had by every pioneer boy, I suppose, of those times. Suppose some morning one of our oxen "come up missin'." "George," from father, "you and Jim go hunt Ol' Buck." That meant that we should call the dogs, take the rifle, and visit all the neighbors. It might mean going into unsettled portions of the country. Buck usually "turned up" near the cabin of some neighbor. But sometimes

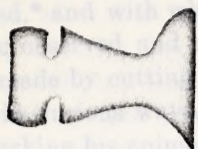
even after years had passed, a notion seemed to strike even the most faithful ox or horse to wander eastward out of the settlements. As we lived near the Des Moines river, our stragglers were usually found in the dense timber along its west bank. But settlers who lived just across the river were many times obliged to go to the banks of the Mississippi, along the "big bottoms," for their straying stock. I never heard of stragglers wandering out of the neighborhood westward. When seen to the west, it was accepted as *prima facie* proof that they had been driven or led by thieves. So, not finding Buck at the neighbors, we plunged into the river timber. Mark the care we were taught to practice in noting any fact or object that might serve some friend as well as ourselves. Striking a path-way leading east and calling the dogs, I, being the older, led the procession. And being more cunning I yield in feigned reluctance to Jim's earnest plea to "let me carry the gun awhile." I know his weariness will increase as we come nearer the best hunting grounds. We go along in single file until the path fades out and the ridge it follows, breaks into many others, dropping toward the river. I "rest" Jim of the rifle and follow down one slope while he takes another running in the same general direction, but some distance away. Presently from him or me in strong falsetto, "Hoo-OO-ohoo," with its hundred diminishing "hoos," from the echoing hills in all directions. "Hey," in jerky response. To that, "Red steer," is yelled back in reply. "What mark?" "Crop off both." "He's Martin's." Then silence again except for the sounds of the woods. I turn toward a clump of brush screening the head of a "holler." Out from the lair of leaves with a crash, and with a guttural challenge which one would suppose could come only from the hungriest of bears, comes a long, gaunt sow. She advances a few feet from her nest; her bristles up and her snout in the air. The vicious "chomp, chomp," of her great jaws; her quivering frame; the flash from her mean little eyes all look the demon of danger that I know she is—not. "Booh;" and up the hill and away she goes. I knew her trick. I raided her den, and amongst the leaves, prone on their bellies and "possoming" were her off-

spring. The mother had, by showing fight, given me an instant's view of her big flat ears. "Hoo-OO-hoo," again rang through the woods. "Hey," from Jim barely within hearing. "Sow'n pigs." "What mark?" "Underbit in both." "Bennie Rucker's," and silence again. In time again came the salutation, and to my "Hey," the answer, "Buck!"

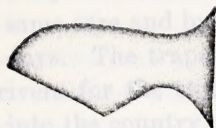
We "cornered" the ox in the open woods as two agile boys could do by keeping always one in front of him. One held his horn as he stood in mock captivity, while the other "cooned it" up his neck and over his withers. The other, with the boy on top as a "holt," and he with the gun as counterbalance, made easy work of the last one getting on. The steer knew the way home better than we, and knew quite as well what was expected of him. He would never think of running away or turning around, but he knew and availed himself of every opportunity to scrape us off under grape vine or leaning tree.

Reaching home, we may not have fired a shot, for indeed we little expected to. The gun had served father in securing our quick and willing compliance with his request to go, and rid us of any secret cowardice. In the same way many a family had a gun that served the single purpose of giving courage to the inmates, and dismay to any designing visitor of the cabin.

Detailing the most minute circumstance of our trip it was the family habit to note everything exactly. Each one remembered each animal described; its color, spots, marks, brands and size, and could detail the same with an accuracy equal to the one who personally saw with his own eyes. The first one of our family who saw one of the Martin or Rucker family or any other person, detailed to him the full facts. By such interchange the whole neighborhood kept in constant acquaintance with the whereabouts of each respective settler's stock, and the presence in the locality of any straggler; and these facts were even passed along from settlement to settlement by "movers." Thus it was common for emigrants who had come through Fort Madison and were passing west to say to father "I hearn tell of a stray 'fork an' under bit in the left an'



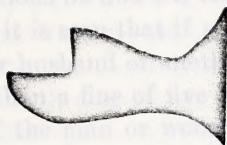
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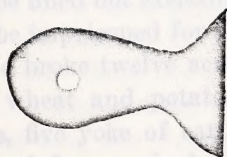
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FRONTIER LIVE STOCK EAR MARKS.

1. Crop off left; upper and under bit and crop off right.
2. Upper bit in left; under slope off right.
3. Upper and under slope off left; swallow fork in right.
4. Slit in left; upper half crop off right.
5. Hole in right.

crop o' the right' ox as I come by West Point.'" And it is interesting to note with what ingenuity the ears of stock could be mutilated,* and with what accuracy and readiness all such marks were observed and recollected by each settler. These marks are made by cutting off portions of the ears, or by slitting them in various ways. Each settler adopted a peculiar mode of marking his animals, as cattle, hogs and sheep. Horses were not subjected to those mutilations. Marks were recorded with the same care and by the same officials as land titles were in early days. The traps formed by the Mississippi and Des Moines rivers for the stock straggling back along the routes traveled into the country, were, I suppose, responsible for the most careful observance of the customs as to estrayed stock. They had their influence on the legislation of the new Territory. As illustrating the stringent penalties against conversion of another's stock, as well as inferentially to show the pioneer's relative esteem for his domestic and property rights, I refer to Sections 36 and 84, Acts of the First Territorial Assembly. There it is seen that if a man or woman, being single, take the wife or husband of another, the offender might expect nothing more than a fine of five hundred dollars and a year in prison. But if the man or woman take from a neighbor "any horse, mare, gelding, mule or ass, he, she or they so offending shall * * * be fined not exceeding five hundred dollars, and moreover shall be imprisoned for a term not exceeding ten years."

We broke twelve acres of land in 1837, and planted it in corn, wheat and potatoes. By 1838 we had three head of horses, five yoke of cattle and twenty-five hogs. Our neighbors had from a single ox to as much stock as we. The land was open to the Pacific coast. Hundreds of deer visited the salt licks, and the springs and streams of the locality. Deer would leave the finest wild pasture to ravage growing crops. So the first two or three years there was serious danger of crop destruction from the small acreage compared with the number of animals named, and from other enemies such as bears, raccoons, squirrels, blue jays and woodpeckers. From the planting to the gathering time, and even after that, the

*See engraving.

settler's crop was preyed upon day and night by a horde as hungry as himself.

So, after the little patch of twelve acres was planted father took his boys into the woods along Chequest. With axes, mauls and wedges preparations for defense commenced. The first ground plowed was the least timbered, and except the few trees standing in the way, no timber had been cut. Now we were taken into the tallest, straightest timber that could be found, and about the middle of May were put at work. We were kept at it until the middle of the next May, then resumed without interruption for another year. The younger ones, charged with the chores, errands and lighter work about the claim, were not kept at it so early and late as those older, but for father and the grown sons there was little respite for the first few years. While we were as honest as the rest, settlers could not tell which land belonged to the government, no surveys having been made. Indeed, after the surveys, it seemed as if the best rail timber stood just over the line from the settler's claim. From on and off our claim, and from the finest growth of oak and walnut we made thousands of rails and stakes. In this way I got my lessons, as many of my neighbor boys did, in expert wood chopping which we put to so much use in later times as "steamboat choppers" along the lower Mississippi.

In making rails as a business we scattered through the woods. Some two or three applied themselves to felling, trimming and cutting into ten foot lengths selected trees, and disposing the "cuts" in convenient places. Then came the two who did the actual splitting. One of these usually started his iron wedge into the top of the cut and mauled it in until the wood began to crack open. The other with an axe split out the crack and severed the splinters still holding, unless the log was large or tough, when another wedge was started toward the butt of the log in the end of the split and driven in. By experience in selecting and skill in splitting, the settlers could work up logs making four, six and often more rails by the sole use of the axe, except in starting the split in the top each time. When the log was finished the rails were

at once hauled to the proposed line of fence, though in after years when rails were made at odd times, they were always carefully laid on their backs to season straight. In our first fencing, it was the task of one boy, often myself, to follow up with oxen and wagon and load the rails as fast as finished. I well remember the work. In bare feet, bare hands and well nigh bare body, how one tugged and grunted with the heavy rough rails; scratching and tearing the skin, sweating, slapping yellow-jackets (wasps), fearing snakes, dodging "pizen" vines and "talking Spanish" to the oxen. This was a boy's part in the fencing of our patch.

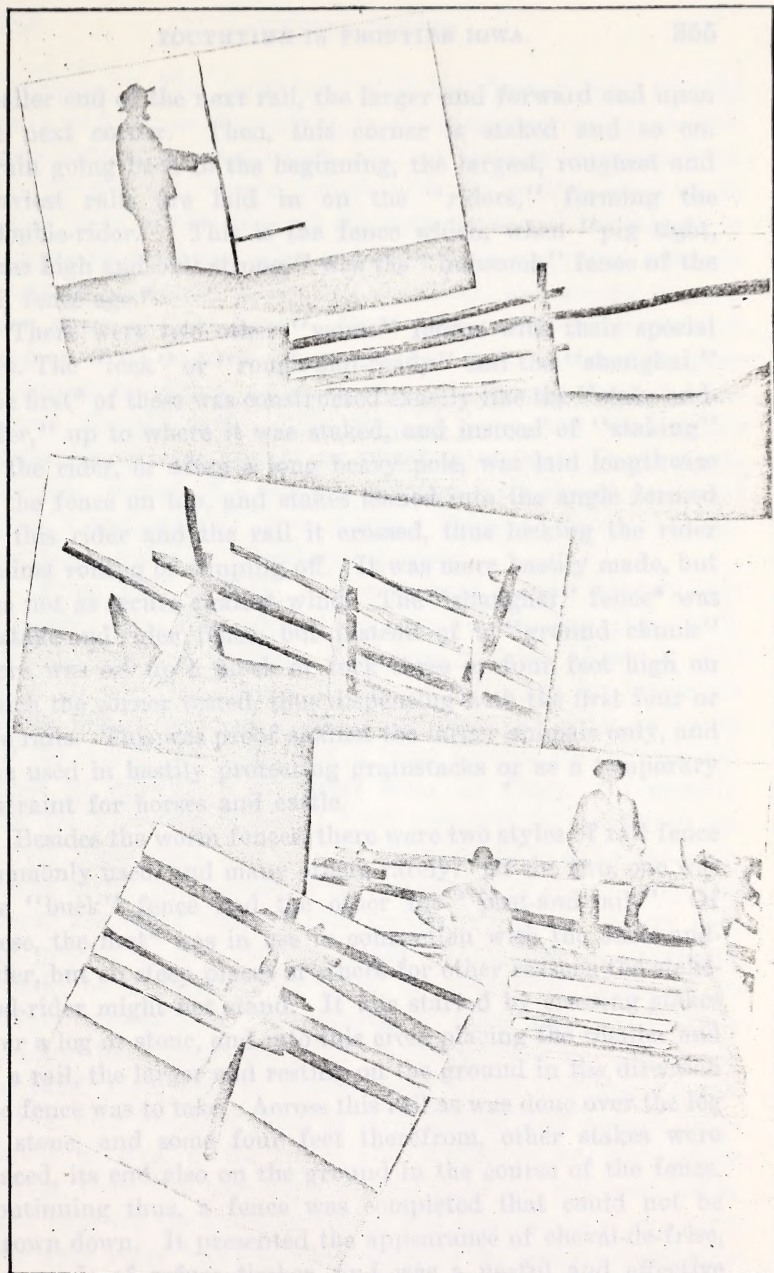
On the side of the claim where the fence was to remain, much care was taken to be accurate in locating, and correct in laying up the fence. But as the patch was enlarged each year, and the fence consequently removed so as to surround the added part, the temporary portions were laid up with more haste than skill. A settler dropped down and made a ring of rails. His neighbor did the same. Both enlarged their rings, and so all over the country these rings expanded until they began to "jine." They finally surrounded every acre of improved land in Van Buren county. They were established in the heart of the timber, and on the prairies miles away. They were begun on the plan of fencing live stock out, and they, in time, on the passage of "stock laws," were made to fence stock in. When hedges were introduced about the beginning of the civil war, other fence than rail could be measured in rods. Until the introduction of wire in 1879, fully 95 per cent. of the improved land was fenced with rails. And rail fence was the standard of improvement whether of the little patch like ours in 1837, or the great thousand-acre farms like those of Timothy Day in the 70's, to improve which required 2,500 rods of fence erected from four to six miles from the timber where it grew. Because there were not a hundred rails made last year in Van Buren county so far as I can ascertain, and only as expedients were any rail fences built from old material, I venture to deal with the subject with much minuteness.

But to return to the fencing of our claim. Along the side of the patch which was to remain a "stake-and-double-rider"

fence was built. This was the standard rail fence then and so remained. Other kinds, however, were in frequent use for special purposes and will later be described.

The course of the fence being designated by markers or guide stakes, often by blazes on the trees, a "worm-stick"* is provided. This was a perpendicular staff, sharpened at the lower end to admit of its being stuck into the ground when so desired. The fence-builder sighted across the top of this staff,* and shifted it into line. It marked the middle of the "worm" or foundation. Near the bottom of the staff, and inserted in a hole through it, was a stick two feet two inches long which, turned to the right or left, at right angles with the course of the fence, located, at its outer end, a "corner." Taking up the worm-stick, and moving it forward some eight feet, and turning the horizontal piece to the other side, located the next corner. The one of us who laid the worm placed a stone or "chunk" at each point thus located as a corner, and on this was laid the ground rail. The one who laid this rail selected the largest and heaviest, and used great care in placing it so as to insure a good foundation for the rails placed later, and so the fence could be made tight. The big end of the rail was always placed forward, the smaller end on the top of the rail last laid. If there was a crook in it, it was turned up because the large crack necessarily made by the crook could more easily be stopped by laying a chunk on the ground than by fastening anything between the first and second rails. The worm thus laid was in a straight course, yet made of ten-foot rails, each overlapping the other about a foot, described a zig-zag of panels and each two rails or double panel formed a rod in the length of the fence. Returning to the place of beginning, five or six rails are laid up, the smaller and straighter ones at the bottom. Before the next rail is laid on the fence is "staked." That is, at each corner, and two or three feet on each side, a piece is inserted in the ground some ten inches, and being eight feet in length is leaned across the corner, the two thus forming an "X" over the corner and resting on the rails. In the cross thus formed is laid the

* See engraving.



Laying the worm.

Buck fence.

Shanghai fence.

Post-and-rail fence.

Stake-and-rider fence.

smaller end of the next rail, the larger and forward end upon the next corner. Then, this corner is staked and so on. Again going back to the beginning, the largest, roughest and heaviest rails are laid in on the "riders," forming the "double-rider." This is the fence which, when "pig tight, horse high and bull strong," was the "buncomb" fence of the rail fence age.*

There were two other "worm" fences with their special uses. The "lock" or "rough-and-ready" and the "shanghai." The first* of these was constructed exactly like the "stake-and-rider," up to where it was staked, and instead of "staking" it, the rider, or often a long heavy pole, was laid lengthwise of the fence on top, and stakes leaned into the angle formed by this rider and the rail it crossed, thus locking the rider against rolling or slipping off. It was more hastily made, but was not as secure against wind. The "shanghai" fence* was a stake-and-rider fence, but instead of a "ground chunk" there was set up a block or fork three or four feet high on which the corner rested, thus dispensing with the first four or five rails. This was proof against the larger animals only, and was used in hastily protecting grainstacks or as a temporary restraint for horses and cattle.

Besides the worm fences, there were two styles of rail fence commonly used, and many others rarely. Of the two, one was the "buck" fence and the other the "post-and-rail." Of these, the first* was in use in connection with the stake-and-rider, but on steep places or where for other reasons the stake-and-rider might not stand. It was started by crossing stakes over a log or stone, and into this cross placing the smaller end of a rail, the larger end resting on the ground in the direction the fence was to take. Across this rail as was done over the log or stone, and some four feet therefrom, other stakes were placed, its end also on the ground in the course of the fence. Continuing thus, a fence was completed that could not be thrown down. It presented the appearance of cheval-de-frise, was made of refuse timber, and was a useful and effective

* See engraving.

"defense." The "post-and-rail"* was formed from selected rails, so hewn at the ends as to admit of their being inserted into slots mortised through posts at suitable intervals from the ground up. Single panels, with the rails so hewn as to allow them to slide through the slots at one end far enough to release them at the other constituted the universal gateway through all fences of the rail character, and known in song and story as "the bars." Posts were sometimes devised of stakes set up in pairs, being joined at their tops and at other intervals by withes, or by wooden pins driven through holes bored through both. This class of fence was used where ground-space was limited, or where an ornamental effect was sought. Indeed, if a settler's premises were entirely enclosed with a post-and-rail fence it was a badge of thrift and consequence, noted by friend and stranger.

From 1837 to 1842, it then seemed to me, father's only thoughts were of brush, timber, fence; chop, chop, chop. Laborious, drudging, toilsome youthtime in Iowa! From it all I took my flight and began life for myself. How far I ever got away was in point of distance less than two miles; in point of the character and amount of labor I would like to acknowledge by drawing a few facts from my diary. In presenting the following figures, I trust they will be considered entirely impersonal, and only as throwing light upon the enormous outlay and income in the conversion of an ordinary timbered section of country into agricultural land. Every acre of ground in this vicinity, could its accounts be examined, would be a duplicate of mine, if, indeed, it presented no larger transactions. Happening to have kept an accurate account for a long lifetime of the transactions upon one piece of land, I am able to exhibit some almost startling figures. From four hundred acres of river bottom and upland, originally covered, as the entire Des Moines valley, with heavy forest, there has been supplied fire wood for two households, and rails for the entire enclosing and subdivision of the farm for sixty years. At a cost approaching the receipts there have been sold by me the following:

* See engraving.

Wood delivered on steamboats tied up to my trees.....	\$ 1,500.00
Lath, shingles and clap-boards, split and sold on the land...	500.00
Hoops, shaved on the land and shipped to St. Louis, Chicago, and Milwaukee.....	3,600.00
Timber, ties and piling sold to Rock Island R. R.....	1,500.00
Rails, logs, lumber, piling and fence posts to Van Buren County and other parties.....	1,500.00
Fire-wood, cut on land and delivered at retail to residents in Keosauqua, names, dates, amounts, prices and payments shown in detail, over six thousand cords, for which I re- ceived over.....	20,000.00

Having shown this, I leave the reader to conclude how far I fled from the drudgery of my youth.

Youthtime in this section would be inadequately considered with its schooling omitted. Our annals contain ample accounts of frontier schools, scholars and teachers, but I know of no account of learning before the advent of schools. Before the "Martin" schoolhouse was erected, as the first west of the Des Moines river in the present limits of the State, we had lived here five years. That house was built by father and his neighbors, Jacob Ream, George Lewis, Josiah D. Minton, Erastus Fellows, Peter Mort, David Ferguson and James Martin, in 1842. Father had eight "scholars," and each of the others almost as many. From its settlement, each cabin, like our own, was, in the idle moments of its inmates, a schoolhouse in itself. Of our family, some had had a little schooling in Ohio. They and others a little in Illinois. But some had had none. To understand the way these minds were urged along in winter, as their muscles had been in summer, I will ask that you go with me (in imagination) on a snowy night in the late 30's, to the cabin of James Duffield. Within its walls are to be found the only forms of recreation, and all the comforts the settler has. Tracks and marks outside the door show that "Old Jule" has lately dragged a large "backstick" into the house. I also ask you to observe that the newest tracks of the horse lead out of the house. We open the door and to our left the end of the cabin seems almost aflame. In a moment you can distinguish the figures of the settler's family grouped about the hearth, and the form of the huge

wood-pile against the wall. With his back to the wood, his long legs stretched out into the circle of light, his clasped hands supporting the back of his head, sits father, next to the fireplace jamb. Between his knees, sitting on the floor, is a child of five. To his left sits his mainstay and eldest son John, who from his lithe, strong form and black shiny hair and eyes might almost be mistaken for an Indian. Next to John a younger brother or sister, and so around the circle, the rest of the children on the floor, except Maria, robust, plain, modest daughter and companion of mother, as John is of father. Maria has a chair, and in her lap is a baby brother of perhaps three. Between Maria and the jamb to her left, opposite father, sits our mother. I wish the picture of an ideal frontier mother might be placed on canvas. The only rocking-chair the cabin boasts is hers. A child asleep at her breast has dropped his head back upon her left arm, to support which she rests that elbow on her knee, and this, with more of comfort than of grace, perhaps, she has thrown over the low arm of the chair. The left hand holds an old worn "blue-back" Webster's Spelling Book. The other holds a greasy, flickering tallow candle. Its little flame adds nothing to the fire's glow upon her face, and takes little from the shadow on the page before her eyes. As she rocks to and fro she pronounces the words. Father on his side nods and half sleeps until some member of the circle becomes inattentive, or the fire burns low. The lesson began with half a quarrel between the elder and younger children as to whether mother should commence to "give out" words at "baker," or from some easier or harder page. Such quarrels always ended the same way, mother discreetly commencing at a point no one had chosen. The class began with Maria. Then William, Joseph—I might as well tell it as it was—it was Maria, Bill, Jo, George, Jim, John and even little Harry, who, in this manner, learned to spell every word of one syllable in that old book, without knowing one letter from another, and before he ever saw a schoolhouse. Round and round that circle would go the words. At first the short, easy words, missed by no one for perhaps half an hour. During all this time each boy and girl may have been crack-

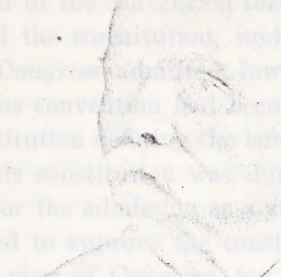
ing and picking "goodies" from his hoard of nuts hidden in the fall, each in his own secret place, "under the bed where no one can find them." Nevertheless, all attention is fixed on voices of mother and speller, and an error in the spelling of a word was detected instantly; likewise if mother skipped a word or pronounced them out of their order on the page, it was known at once. No playing or visiting was tolerated. A breach of the rule, and "Bill!" "Libbie!" or "George!" was shortly accentuated by a heavy but not painful stroke from father's open palm. In an evening while the words flew round that circle, its lines would be driven outward by the greater heat and glare or the flying sparks from new chunks thrown on by father. Or the line might be driven in by the cold upon our backs as the fire died down. One from the line might hustle up the ladder to his store of nuts and back again. Another might skip to the water pail and back into his place, but never a word be dropped in the lesson. True, a word would often be misspelled. But no one ever missed his turn at trying. The system involved no persistent application, nor did it cover a great range of learning. But with such a teacher, such an enrollment, such a course of study, and such a house, the frontier settler had to put up until the schoolhouse came. Even with the poor light, the crowded hearthstone, the differing proficiency of the children, and that single text, wonders were accomplished in nearly every cabin.

Sixty years have not effaced from my memory the way such an evening ended. When mother thought it time to go to bed she skipped along to the harder words. Tired little heads droop over upon others' shoulders. The youngest in the laps of elders have gone to sleep. Mother and Maria have carried their sleepy burdens to their proper beds. Father has heaped the greenest, wettest sticks upon the fire. Maria draws the chairs into their proper nooks, and into the fire, darkened and crackling with the fresh wet fuel, sweeps the shells and litter from the evening's play. These flash into a brilliant flame. Within the shadows are the elders, and out in the full glare the youngsters racing to be first denuded. With the sputtering of the last shells, Maria tucks the covers tightly round the chil-

dren's forms. With chattering teeth we are "spooned up," three in a bed, hoping to keep from freezing. It was in fact to steam and sweat until frost fringed the edges of our covering.

IN 1862 the board of supervisors of Wright county contracted to sell to the American Emigrant Company the swamp lands belonging to the county for the sum of fifteen hundred dollars. This contract was submitted to the people at the general election in 1862 for ratification and nearly all of the voters of the county voting, voted for the contract. In fact, only one vote in the entire county was against the proposition. In pursuance of the vote, deeds were executed conveying about eighteen thousand acres of land, which today must be worth not less than half a million dollars, and probably a million dollars is nearer its actual value. In those days swamp lands were not regarded as valuable. They were looked upon very much as some of our people regard franchises. However, the people of Wright county afterward recognized the enormity of their folly and after long and expensive litigation, recovered a part of the property they had so recklessly given away.—W. J. Covil, in *Webster City Freeman-Tribune*, July 13, 1904.

PRAIRIE FIRES.—There have been prairie fires in all directions, for the past two weeks, which have done an immense amount of damage in some localities. As far as we can learn, the fire which occurred on the west side of the river, last Monday, extended for a distance of 25 miles down the river, stripping nearly every farm of its fences.—*Fort Dodge Republican*, Nov. 5, 1861.



The people were eager for the establishment of a stable government and prompt steps were taken for the call for another constitutional convention. The fate of the work of its forerun-

J. Scott Richardson

J. SCOTT RICHMAN.

Member of Constitutional Convention, 1846, Judge of the 7th Judicial District, 1864-1872, Member Extra Session 5th General Assembly.

J. SCOTT RICHMAN.

BY JUDGE W. F. BRANNAN.*

Hon. J. Scott Richman, of Muscatine, is not only the oldest practitioner at the Iowa bar, but is the only surviving member of the convention that met at Iowa City in 1846, and framed the constitution, under which, in December of that year, Congress admitted Iowa as a state of the Union. A previous convention had been called and held which adopted a constitution defining the boundaries of the prospective state, and this constitution was duly presented to Congress as the basis for the admission as a state. On examination, Congress declined to approve the constitution as it stood. It covered, in the view of Congress, too much territory within the lines of the northern boundary, and Congress undertook to cut off a large section of territory immediately south of the northern boundary line and parallel with it. This would result in a new boundary line and diminished area. But this action of Congress could not be operative and binding on the people of the territory without their assent. Recognizing this, Congress directed that a special election be held, at which the above change and faults in the document that Congress had discovered, were to be submitted to the people for their action. An election was accordingly held, and a majority voted against accepting the changes presented.

The people were eager for the establishment of a state government and prompt steps were taken for the call for another constitutional convention. The fate of the work of the former

* William F. Brannan was born in Washington, D. C., Sept. 24, 1824. In 1846 he was admitted to the bar in Hagerstown, Md. In the spring of 1855 he came to Iowa and settled in Muscatine where he has since resided. In April, 1872, he was appointed by Governor Carpenter, judge of the seventh judicial district to succeed J. Scott Richman, who had resigned; he was elected without opposition the same year, and re-elected in 1874. In 1886 he was again elected to the position and re-elected in 1890, '94, and '98. In his political faith Judge Brannan was a democrat, and he lived in a normally republican district. Nevertheless Governor Carpenter, a republican, on petition of the bar of the entire district, appointed him to succeed Judge Richman, a republican. On all occasions since, when he has been a candidate for judge, he has had no competition. This of itself is a rare tribute to his ability and character, a custom that might with profit be emulated by the voters in other portions of the State.

convention had taught that care and caution must be used in the selection of members for the convention. In Muscatine county the democrats moved first in nominating a candidate for the convention. This candidate was a man who had the respect and good-will of the community generally. The whigs then persuaded Richman to become their candidate, and the usual party lines at first appeared to be strictly drawn. But Richman, although young, was known as possessing a clear, calm and deliberate mind, with a well balanced judgment. It soon seemed as if party feeling had become largely subdued, for a large number of democrats turned to the support of Richman, not from dislike of his competitor, but because they knew that he was by far the fitter man for the position sought. He was elected by a majority that surprised even his active political friends.

I happened to be in Iowa City in 1857, where I casually met and was introduced to an elderly man of much intelligence. He was from a distant county, but I cannot now recall either his name or home. Learning that I was from Muscatine, he at once made inquiries respecting Richman, and said that they had served together in 1846 in the same constitutional convention. He said that when Richman first took his seat in the convention, he was a stranger to nearly all of its members, but he soon became the subject of notice because of his unusually low stature, very short legs, and youthful appearance. Nightly consultations were held among the members at which Richman was always present, as he was at the regular sessions. At both places he sat as a quiet listener for the first few days; then he was called upon for his opinion touching a proposition that had given rise to considerable discussion. He arose and in opening said that he felt much diffidence in speaking on a subject which had divided so many older and abler minds than his. He had, however, the rare faculty of compressing in a few but clear words, reasons that were full of force and effect and speedily drew close attention. His speech was short but convincing. He seldom spoke, but when he did, he was heard with close and respectful attention. In fact, the other members would say of him, in a

kindly and approving spirit, "that little, short-legged, young fellow, has a good long head, and can say much that is valuable in few words."

The foregoing is taken from my recollection of what the gentleman referred to said in his conversation with me.

Mr. Richman was born in Somerset, Perry county, Ohio, March 11, 1820. He did such work on a farm as he could until he was fourteen, and was allowed to go to a country school during the winter months. At the age named, he was taken as clerk in a county where he stayed until he was eighteen, when he went to Knoxville, Illinois, and commenced the study of law. In 1839 he came to Muscatine (then called Bloomington) where he resumed his law studies, and in the fall of that year, having passed a satisfactory examination, was admitted to the bar. A short time after, he opened a law office in Muscatine and engaged in practice. His natural ability and studious habits attracted the attention of Hon. S. C. Hastings who had a large practice in Muscatine and bordering counties, and who in 1840 offered a partnership to Mr. Richman which was accepted. This connection continued until 1847, when Iowa having just become a state, Hastings was appointed its first chief justice. This of course ended the partnership.

In those early days the bar of Muscatine was made up of young men such as Ralph P. Lowe, Stephen Whicher, Jacob Butler, William G. Woodward, S. C. Hastings and J. Scott Richman; Richman was the youngest in years and Stephen Whicher the eldest. They were all men of active brain, well educated, generally, with strong literary tastes, ambitious, and struggling for success in their profession. They had to encounter difficulties incident to the stages of incipient settlement in a new and almost unexplored region, with wandering Indian tribes for their neighbors. Text-books and law reports were few, money scarce, clients generally poor, and fees low and hard to get. They all believed that Muscatine had natural advantages that would make it a valuable commercial center, and they bore difficulties with hope in the

future, and endured with patience the mishaps that at times beset them. Lowe eventually moved to Keokuk, and reached the highest honors of the State; Hastings, lured by the dazzling reports of the golden mines that lay in the hills and valleys of California, removed there, and when it became a state, was elected its first chief justice, and finally amassed a large fortune. Richman was gifted with a quick conception, a sound judgment, and clearness of expression. It was not a great while before the people showed confidence in his integrity and ability. He did not encourage litigation, if it could justly be avoided. He soon became, after the dissolution of the partnership with Hastings, the leading member of the bar, a position he could not have reached and maintained unless he had won the confidence and respect of the bench, and of the jury, in cases before them in which he had been counsel. He had well earned a reputation in jury cases of dealing fairly with the evidence, and of avoiding anything that savored of misrepresentation.

In December, 1863, Judge John F. Dillon resigned the office of judge of the 7th judicial district, having, in November preceding, been elected to the supreme bench. Mr. Richman became his successor, the district being composed of Jackson, Clinton, Scott and Muscatine. No better selection could possibly have been made. He was successively re-elected, with but little opposition. He was a thorough lawyer and on the bench was patient, rarely if ever, showing any sign of petulance. His rulings were prompt and clear, and his charges to the jury were models of judicial instructions. He stated the issues the jury was to try and the rules of law applicable to the questions raised by the issues. His charges to the jury were always in plain and simple language, terse and perspicuous, expressed in the smallest number of words needed to convey the sense and easily understood by the ordinary juror. He abhorred the needless profusion of words in a legal document, such as a charge to the jury, saying that they served to confuse rather than to enlighten. He was always kind and considerate to the young lawyer who exhibits timid-

ity the first few times he appears in the trial of a cause in the district court. Appeals were seldom taken from any judgment he might render, and when an appeal was taken, it rarely happened that a reversal followed.

In the latter part of April, 1872, Hon. John P. Cook of Davenport, departed this life. He was one of the earliest of our pioneer lawyers, whom long and successful practice had made perfect in the intricacies of the law (if such a thing is possible) and who had the confidence and esteem of all who knew him. His death left to his son, Edward E. Cook, then a young man, the management of a large and valuable legal business. Conscious of the heavy responsibility thus cast upon him by the death of his father and knowing that Richman would be a most desirable associate, young Mr. Cook tendered an equal partnership to Judge Richman, which was accepted. The judge resigned his office about the 1st of May, 1872, and engaged in active practice again. This partnership lasted for a number of years, when with mutual consent and good feeling a dissolution took place.

Impelled by a strong and growing desire to return to Muscatine, which had been his home for more than a generation, and renew social relations with such of his old friends of early days as were still left there, on the dissolution of the partnership, he quit Davenport, and with his son, E. F. Richman, a while after, resumed practice in Muscatine, the firm name being Richman & Richman.

In 1856 Governor Grimes called a special session of the legislature to take action on land grants given by Congress to aid in the construction of certain railways within the State. Mr. Richman was prevailed upon to become a candidate to fill a vacancy in the lower house of the legislature that had occurred in Muscatine county, and was elected by a large majority. He has three times been elected to public offices. In no instance has his candidacy been due to the slightest procurement by any action on his part. He has never been an active politician, but on the contrary, has always preferred a calm and quiet life.

An amusing but unexpected incident happened to Richman sometime after the adjournment of the convention. The territorial legislature was in session for the last time, and was desirous of making such changes as seemed proper in view of the certainty that Iowa was about to be admitted as a state and established as a new and independent sovereignty. Before the lower house was fully organized, trouble showed itself. A clerk and his deputy were necessary officers to keep the record. Several persons sought these two offices, but the house had balloted for some time without coming to a choice. The fight over the candidates for clerk and deputy grew strong and bitter. Richman had business in the district court which took him to Iowa City while the fight was at its height, and he wandered over to the State House. He had hardly reached the door of the legislative chamber when a member of the house saw him, and immediately cried out, "Let us put an end to this fuss and delay, and proceed with the regular business. There's Richman (pointing to him). Let's elect him clerk. He helped to kill the territorial government by his vote in the convention. Let him take part in its obsequies." It at once brought a momentary calm and before Richman could say anything, he was elected clerk, and a new man was elected his deputy.

He has for many years been living on his farm outside of Muscatine, but he has always made it a rule to be at his office regularly. He is now in his 86th year. His steps are not as quick and active as formerly, but his general health is good, his mind clear and strong, with scarcely perceptible change to mar his memory. His sight has been renewed, and glasses are no longer needed for ordinary print. Of late years he has rarely appeared before the court, but has left the duties incident to litigation to the competent care of his son, while he remains in the office as an advisory. From present indications it is not unlikely that he will round out a century. He is looked upon by all who know him as a patriarch, and regarded with the reverence due to his exemplary character.

WHENCE CAME THE PIONEERS OF IOWA?

BY F. I. HERRIOTT.

Professor in Drake University.

The habits and manners of the primeval inhabitants of any country, generally give to it a distinctive character, which marks it throughout after ages. Notwithstanding the influx of strangers, bringing with them prejudices and prepossessions, at variance with those of the community in which they come; yet such is the influence of example, and such the faculty with which the mind imbibes the feelings and sentiments of those with whom it associates, that former habits are gradually lost and those which prevail in society, imperceptibly adopted by its new members.¹

The lineage of a people, like the genealogy of a family, is not commonly looked upon as a matter of general importance. The wayfaring man is wont to regard it as interesting and worth while only to antiquarians and scholastics. Some of our historians, strangely enough, think likewise. "What the pioneers were," declares a resident commentator upon our institutional history, "is vastly more important than where they came from or when or how they settled; for all law and government rests upon the character of the people." "The frontier called for men," the same writer further observes regarding our pioneers, . . . "who could break with the past, forget traditions and easily discard inherited political and social ideas." The argument is somewhat confusing and inconsistent but it is typical of a large body of opinion.

States or societies, no less than individuals, are the outgrowth of heredity and environment. Life, be it manifest in individual organisms or in social organisms, is a complex or resultant of those two variables. We certainly cannot understand the nature or significance of the customs and institutions of a people or a state unless we know the character of the environment of that people. But no less true is it that we can neither comprehend the character of a people or the peculiarities of their social development, nor measure the forces that determine public life and action in the present, unless we understand the sources of the streams of in-

¹ Alex. Scott Withers, *Chronicles of Border Warfare* (Thwaites ed.), p. 54.

fluence that united to make them what they are. A people cannot break with its past nor discard inherited political and social ideas, any more than a man can put away his youth and its influences. Social or political life may be greatly modified by the necessities of a new environment but heredity and ancestral traditions continue to exert a potent influence.

For years the declaration—"Emigrants from New England" settled Iowa—has been made by a popular standard book of reference, whose compilers have always maintained a fair reputation for accuracy in historical matters.¹ The assertion—enlarged often so as to include the descendants of New Englanders who earlier swarmed and pushed out into the valley of the Mohawk and into the petty lake region of New York, thence southwesterly around the Great Lakes down into Pennsylvania and thither into the lands out of which were carved the states of the old Northwest Territory—reflects probably the common belief or tradition of the generality.

Justice Samuel F. Miller, a Kentuckian by birth, was a practicing lawyer in Keokuk from 1850 to 1862, when he was appointed by President Lincoln a member of the Federal supreme court. In 1884, in a post-prandial speech before the Tri-State Old Settlers' Association, he said: "The people [of Iowa] were brought from New England, interspersed with the vigor of the people of Kentucky and Missouri."² In 1896 in an address at the Semi-Centennial of the founding of the State, the late Theodore S. Parvin, who came from Ohio in 1838 as private secretary to Robert Lucas, the first territorial governor of Iowa, and who was ever after an industrious chronicler of the doings of the first settlers, declared that the pioneers of Iowa "came from New England states, the younger generation directly, the older

¹ New York Tribune Almanac for 1889, p. 161, for 1905, p. 220.

² See Proceedings, p. 23. See Harper's Monthly, vol. LXXIX, p. 168 (July, 1889), where a somewhat different opinion is expressed.

having migrated at an earlier day, and located for a time in the middle states of that period and there remained long enough to become somewhat westernized. They were from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. There was an element of chivalry, descendants of the old cavaliers of Virginia, some of whom had come through the bloody ground experience of Kentucky and Tennessee; these were found mostly in the southern portion of the territory".¹

Here and there we find contrary or divergent opinions. Occasionally we encounter assertions that original New Yorkers or natives of Pennsylvania or emigrants from southern states constituted the important elements in the tides of the western popular movement between 1830 and 1860 that flowed over into and through Iowa. But even when speakers and writers recognize that the immigration into Iowa was not entirely from the states of New England they almost always regard such other streams as of secondary importance or as subsequent to the inflow of the New Englanders or their westernized descendants. Issuing from this common belief we have the general opinion that the predominant influences determining the character of the social and political life and institutions of Iowa have been Puritan in their origin.

In what follows I shall examine briefly the grounds on which this tradition rests. I shall first consider the premises of the belief; second, the social conditions and political developments persistent throughout the history of Iowa that are inexplicable upon the New England hypothesis; and third, facts that clearly suggest if they do not compel a contrary conclusion respecting the region whence came our predominant pioneer stock.

The New Englander has always been in evidence in Iowa and his influence manifest. George Catlin on his journey down the Mississippi in 1835, found that "Jonathan

¹ See Parvin's *Who Made Iowa?* p. 13.

is already here from 'down East'." In 1834 the name of Iowa's capital city was changed from "Flint Hills" to Burlington, at the behest of John Gray, a son of Vermont.¹ Father Asa Turner, a son of Yale, while on a missionary expedition in 1836 found a settlement of New Englanders at Crow Creek in Scott county.² Stephen Whicher, himself from the Green Mountains, found "some families of high polish from the city of New York," in Bloomington (Muscatine), in October, 1838.³ In all missionary and educational endeavors in Iowa, New Englanders have from the first days played conspicuous parts and have been potent factors in the development of the State. Father Turner preached Congregationalism in "Rat Row", Keokuk, two years before Rev. Samuel Clarke exhorted the pioneers to embrace Methodism in the "Grove".⁴ In 1843 came the "Iowa Band", a little brotherhood of Andover missionaries and preachers, graduates of Amherst, Bowdoin, Dartmouth, Harvard, New York City University, Union College, the University of Vermont and Yale.⁵ It may be doubted if any other group of men has exerted a tithe of the beneficial influence upon the life of the State that was exerted by those earnest workers. The two oldest educational institutions in the State owe their inception and establishment to the far-sighted plans and persistent self-sacrifice and promotion of Asa Turner and the Iowa Band.⁶ It is not extravagant to presume that it was the emulation aroused by those apostles from New England that created the "passion for education" among the pioneers of Iowa, that resulted in the establishment of the fifty academies, colleges and universities between 1838 and 1852. From this fact doubtless

¹ Burlington Semi-Centennial, 1883, p. 20.

² ANNALS OF IOWA (3d ser.), vol. III, p. 56.

³ *Ib.* vol. IV, p. 509.

⁴ *Ib.* vol. III, p. 56.

⁵ *Ib.* vol. I, p. 528; also Magoun's *Asa Turner and His Times*, pp. 241-251, *Ephraim Adams' The Iowa Band* (2d ed.), pp. 12-73.

⁶ Denmark Academy, and Iowa College founded at Davenport in 1846, and in 1858 moved to Grinnell. L. F. Parker's *Higher Education in Iowa*, p. 137, and Adams *op. cit.* pp. 103-125.

Iowa came to be known as the "Massachusetts of the West."

The election of James W. Grimes governor of Iowa in 1854, and the revolution in the political control of the State which that event signified, first attracted the attention of the nation to Iowa. Prior to that date Iowa was regarded with but little interest by the people of the northern states. She was looked upon as a solid democratic state and was grouped with Illinois and Indiana in the alignment of political parties in the contest over the extension of slavery.

Suddenly the horizon changed. The Kansas-Nebraska bill produced a complete overturn. Grimes, a pronounced opponent of slavery, a son of New Hampshire, representing the ideas and traditions of the Puritans, was elected chief magistrate of Iowa and James Harlan was sent to the United States senate. At the conclusion of that critical contest Governor-elect Grimes wrote: "Our southern friends have regarded Iowa as their northern stronghold. I thank God it is conquered."¹ In the accomplishment of this political revolution New Englanders energized and lead largely by members of the Iowa Band, were conspicuous, if not the preponderant factors.² The immigration of population from New England was then approaching flood tide. "Day by day the endless procession moves on," declared *The Dubuque Reporter*. ". . . They come by hundreds and thousands from the hills and valleys of New England, bringing with them that same untiring energy and perseverance that made their native states the admiration of the world."³ The prompt, firm stand of those pioneers when shocked into consciousness by the aggressions of the southern leaders, the brilliant leadership of Grimes and Harlan for years thereafter and the long continued supremacy of the political party they first led to victory, probably afford us no small part of the explanation of the theory of the supremacy of New England in the settlement of Iowa.

¹ Cited by Von Holst from Pike's First Blows of the Civil War, p. 260.

² See Julius H. Powers' Historical Reminiscences of Chickasaw County, p. 153. Magoun's Asa Turner, pp. 278-292.

³ Quoted in N. Howe Parker's Iowa as It Is in 1855, pp. 55-56.

Not the least important premise of this view, it may be suspected, is the observation so frequently made by students of western history in the past three decades that "migration from the Atlantic states to the interior and western states has always followed along the parallels of latitude. Illinois is a remarkable illustration of this tendency. . . . Southern Illinois received its population from Virginia and other southern states, while northern Illinois was chiefly settled from Massachusetts and other New England states."¹ Historians Fiske and Schouler make similar observations about the lines of western popular movements.² Now if we extend eastward the line of the northern boundary of Iowa it will pass through or above Glen Falls near the lower end of Lake George, New York, through White Hall, Vermont, Lacona, New Hampshire, striking the coast near Portland, Maine. Extending a similar line eastward from the southern boundary (disregarding the southeastern deflection made by the Des Moines river) we should pass just north of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, and come to the coast not far from Sandy Hook. If the general conclusion respecting western migration is universally and precisely true, Iowa, it will be observed, would naturally have been settled by New Englanders or their westernized descendants in New York, Michigan, and Wisconsin, and by those in Indiana, Ohio, and Illinois. We have been told recently by Mr. George Moore, that under the "Ordinance of 1787, New England men and ideas became the dominating forces from the Ohio to Lake Erie" in the settlement of the old Northwest Territory.³ A necessary consequence of this fact, if true as alleged, would be that the large emigration to Iowa from Ohio, Indiana and Illinois prior to 1860 was predominantly New England stock, or subject to Puritan ideas and institutions.

¹ Shaw's *Local Government in Illinois*, in *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, vol. I, no. 3, pp. 5-6.

² Fiske's *Civil Government in the United States*, p. 81, and Schouler's *History of the United States*, vol. II, p. 243.

³ Moore's *The Northwest Under Three Flags*, p. XX.

The theory that Iowa's pioneers were of Puritan origin, while resting on these strong premises, and others that may be mentioned, breaks down when viewed in the light of common and notorious developments in the political and social life and institutions of the pioneers, many of which are manifest and potent in the life of the State to-day. New Englanders were conspicuous, energetic and vocal prior to 1840; they were disputatious and vigorous promoters of their ideals of government, law and morals and religion prior to 1860; but neither they nor their kith and kin from New York and Ohio were supreme in Iowa in those days. If they were supreme in numbers, how are we to account for the absence of so much that is distinctively characteristic of the customs and institutions of New England in the life of this first free state of the Louisiana Purchase?

In the local government of Michigan and Wisconsin the impress of New England's democratic ideals, her forms and methods of procedure, are to be observed in striking fashion.¹ In Minnesota and the Dakotas the same is largely true.² In Illinois the "intense vitality" of the town meeting system of government so possessed the minds of immigrants from New England that it overcame the prevalent county form of government, and now controls nearly four-fifths of the area of Illinois, although it was not given the right of way until 1848.³ Here in Iowa, it is not untrue to say, that the town meeting and all that it stands for in New England has been conspicuous chiefly by its absence. Governor Robert Lucas urged the adoption of the township as the unit for school purposes. An annual mass meeting was adopted in the scheme therefor. But neither became a vigorous institutional growth.⁴ Prof. Jesse Macy has shown us that there

¹ Bemis' *Local Government in Michigan and the Northwest*, Johns Hopkins University Studies, vol. I, no. V, p. 11, et seq. See also Fiske's *Civil Government*, p. 89, et seq.

² Fiske, *Ib.*, p. 91.

³ See Shaw *op. cit.*

⁴ Henry Sabin, Iowa's distinguished Superintendent of Public Instruction, a New Englander by birth and education, has the following pertinent observations in his last biennial report (1897).

"It is worthy of note that the first of these governors [Robert Lucas] in his message urged the adoption of the township as a basis of school organization. It never

is strong warrant for doubting the vitality of many of the laws first adopted for the regulation of local affairs in the territory.¹ Not a few of those statutes were enacted *pro forma*, not especially in response to insistent local demand. Conditions did not compel compact town or communal life. The pioneers depended upon township trustees and school directors. They relied upon county commissioners. Finally it is almost impossible to conceive of New Englanders deliberately or even unwittingly adopting the autocratic county judge system of government that prevailed in Iowa from 1851 to 1860. It struck full in the face every tradition of democracy cherished by the people of New England.²

If New Englanders settled Iowa, why did the people of the east experience a shock of surprise when the report reached them that the Whigs in 1846 had captured the first general assembly under the new State government.³ "What gain had freedom from the admission of Iowa into the Union," exclaimed Horace Greeley, in the New York Tribune of March 29, 1854. "Are Alabama and Mississippi more devoted to the despotic ideas of American pan-slavism . . . ?"⁴ Was not his opinion justified when one of our senators could boldly declare in congress that "Iowa is the only free State which never for a moment gave way to the Wilmot Proviso. My colleague voted for every one of the compromise measures, including the fugitive slave law, the late Senator Sturgeon, of Pennsylvania, and ourselves, being the only three senators from the entire non-slaveholding section of this Union who voted for it."⁵ Von Holst ranked

can be sufficiently regretted that we ever departed from his recommendation." p. 20.
 "There is no question that the commission [viz. of 1856] favored the township system. . . . Governor after governor, the state superintendents in unbroken line, prominent educational men, have remonstrated in vain, and in vain have attempted to secure a simpler organization. It will remain rooted in the prejudices until better ideas of school economy render it odious," p. 22.

¹ Macy's Institutional Beginnings in a Western State, J. H. U. Studies, vol. II, pp. 22-23. ANNALS OF IOWA (3d series), vol. V. p. 337.

² See Powers op. cit., pp. 73-76, 99-102.

³ Niles Register, Nov. 14, 1846, p. 176, and Nov. 21, p. 178.

⁴ Quoted in Rhodes' History of the United States, vol. I, p. 494.

⁵ Salter's Life of Grimes, p. 114. Congressman John Wentworth, of Chicago, in 1853 (?) introduced Grimes to President Pierce who knew the Whig relatives of Grimes in New Hampshire. Wentworth conceived it to be a "great joke" to intro-

Iowa as "a veritable hot bed of dough faces."¹ These current assumptions and conditions do not suggest that the State was originally or predominantly settled by emigrants from the bleak shores and granite hills of New England where love of liberty was ingrained.

The people of New England from the beginning of their history were alert and progressive in the furtherance of schools, both common and collegiate. Among our pioneers there was, as we have seen, great activity in the promotion of "Higher" institutions of learning, but the movement was largely the result of missionary zeal and work. It was not corporate and communal as was the case in New England. In 1843 Governor John Chambers expressed to the territorial legislature his mortification on realizing "how little interest the important subject of education excited among us."² Notwithstanding the great legal educational reforms secured by the legislature of 1856 and 1858, the backward condition of Iowa's rural schools in contrast with those in states west, north and east of us, has been a matter of constant complaint and wonderment.³

If one thing more than another characterizes the New Englander it is his respect for law and his resort to the pro-

duce him "as the next Governor of Iowa, as he was. Pierce thought he would have to change his politics first." Memorandum of Wentworth quoted in Salter's Grimes, p. 7.

¹ Von Holst, Constitutional History, vol. V, p. 278.

² The following from Dr. Salter's Life of Grimes strikingly illustrates the contention above: "He [Grimes] presided at an educational convention held in Burlington, June 7, 1847, in which the duty of the State to provide for the education of all children by equitable taxation was earnestly advocated and the profound regret expressed that the first general assembly of Iowa had made no provision for building school houses by law, but had left the whole matter to voluntary subscription." p. 26.

³ In his report in 1887 State Superintendent J. W. Akers, in some perplexity, pointed out the striking similarity of the conditions of education in Iowa to those prevalent in the southern states, pp. 57-58. Dr. W. T. Harris, National Commissioner of Education, showed that while Iowa spent large sums for schools, the schedules of salaries for teachers were the lowest of all the north central states (Report, 1895-96, p. LXVIII). In his presidential address before the State Teachers' Association in 1892, President Charles E. Shelton of Simpson College said appropos of the rural schools:

"Something must be done for our country schools. I want to say to you tonight my friends, that I believe that three-fourths of the teaching in the rural schools of Iowa is absolutely worthless, and that an equal proportion of the money spent is absolutely thrown away. I do not say this upon simple speculation and conjecture, but it is the experience of every man and woman here. . . ." (Proceedings, p. 17.)

The Association by formal vote commended the entire address of President Shelton for its common sense treatment in every particular and its clear statement of the various important phases of the real education of the boys and girls who go to make up the citizenship of our State and nation." P. 12.

cesses of the law for the suppression of disorder and violence. Coupled with, if not underlying this marked trait, are his sobriety, his love of peaceful pleasures and his reserve in social life. In the early history of Iowa we find much of boisterous carousal in country and town. In 1835, Lieut. Albert Lea was refused shelter late on a cold night, at the only house near the mouth of the Iowa river which was "occupied by a drinking crowd of men and women."¹ A correspondent in *The New York Journal*, writing from Dubuque in 1839, declared that "the principal amusement of the people seems to be playing cards, Sundays and all;" while another observer speaks of the "wide and unenviable notoriety" of Dubuque.² One may come upon sundry such accounts of pioneer life in various cities along the river and inland. Along with this sort of hilarity and reckless pleasures alien to Puritan character we find gross disregard of law and order frequent in election contests,³ flagrant corruption and considerable popular practice in Judge Lynch's court. Brutal murders, cattle and horse stealing, and counterfeiting appear frequently in the calendars in the early days. Outbursts of mob fury and hanging bees, the institution of societies of Regulators and Vigilantes form considerable chapters in the careers of many counties in the State.⁴ This

¹ Iowa Historical Record, vol. VI, p. 551.

² ANNALS OF IOWA, vol. I, p. 316.

³ ANNALS OF IOWA, 1st ser., vol. I, pp. 27-28, 297.

⁴ The following ringing letter of Grimes to the sheriff of Clinton county, written in the last year of his term as Governor, affords both instructive reading and interesting evidence of the character and extent of lawlessness in eastern Iowa in the fifties:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, IOWA, BURLINGTON, July 8, 1857.

Your letter of the 29th, June, in which you state that you have warrants in your hands for the arrest of persons who seized and hanged Bennet Warren in your county on the 25th inst.; that you are "informed that a very large combination has been formed, banded together by agreement or oath to execute similar outrages upon other persons, and protect and defend any of their members who may be attempted to be dealt with according to law," and that this combination is supposed to number "about two thousand persons in Jackson and the adjoining counties," has been duly received.

You ask me "what course shall be pursued?" I answer unhesitatingly, serve the warrants in your hands and enforce the laws of the State. You have authority to summon to your aid the entire force of your county. If you deem it to be necessary to do so, call for that force, and prosecute every man who refuses to obey your summons.

If the power of your county is not sufficient to execute the laws, a sufficient force from other counties shall be placed at your disposal.

I am resolved that, so far as in me lies, this lawless violence, which, under the plea of administering justice to horse thieves, sets at defiance the authorities of the State, and destroys all respect for the laws, both human and divine, shall be checked.

lawlessness can hardly be made to square with the traditions that New Englanders brought with them to Iowa, traditions that universally govern their conduct as citizens wherever we find them.

Finally we may note a complex or miscellany of facts that have always given more or less color to the history of the State, the significance of which is not commonly discerned. These facts consist of sundry intangible psychic or "spiritual" traits of the pioneers and of their descendants, characteristics often vague and varying and difficult to visualize, but which close observers may clearly perceive.

Iowa, by reason of the marked fertility of her soil and favorable climate, has become the garden spot of the continent. Her citizens have attained distinguished success in the accumulation of wealth. The high level of general contentment and prosperity of the citizen body has long been a matter of comment and admiration among peoples in neighboring states. The high degree of popular intelligence and education, and the prevalence of high standards of private and civic righteousness are no less marked. All these things admirable and more are incontestible. They no doubt suggest the preponderance of Puritan or northern influences in the life of Iowans. Nevertheless one does not long study the history of Iowa, or converse with those familiar with the early days of the State, or scrutinize our life in recent years, before he becomes dimly conscious of something in the character of large portions of the population that clearly distinguishes them from the New England type of citizen. About the time the writer became interested in the make-up of Iowa's pioneer population he asked an early lawmaker of the State if, in his opinion, Iowa was first peopled by emigrants from New England, and his reply was:

I shall have no hesitation, therefor, when officially advised of the exigency, to call out the entire military power of the State, if necessary, to crush out this spirit of rebellion, which has shown itself in your county.

I shall direct all the military companies in the State to hold themselves in readiness for duty.—Salter's Grimes, pp. 93-94.

See G. W. Ellis' "In By-Gone Days," in which is described at great length the numerous mobs and lynchings in Jackson county, reprinted from the "Record" of Maquoketa, Iowa. See, also, Porter's History of Polk County, pp. 505-507, 525-529, 531-543.

That is a common opinion but I have long doubted the truth of the assertion. Iowa has been very slow in making progress in education, in the promotion of libraries, in the improvement of our city governments, in the beautifying of our cities and towns, and in the public provision of facilities for art and culture. In New England, cities promote general culture as a matter of course. In 1856 Governor Grimes, himself a New Englander, urged public provision for libraries in country and town. But nothing came of it. Our people did not become aroused to the importance of libraries until late in the nineties, and then you know it was probably the munificence of the Ironmaster of Pittsburg, and the conditions of his gifts that stirred our people into active promotion of libraries.

Take the long struggle of the friends of the State University before they got that institution of learning on a firm foundation. It was not until after 1880 that the vigorous opposition to its enlargement and expansion ceased. From the fifties right on to the eighties the advocates of university education found it hard to overcome, not only active opposition, but the inertia and indifference of legislators and public towards public expenditures for education. This same characteristic was observable in many other directions. We have made marked progress in Iowa to be sure. But it has been hard sledding, I can tell you. I don't understand the reasons for such an attitude of constant hostility and bushwhacking opposition to forward movements that prevailed so generally in Iowa before 1880. It was hardly in harmony with the known liberalism of New Englanders.

This attitude towards "forward" movements in Iowa, this "unprogressiveness" many would not regard in such an adverse fashion. In their estimation it represents not indifference to the finer arts and culture of civilization but rather a strenuous individualism, a sturdy independence and self-dependence instead of an inclination to resort constantly to the agencies of government. New Englanders from the very beginning of their colonial history have been much given to socialism. They turn naturally to the state and communal authorities to secure civic or social improvements and popular culture. The people of Iowa, on the contrary, have certainly been normally inclined to improve things chiefly via the individualistic route. They have been, and now are, instinctively opposed to the enlargement of governmental power that entails increased taxation and greater interference with what the people are prone to regard as the peculiar domain of personal freedom and selection.

All of a piece with the traits just referred to is the "placidity" of so much of our life. One often hears the comment that there is little that is interesting or picturesque either in our history or in the character of the population. We are pronounced "prosaic." There is much that is old-fashioned, out of date; but it is not quaint or romantic. Travellers have noted that while there is much of commendable success and wealth throughout the commonwealth there is a monotony in the local life, a lack of ambition, and instead contentment with things as they are. Land and lots, corn and cattle, "hog and hominy," these things, we are told constitute our *summum bonum*.¹ The hasty and promiscuous observations of travellers, who sojourn briefly among us, are not always to be accepted without salt. Yet the fact is obvious that there is in the Iowan's character and in his life a noticeable trait that we may designate Languor, a certain inclination to take things easy, not to worry or to fuss even if things do not satisfy. We may observe it in commercial and mercantile pursuits, in city and town governments, in rural and urban life. This is clearly not a characteristic of the New Englander. The Yankee, whether found in Maine, or Connecticut, or New York, is alert, aggressive, eager in the furtherance of any business or culture in which he is interested. In all matters of public concern, especially if they comprehend considerations involving right and wrong, the New Englander is ardent, disputatious, relentless. He agitates, educates and preaches reformation. But this is not the characteristic disposition of the Iowan.

[To be concluded.]

¹See Rollin Lynde Hartt on The Iowans, in the Atlantic Monthly, vol. 86, pp. 186, et seq.

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE SENECA.

BY CHARLES ALDRICH.

Our family lived for several years on a small farm in the woods, two miles below the little lumber hamlet of Coldspring, Cattaraugus county, N. Y. This farm was bounded on the east by the west line of the Seneca Indian reservation, and was a half mile from the Alleghany river.

We used to see many of the Seneca Indians in those days. Then they had not become demoralized by whiskey as they were subsequently. The noted chief Cornplanter or Gi-ent-wau-kie lived some fifteen miles south of us, on a small reservation, which I believe was ceded to him by the state of Pennsylvania, in which it was situated. He was an able man and was reputed to be a half-breed. The Indian "State Papers," published by the general government, contain several letters and other papers attributed to him, which must have been dictated to an interpreter, for I believe he could not speak our language. He had been one of the distinguished Indian chiefs during the border wars of the Revolution. His papers show that he was a man of great native ability. He was famous throughout the region occupied by the Iroquois or Six Nations. During the long reign of peace after the Indian border wars in New York and Pennsylvania had ceased, Cornplanter was highly respected by the white people. My father knew him and attended the old chief's funeral when he died in 1836. Two of his sons with whom I became acquainted survived him. They were respectively named Charles and William O'Bail—a name which had possibly come to them from their father's relationship to the whites. William was a handsome Indian. He had a most kindly face and was genial, fair and agreeable in his intercourse with any white man whom he was sure he could trust. Old Charles O'Bail was reticent and reserved with the whites, and I could not arrive at any friendly understanding with him in later years when I had grown to manhood. William O'Bail had come into possession of the letters and papers left by his father. I was then, as later, an autograph collector, and I naturally coveted the rare treasures which he was under-

stood to possess. I called at his house one day, with a white man named Philip Tome, who could speak the Seneca language like a native redskin. He told William of my desire to see his papers and finally the old Indian climbed a ladder in the corner of the room and soon returned with a single document. This was a long letter on parchment, bearing the seal of the United States, and signed by George Washington. It was also attested by Thomas Jefferson. It was addressed to the Chiefs Cornplanter, Halftown and Great Tree. He also had copies of several treaties with the Indians. These had been written on foolscap paper and pasted upon long strips of coarse linen cloth. The deed, signed by Gov. Thomas Mifflin, for the little reservation of one or two square miles of land, had been duly recorded at the county seat—Warren, Pa.,—so that the title was secure. But could I obtain a single one of those precious documents? By no means, whatever. Philip Tome, who had been my schoolmate and was my friend, used all his skill in an effort to secure the document first named, but could accomplish nothing. We came away with the idea that William feared that the title to their homes depended upon his keeping those papers, and keep them he did.

I remember many other prominent Indians of this tribe who lived within four or five miles of my father's house. There were Gebuck, Little Philip, John Titus, Dan Kilbuck, King Pierce, Governor Blacksnake, Tandy Gimerson, Old Buck Tooth, Jim Buck Tooth, Little Jim Buck Tooth, John Shambo, Peter Crause, Old Johnnie Watts, Old Thief Thompson, and many others. Governor Blacksnake was a splendid looking Indian. At the time I first knew him he must have been over ninety years of age. He wore a long blue overcoat, which came nearly to the ground, which was studded with small smooth brass buttons in the old-fashioned style of that day. I once heard him make an address in the Indian language upon the occasion of a funeral. Old Johnnie Watts had two boys. We called one of them Little Johnnie and the other was known as Chase Watts. Johnnie was amiable and kind, and was about the only playmate my little brother and I had for some years. He finally fell a victim of consumption,

which was rife among the Indians. I used to go down to the wigwam and carry something from mother's table for him to eat, but the end finally came. One day as I approached the shanty, I heard the aged mother weeping bitterly, and talking very loudly. The only door to the building was a blanket which hung across the open space. I pushed this aside, and saw the mother sitting at the head of the bed, plunged in the deepest grief. Johnnie was still alive, but he only breathed a few times after I reached the spot. During the time he was dying the mother talked to him incessantly in their own language. This was the first person I ever saw breathe his last, and it made an impression upon me which I have never forgotten. Just outside the door the old Indian sat on a block of wood, making a bow and arrows. He had reached that stage in the manufacture when he was scraping the bow and arrows with a piece of glass. As I came in he gave me no recognition whatever, but kept scraping away upon the hickory wood.

The funeral occurred two or three days later. From thirty to fifty Indians and whites had gathered at the burial place. This was in the deep wood where the timber was tall and the shade dense. A grave was dug after the manner of white people, and the coffin was brought forward and lowered with ropes. Just at this juncture Old Johnnie Watts stepped forward and dropped the bows and arrows I had seen him making by the side of the coffin. It was stated that there was not room inside for these implements, and so they were placed by the side of the coffin. Old Governor Blacksnake then stepped forward and stood upon the mound of earth by the side of the grave, from which he addressed the people present in the Indian language. He was a most striking figure, tall and erect, with hair of snowy whiteness, wearing the blue overcoat. He probably spoke half an hour. None of our people could understand a word he said, but others told us afterwards that it was a talk such as a white man might have made upon a similar occasion. He recognized the fact that the dead boy had been a good one, and that he was loved by all. He urged the people to live correct lives, so that they might be fortunate enough to go to the Happy Hunting Grounds after death. At the conclusion of his address the grave was filled up and the

people scattered to their homes. We understood that the family built a fire at the head of the grave every night for perhaps a week, the purpose of which was to light the spirit of the dead boy on the way to the Happy Hunting Grounds.

Old Governor Blacksnake lived until it was the general belief that he had attained the age of 115 or possibly 120 years. He wore a silver medal which he said had been given to him by General Washington. On one side was a representation of a room in a cabin, with a blazing fire on the hearth, a spinning wheel, and a babe in a cradle. On the other side were simply the words "Second Presidency of George Washington." He also had a pass or safe conduct which had been written by the hand of General Dearborn, Washington's Secretary of War. This safe conduct instructed the white people to allow the old man to pass freely on his way homeward, and to render him any assistance which he might need. I saw this pass some years afterwards and the old chief had kept it in a good state of preservation. At the time of his death, along in the later sixties, he was head chief of the Six Nations, quite a distinction for an aged Indian.

Another Indian I remember very well was Ed Purse. I have always thought that he was possibly a half-breed, for he seemed to have acquired a fairly good education. He was a musical genius, playing the guitar and several other instruments. One spring my father took a great raft of lumber from near the line between Pennsylvania and New York on the Alleghany river, down the Alleghany and the Ohio, to Lawrenceburg, Indiana, where he sold it. He employed Ed Purse to pilot the raft on the Ohio river. We landed every night on the Alleghany, but when we reached the Ohio, the old pilot left us, and Ed Purse took his place. We then ran night and day until we reached Cincinnati. After lying there two or three days we then went on to Lawrenceburg. Ed Purse was a man of marvelous strength, something over six feet high, well proportioned and quite handsome. When we went under the suspension bridge at Wheeling, Va., which had been erected only a few months before, there was a bright full moon, which lighted up the shores and the stream so that there was no difficulty in making out the channel. As we passed

under the bridge, Ed Purse was walking backward and forward on the raft with his guitar swung over his shoulder, singing songs and playing various pieces of music. He had composed one piece of music himself, which he called Ed Purse's Quickstep. This had been published with an illuminated cover and was quite an achievement for an Indian. When we arrived in Cincinnati we landed by the side of a clay bank which must have been twenty feet high, sloping gradually to the river. In order to bring the raft to a stop the cable had to be wrapped around one of the trees on this high bank. I remember that Ed took the coil of cable, which must have weighed more than a hundred pounds, and climbed up this steep, slippery bank as nimbly as a squirrel. Quicker than one could tell it, he had the cable around one of the big trees, and the raft stopped. This was his last work as our pilot. My father paid him off, and he departed for the north.

FOR HUMBOLDT COUNTY.—Quite a number of emigrants, on their way to Humboldt County, have passed through town during the past week. No county in the state offers greater inducements to settlers than Humboldt, and we are glad to see that they are beginning to be appreciated.—*Ft. Dodge Republican*, May 20, 1863.

SIoux CITY JOURNAL.—This is the title of a new Administration paper, recently established at Sioux City. It is well edited, and is a model in its mechanical appearance. It gives a creditable attention to home interests which should entitle it to the liberal patronage of our neighbors on the slope. Success to the enterprise.—*Ft. Dodge Republican*, July 8, 1863.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES.

Every General Assembly makes more or less history; but the Thirty-first General Assembly has passed an act which is unique in that it *makes for history*. By the passage of "An act providing for the care and permanent preservation of the public archives," the first step has been taken in devising a plan for the better care and preservation of the public archives of the State. The significance of the act lies in the public recognition which it gives to the importance and value of the source materials of Iowa history.

The act as approved by the Governor provides that the Historical Department shall be given the custody of "all the original public documents, papers, letters, records, and other official manuscripts, of the state executive and administrative departments, offices or officers, councils, boards, bureaus, and commissions, ten years after the date of current use of such public documents, papers, letters, records or other official manuscripts. Provided, that the Executive Council shall have the power and authority to order the transfer of such records or any part thereof at any time prior to the expiration of the limit of ten years hereinbefore provided or to retain the same in the respective offices beyond such limit according as in the judgment of the Council the public interest or convenience may require."

The second section of the act authorizes and directs that the archives be transferred and delivered to the Historical Department except such as in the judgment of the Executive Council should be longer retained in the respective offices. Section three authorizes and directs the Historical Department to receive the public archives and properly arrange, label, file, and calendar the same.

Section four of the act authorizes and directs the Executive

Council to "provide, furnish, and equip such room or rooms in the Historical, Memorial and Art Building as may be deemed necessary" for the accommodation of the public archives; and "the room or rooms thus provided for shall be known as the Hall of Public Archives."

It is not so very difficult to interest men in museums and art galleries or even in books of history; but it is an almost hopeless task to arouse their enthusiasm over dry, dusty documents. And yet persistent effort and agitation on the part of the Historical Department has finally resulted in the passage of a law which provides for the establishment of a Hall of Archives in the new Historical, Memorial and Art Building which is now near completion. The establishment of the Hall of Archives will be recorded among the great achievements of the Historical Department. It will not only afford a suitable, secure, and permanent home for the public archives of the State, but it will make the archives accessible to students of Iowa history. This recognition of the value of the documentary materials of Iowa history and the establishment of the Hall of Archives may justly be regarded as the crowning accomplishment of the Historical Department. B. F. S.

INCREASING INTEREST IN LOCAL HISTORY.

There are many signs that local interest in local history, in the origins of local customs and institutions in our cities, towns and counties has increased with notable acceleration in recent years.

This is most gratifying to those who have so long urged the importance of preserving and studying the records of the life and deeds of the State's pioneers. Various causes have, of course, united to bring about the beginnings of this long-hoped-for consummation. Some of the causes are to be found in the evolution of social conditions that of necessity generate an interest in and demand for historical lore and records of the past. Another set of potent causes is to be discovered in the development of consciousness of kind. Other causes are

to be found in the direct efforts of historical students and organizations to arouse such public interest in local history and the methods of its making and its meaning. Some of these causes are worth brief consideration.

In the first place, Iowa has really become one of the old states of the Union. Her history, since the first formal settlement on the eastern border, covers the space of man's three-score years and ten. Her children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren have gone in countless numbers west and north and south, making potent elements in the populations of many new states. By their departure, our old-time residents have been forced to realize their own age and the growing age of the State. For two to three decades our early settlers have fondly dwelt in the happy and careless realms of reminiscence. Out of their reveries and recollections came the promptings that have resulted in the establishment and maintenance in nearly all counties of the State of "Old Settlers' Associations," with their periodic banquets, picnics and reunions. The camaraderie of such gatherings make them cherished and delightful events in the life of all communities convened. The days and happenings of pioneer life, their joys and sorrows, their customs and institutions, are regularly recalled and described. Formal addresses, letters, reports, resolutions, stories galore, exhibit the men and measures and things of days long since gone. Much of all this wealth of historic lore is preserved in the records of their proceedings in minutes and in the local press.

The second great cause has probably been the growth of what we may call business and social solidarity, namely, the development of a consciousness of community of class interests among many social groups. This fact in many lines of commerce and industry, and in philanthropic effort, has powerfully affected the growth of local and state organizations that have increased local interest in local and state history, and that afford great centers for the ingathering and preservation of historical data. The mere mention of the more noteworthy will suffice. There are the scores, indeed hundreds, of agricultural institutes and societies, the commercial clubs, and mercantile leagues and organizations. Equally numerous are

the church and religious associations and conferences, the secret lodges and orders and societies, with their local and state meetings and organizations. We have our bankers, dentists, druggists, court officers, lawyers and medical practitioners, with like organizations. There is the Park and Forestry Association, the League of Iowa Municipalities, the State Conference of Charities and Corrections, the State and local Academies of Science, and the State Teachers' Association. All of these organizations have their regular programs wherein local history is gathered together and studied. Many of them have halls and libraries that serve as repositories for their archives and precious records, and not a few publish their proceedings. All this reacts with great effect in developing local interest in local affairs and institutions past and present.

A third cause, unquestionably, has been the rapid increase of city and town libraries in the last fifteen years. The institution of a library in a community *ipso facto* stimulates interest in history. It is a store house for the preservation of the records of past time. The contents of its shelves compel men and women sooner or later to give heed to the history that is in the making round about them, and to gather into its garner the records that will enable them and their children to learn the lessons of their home and neighborhood customs and institutions.

The fourth great cause of the increased public interest in local history has doubtless been the work of our teachers of history, economics, political science and sociology, in our colleges and universities. During the past twenty years they have been directing the attention of hundreds of young men and women to the customs and institutions of the State. Especially of late they have been exacting detailed investigation into origins and development of township, city and county governments, and social life, with a view to the light which their results may throw upon the influences determining the evolution of our State government, laws and institutions. These young men and women have returned to the cities and towns as farmers, lawyers, merchants and school teachers. They have communicated the benefits of their class-room studies in local history to the residents of the communities

wherein they find themselves. They have no doubt been among the prime movers and most energetic workers in the investigation of local historical societies and study clubs.

The fifth cause that has been both coincident with and antecedent to those just given has been the publication of *THE ANNALS OF IOWA*, beginning with the first series in 1863, and continuing with some intermissions from that year down to the present; the issue of *The Iowa Historical Record* from 1885 to 1902, and of its successor, *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*. Organically connected with these publications have been the State Historical Society, at Iowa City, and the Historical Department, housed first in the capitol, and now in the Historical Building in Des Moines. These agencies have for many years been working to arouse just such local interest, and we may certainly say without presumption that they have been potent factors in producing the growth of local concern in communal history.

A PIONEER'S REMINISCENCES.

If one thing more than another has justified the career of *THE ANNALS OF IOWA* it has been the publication of journals, letters and memoirs of pioneers of Iowa. This fact is constantly impressed upon the mind of even the casual reader of the studies of our scholarly historians. The pages of *THE ANNALS*, 1st, 2d and 3d series, and *The Iowa Historical Record*, are replete with accounts of the early days of the State. They contain contemporary narratives by those who took part in the formation of the State, who controlled often the determination of the lines of public discussion, and the decisions of public authorities. They afford us much of the original material from which alone the historian to-day and in days to come can accurately reproduce the life of the past.

We are prompted to make these observations by the completion of a series of interesting and valuable sketches of pioneer life and times that have been contributed to *THE ANNALS* by Mr. George C. Duffield of Keosauqua. Mr. Duffield was born in Jefferson county, Ohio, May 13, 1824. In

1835 his father brought his family into Illinois, but continued in search of a permanent home until he selected a spot west of the Des Moines river in what is now Iowa, and above the site the next year selected for Keosauqua. Subsequent surveys embraced the claim in Section 21, Township 69 north, Range 10 west. On April 4th, 1837, the family was brought here, where the elder Duffields maintained their homestead the remainder of their lives, as it remains that of their son James. It continued the home of the author of these sketches until he acquired land in the adjoining section (22). Here he erected one of the brick residences characteristic of the Lower Des Moines, "in the slack-water navigation days" of the fifties. "Linwood Farm," named by his wife, now deceased, overlooking the river at one of its most picturesque points, has been Mr. Duffield's home for fifty-five years.

In 1902 it was the privilege of the editor to spend a few days at his home. His reminiscences of his boyhood days in the old territory of Iowa were so vivacious and illuminating that their preservation was urged upon him. He was made to realize that he owed it to his father and his associates to place in a permanent record his memories of their deeds and experiences. After much urging Mr. Duffield at last consented to put in narrative form his recollections. Assisted by his son-in-law, Mr. Edgar R. Harlan, an attorney of Keosauqua, who made a number of interesting photographs of scenes described, and acted as amanuensis in the preparation of the manuscript for press, the following sketches were published in THE ANNALS under the titles: "Coming into Iowa in 1837" (Vol. VI, p. 1), "An Iowa Settler's Homestead" (Vol. VI, p. 206), "Frontier Church Going—1837" (Vol. VI, p. 266), "Frontier Mills" (Vol. VI, p. 425), "Youthtime in Frontier Iowa" (Vol. VII, p. 347).

The articles are to be reproduced, together with the illustrations, in book form, under the title, "Memories of Frontier Iowa." The little volume will present not only attractive but valuable pictures of the daily life, social customs and habits of the pioneers of the thirties and the forties, and we take pleasure in commending it to those interested in the actual life of frontiersmen sixty and seventy years ago.

OUR DEBT TO A VETERAN COLLECTOR.

Among the first and steadfast friends of the Historical Department has been the veteran collector of Keokuk, Dr. J. M. Shaffer. From time to time in years past we have received from him shipments of sundry sorts and descriptions, consisting not only of documentary and literary materials of history, but of curios and specimens of industrial, military and natural history. Among these valuable contributions to our collections, Dr. Shaffer has given us old almanacs, army accoutrements, army regulations, old business forms, city directories and city ordinances, college catalogues, letters, maps, files of scientific and technical magazines, newspapers, scientific publications relating to astronomy, geology, mathematics, meteorology, and ornithology, old photographs of men and places, programs of conferences, entertainments, and all kinds of gatherings and meetings in the early and later history of the State. Among his gifts are to be mentioned a considerable body of material relating to the Iowa Life Insurance Company, of Keokuk, of which Dr. Shaffer was for many years president, consisting of correspondence, forms of application and policy, and methods of procedure. He has also presented not a little data in the way of accounts and reports of the Mississippi River Improvement schemes, the history of the Des Moines River Valley Railroad, and papers and correspondence relative to the Centennial Exposition. Much, if not most, of the materials contributed by Dr. Shaffer is of a character but little appreciated by the average person, but which, when brought together in such collections as are now forming in the Historical Department, catalogued and classified and made available, becomes of the highest order of importance to historical students.

NOTE. The insertion of the small map of Iowa prepared for the recent State census in our January number, showing early accessions of territory from the Indians, brought some criticisms of the map from early settlers in the State and others. An examination of the earlier surveys, and also of early maps of Wisconsin and Iowa Territories prepared by

Deputy United States Surveyors from 1836 to 1845, shows that some errors have crept into the recent map, and that some of the criticisms are justified. The map was drawn from blue prints furnished from the office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. In a later number we hope to give the exact or proximate boundaries of the various cessions of territory within the State, for the purpose of opening them to settlement, based on the field notes of the original surveys made under instructions from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Early Settlement and Growth of Western Iowa, or Reminiscences, by Rev. John Todd of Tabor, Iowa. Des Moines, The Historical Department of Iowa, 1906, pp. 203.

The author of this interesting and valuable contribution to Iowa history was of Scotch-Irish stock, and brought into his life-work the sturdy elements which equally with the principles of the Puritans, of the Huguenots, and the Quakers, have made America the homeland of Liberty and of an advancing civilization. He landed upon the rich lands of the Missouri Bottom at Civil Bend, in October, 1848, moved to the high lands near Tabor in April, 1852, and for forty-five years was a leader in transforming what had recently been an Indian wilderness into the cultivated fields and comfortable homes and pleasant cities and villages of American people. He threw his whole ardent nature and all the vigor of his quick and enlightened mind into the advancement of morality and religion, of industry and enterprise, with an unbounded zeal for temperance and human freedom, and for the establishment of schools and churches and Tabor College. Educated at Oberlin, Ohio, and thoroughly imbued with its spirit of sacrifice and self-denial, he was always looking forward and moving onward for the improvement of human life both in the individual man and in the social order of the world. In missionary work an independent, making the essentials of religion his supreme concern, he affiliated with preachers of other denominations, and labored harmoniously with the Rev. William Simpson, the first Methodist, and the Rev. Launcelot Graham Bell, the first Presbyterian minister, on the Missouri slope.

In 1854, the repeal of the compromise of 1820, that admitted Missouri into the Union as a slave state and prohibited slavery west of it, proved a prelude to the civil war of 1861-'5. The repeal broke up the old Whig and Democratic parties, and led to the election of James W. Grimes as Governor of Iowa. He had canvassed the State in opposition to the repeal, and was elected on that issue. Upon learning that citizens of Iowa who had moved to Kansas were being spoiled and robbed by the minions of slavery, and that neither the authorities of the Territory nor of the Federal Government would give them the protection of law, Governor Grimes, August, 1856, wrote President Buchanan a letter of remonstrance, in which he stated that it would be the right and duty of the State of Iowa to protect her former citizens in Kansas, if the National Government failed to perform that duty. The Governor expressed

the same opinion in his message to the Legislature of Iowa, Dec. 1, 1856. The people of the State concurred in that opinion, and sent contributions for the relief and protection of those suffering in Kansas. Similar sympathy was felt throughout the North for the Free State settlers in Kansas, and companies of men went forward to join them. The Slave Power, however, had blocked the ordinary roads to Kansas through Missouri and up the Missouri river against Free State men, and there was no way for them to reach Kansas but through Iowa. In this emergency, Tabor as the nearest point to Kansas, in Iowa, where there was a strong body of friendly people, became a rendezvous for those on their way thither. Here John Brown found shelter and assistance from time to time, and his arms and stores were securely housed. Here came General James H. Lane and Samuel C. Pomeroy, afterwards U. S. Senators from Kansas, Dr. Samuel G. Howe (his wife the author of the finest lyric of the civil war), of Boston, Thaddeus Hyatt of New York, Thomas W. Higginson, and agents of various Kansas Aid Societies. Persons were passing through Tabor almost daily, alone or in companies. The lathstrings were always out, and much of the time houses and granaries and hay-mows were occupied. Provisions were free and plenty and without price. Arms and ammunition were stowed in barns, corner-ribs, and cellars. John Todd had one brass cannon in his hay-mow, another on wheels in his wagon-shed, and boxes of clothing, ammunition, muskets, sabres, and twenty boxes of Sharpe's rifles in his cellar one winter. Later, when John Brown began to "carry the war into Africa," bringing off slaves from Missouri, killing their masters in the contest, the citizens of Tabor at a public meeting, to which John Brown came, Feb. 7, 1859, resolved "That while we sympathize with the oppressed, and will do all that we conscientiously can to help them in their efforts for freedom, nevertheless we have no sympathy with those who go to slave states to entice away slaves and take property or life when necessary to attain that end." John Brown left the meeting grieved and indignant before this resolution was adopted. He hastened off with the eleven slaves he had captured to Grinnell and Springdale, where he had a cordial reception. Furnished with supplies of food and clothing, and with railroad transportation, he saw them on the twelfth of March upon the ferry across the Detroit river for Canada. He was again at Tabor on a flying trip less than two months before his mad and fatal foray at Harper's Ferry. He said on leaving the same Sabbath day, "Enough said about 'bleeding Kansas;' I intend to make a bloody spot at another point; I don't say where, but you'll hear from me." To John Todd in after years this daring deed seemed "one link in the long chain of events which hastened the overthrow of legalized American slavery." In 1864, he was chaplain of the Forty-sixth Iowa Infantry, and served in western Tennessee.

In addition to a plain, unvarnished tale of these things, the volume has thrilling narratives of the author's pioneer life, his missionary travels, adventures as a conductor on the "Underground Railroad," etc. It is prefaced by a sketch of his life by his son, Prof. J. E. Todd, of Vermilion, South Dakota. Printed by the Republican Printing Company of Cedar Rapids, it is in evidence that in the art of book-making Iowa can produce work equal in style and finish to that of the best publishers in the United States.

The author, p. 184, represents the Iowa tribe of Indians as having come with the Sacs and Foxes into Iowa. The truth is that they were here much earlier. They were of Dakota stock, and had villages on the river that bears their name, before the Sacs and Foxes came over from the Lakes and Green Bay to the Mississippi. On p. 194, the date 1824 should be 1804.

NOTABLE DEATHS.

COLONEL HENDERSON.

An English poet has well said that "each man's born for the high business of the public good." While in a general sense the saying is strictly true, it is none the less true that some few men, "sun-crowned," are set apart for the responsibilities and the glory of leadership. Men turned instinctively to David Bremner Henderson, not simply for advice and counsel, but for actual leadership. We who knew him well could not think of him as bringing up the rear—in battle, in politics, or in statesmanship. Men everywhere recognize the man inspired to lead.

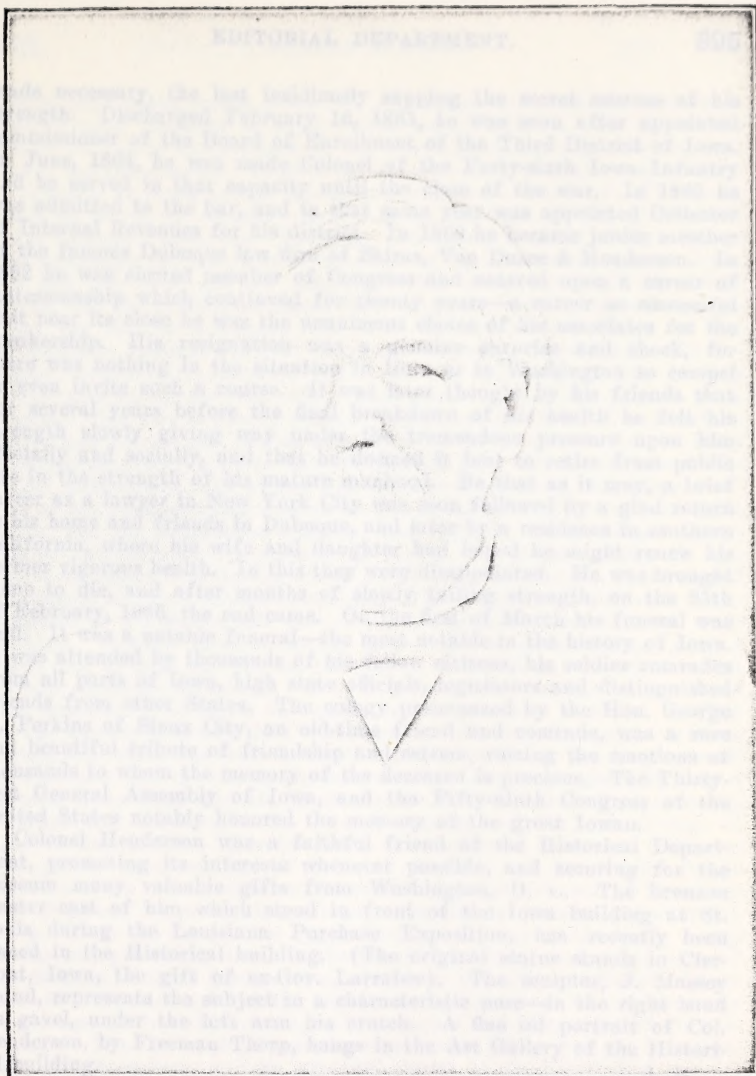
It was a long, hard climb from the poor farmer boy's first place in the studies and sports of a country school in Iowa in '47 to a standing among the foremost in Upper Iowa University in '61; later, to the first lieutenantancy of Company C, Twelfth Iowa Infantry; to the front rank at Donelson; to the front rank at Corinth—where he received the wound which made him a life-long martyr to duty; to a commissionership on the Board of Enrollment; to the colonelcy of the Forty-sixth Iowa Infantry; to leadership at the bar in Dubuque; to the Revenue Collectors'hip of his district; to a seat in Congress; to acknowledged leadership during twenty years of service in the House, and finally to the highest position which any man of foreign birth can attain in his adopted country—the Speakership of the House,—attaining that position by the unanimous votes of his political associates.

Hard and long as was the climb, this man of men made the ascent bravely, cheerfully—never a step of the way by intrigue or indirection, ever with full and generous acknowledgment of others' right of way.

Though his splendid military career nearly cost him his life and compelled him to pursue the rest of his way upward with halting and oftentimes painful step, he never lost his courage and heart of hope. After every new calamity this hero with a song in his heart and words of courage on his lips went bravely forward, splendidly exemplifying those inspired last words of Browning:

"One who never turned his back but marched breast forward,
Never doubted clouds would break,
Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph,
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
Sleep to wake."

The milestones in the career of David B. Henderson are these: Born in Old Deer, Aberdeenshire, Scotland, March 14, 1840, he came with his parents to Winnebago county, Illinois, in 1846 and, to his home on a farm in Fayette county, Iowa, in 1849. He sturdily worked on his father's farm in summer and studiously applied himself to his tasks in the district school in winter, meantime leading his fellows in their sports and the head and front of all social activities. The crucial year 1861 found him a student in Upper Iowa University. When the call came which meant sacrifice of cherished aims and possibly death in defense of the Union, it needed no prophet to tell how the sturdy young Scotch-American would meet it. He signed the first enlistment roll he saw, and inspired many another to sign it. Chosen first lieutenant of Company C, Twelfth Iowa Infantry, he eagerly went to the front and zealously fitted himself for leadership. Though wounded at Donelson, he was undaunted, and at Corinth he was wounded again, this time so seriously as to compel the amputation of a leg. Other amputations were long afterwards



Sincerely Yours
D. H. Burton

Sincerely yours
D. H. Hudson

made necessary, the last insidiously sapping the secret sources of his strength. Discharged February 16, 1863, he was soon after appointed commissioner of the Board of Enrollment of the Third District of Iowa. In June, 1864, he was made Colonel of the Forty-sixth Iowa Infantry and he served in that capacity until the close of the war. In 1865 he was admitted to the bar, and in that same year was appointed Collector of Internal Revenues for his district. In 1869 he became junior member of the famous Dubuque law firm of Shiras, Van Duzee & Henderson. In 1882 he was elected member of Congress and entered upon a career of statesmanship which continued for twenty years—a career so successful that near its close he was the unanimous choice of his associates for the speakership. His resignation was a genuine surprise and shock, for there was nothing in the situation in Iowa or in Washington to compel or even invite such a course. It was later thought by his friends that for several years before the final breakdown of his health he felt his strength slowly giving way under the tremendous pressure upon him officially and socially, and that he deemed it best to retire from public life in the strength of his mature manhood. Be that as it may, a brief career as a lawyer in New York City was soon followed by a glad return to his home and friends in Dubuque, and later by a residence in southern California, where his wife and daughter had hoped he might renew his former vigorous health. In this they were disappointed. He was brought home to die, and after months of slowly failing strength, on the 25th of February, 1906, the end came. On the first of March his funeral was held. It was a notable funeral—the most notable in the history of Iowa. It was attended by thousands of his fellow citizens, his soldier comrades from all parts of Iowa, high state officials, legislators and distinguished friends from other States. The eulogy pronounced by the Hon. George D. Perkins of Sioux City, an old-time friend and comrade, was a rare and beautiful tribute of friendship and esteem, voicing the emotions of thousands to whom the memory of the deceased is precious. The Thirty-first General Assembly of Iowa, and the Fifty-ninth Congress of the United States notably honored the memory of the great Iowan.

Colonel Henderson was a faithful friend of the Historical Department, promoting its interests whenever possible, and securing for the museum many valuable gifts from Washington, D. C. The bronzed plaster cast of him which stood in front of the Iowa building at St. Louis during the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, has recently been placed in the Historical building. (The original statue stands in Clermont, Iowa, the gift of ex-Gov. Larrabee). The sculptor, J. Massey Rhind, represents the subject in a characteristic pose—in the right hand his gavel, under the left arm his crutch. A fine oil portrait of Col. Henderson, by Freeman Thorp, hangs in the Art Gallery of the Historical building.

J. B.

LA VEGA G. KINNE was born near Syracuse, N. Y., November 5, 1846; he died in Des Moines, Iowa, March 16, 1906. He attended the common and high schools of Syracuse. He entered the University of Michigan and pursued studies in both the law and literary departments, graduating from the law department in 1868. In the same year he was admitted to the bar in Ottawa, Ill., and began to practice in Mendota, where he resided until September, 1869, when he removed to Toledo, Iowa. He soon formed a partnership with Mr. D. D. Appelgate, that continued, until 1876. Later a partnership was formed with Hon. G. R. Struble and Mr. H. J. Stiger, that continued until 1876, when Judge Kinne was elected to the District bench. Judge Kinne was a man of great industry,

strong convictions, great power of expression, and speedily became a man of note, not only in legal circles, but in politics. He served the people of Toledo as president of the school board, as city solicitor, and mayor for three terms. In 1876 he was sent as a delegate, and in 1884 as delegate at large, to the Democratic National Convention. For many years he served as secretary and later as chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee. In 1881, and again in 1883, Judge Kinne was nominated for the office of Governor by the Democratic party. Iowa has had few more spirited campaigns than those conducted by Judge Kinne, but the traditional Republican majorities of the State were too great for him to overcome. In 1886 he was elected Judge of the Seventeenth Judicial District that was normally Republican. He resigned, however, in January, 1887. At the following election he was again nominated for the office and again elected to fill his own vacancy. He was re-elected without opposition in 1890. His career as Judge was notable and he was nominated by the Democrats for the office of Supreme Judge in 1891. His old district gave him one thousand majority, although in 1886 he had won by only seven votes. On the expiration of his term as Chief Justice he was renominated by the Democratic party, but his Republican opponent was elected. Judge Kinne immediately entered upon the practice of law in Des Moines, where he continued to reside until the day of his death. On the creation of the Board of Control of State Institutions, Judge Kinne was appointed as a representative of the Democratic party. He was appointed for a second term in 1904. Besides these numerous public offices, Judge Kinne gave a great deal of time and earnest thought to various lines of work in which he was especially interested. He was a prominent member of the State Bar Association, of which he was the second president in 1896. In 1894 he was appointed one of the Commissioners from this State upon uniform legislation, which has done so much valuable service in the improvement of statutory law in various commonwealths. For many years he was a lecturer upon legal subjects, especially the law of corporations, domestic relations and taxation, in the State University and the Iowa College of Law in Des Moines. Besides being the author of numerous addresses and papers upon subjects of law and charities and corrections, Judge Kinne was the author of the well known and serviceable text, "Pleadings and Practice," a work that relates especially to judicial procedure in Iowa. From the time of his appointment to the day of his death, Judge Kinne had practically the sole charge of the editing and publication of the Bulletin of State Institutions, a quarterly issued by the Board of Control, in which are printed the reports and proceedings of the quarterly conference of Superintendents, and the papers and discussions of the conference. The last work of note done by Judge Kinne was the investigation of tuberculosis, and his extended report to the Thirty-first General Assembly. In his public life Judge Kinne did not seek office. He preferred the practice of the law. But his abilities and his character were such that he commanded positions. His associates and his fellow citizens in communities where he lived instinctively turned to him when strong men were needed and high class service was desired, and practically drafted him into the public service.

HENRY KINGMAN EDSON, born Oct. 5, 1822, in Hadley, Mass., died March 13, 1906, in Grinnell, Iowa, was an Iowa pioneer and veteran in the profession of teaching, serving earlier and longer and more continuously in that profession than any other member of it in the State. A graduate of Amherst College, 1844, he was principal of Hopkins Academy, Mass., five years, studied theology with John Woodbridge, D. D., and

at Andover, Mass., and East Windsor, Conn., and upon the solicitation of the Rev. Asa Turner, pastor of Denmark, Iowa, became principal of the Academy which the founders of that village had established, and continued there twenty-seven years, 1852-1879. That was the period of his most arduous and laborious service. The Trustees of the Academy placed the whole management in his hands. Such was his zeal and devotion that students were attracted from near and far. During one year there were 278 pupils, and sixteen different states and territories were represented. He fitted students for college. Among his pupils who have come to distinction in public life were Charles K. Adams, President of Cornell University, N. Y., 1885, and later of Wisconsin State University; Thomas Hedge, M. C. First District of Iowa; Eugene F. Ware, Commissioner Pension Bureau; Thomas C. McClelland, President of Knox College, Ill.; Henry C. Adams, professor in State University of Michigan; O. F. Emerson, professor in Adelbert College, Ohio; Frank Leverett, of the U. S. Geological Survey. Of a firm and resolute nature, Mr. Edson united grace and dignity in his character. Regular in his personal habits, and prompt in the duty each occasion required, his pupils saw the reasonableness of order as Heaven's first law, and he won them to system and method in study and in the conduct of life. A skillful instructor in the preparatory studies, in the languages, in science, and in general literature, he was at his best in unfolding before advanced pupils the divine lessons of Paley's Natural Theology and Butler's Analogy,—books which to the end of life he placed above the dismal volumes of Huxley and Herbert Spencer. He was an early member of the Iowa State Teachers' Association, and President in 1864 at its meeting in Dubuque. He enjoyed a year's travels in Europe, and had especial satisfaction in a winter's residence in Switzerland. In the fall of 1879 he became professor of Pedagogy in Iowa College, and for twelve years advocated improved methods of education in the schools, and high ideals for teachers in their work. He married (1) Mrs. Celestia Kirk Maynard, Aug. 20, 1852, widow of Rev. E. Maynard, missionary of the A. B. C. F. M. at Salonica, Turkey; she was a graduate of Mt. Holyoke, 1845, richly endowed with divine gifts, of a kindred spirit with Mr. Edson, having the same grace and dignity of character, making his home radiant, and rendering great assistance in many departments of instruction. She died at Grinnell, Jan. 16, 1889. (2) Miss Lizzie Scammons, of Portland, Maine, March 20, 1890, with whom in their home at Grinnell the evening time of life was cheerful and serene, until the eternal morning dawned, having been active as usual the day before, and having retired to rest at his usual hour. The widow and their only son remain in the old home at Grinnell. At the funeral, his venerable co-laborer in Iowa educational work, Prof. L. F. Parker, and two of his pupils in Denmark Academy, Dr. McClelland and Asa Turner, farmer, of Maxwell, Iowa, joined with the president and professors of Iowa College, and Dr. Vittum, pastor of the church, in tributes of respect and honor for his high character and long and useful life.

W. S.

WILLIAM J. HADDOCK was born near Belfast, Ireland, Feb. 28, 1832; he died in Iowa City, Iowa, Feb. 28, 1906. He came with his parents to America in 1849, and lived for some years in Philadelphia. In the spring of 1856 he came to Iowa. He lived for a short time near Iowa City, and then removed to Cedar Rapids, and later to Shueyville. In 1859 he entered the law office of G. W. and Rush Clark, lawyers, in Iowa City, to begin the study of the law, and at the same time he enrolled in the Normal Department of the State University. In 1861 he graduated

from the University and was admitted to the practice of law in 1862. He was County Superintendent of Schools of Johnson County in 1863-64. In 1867 he became the partner of Mr. Rush Clark, then the leading lawyer of Iowa City. In September, 1872, he was appointed Judge of the Circuit Court of the Eighth Judicial District, but he did not find the office to his liking, and had no desire to continue in the position. He held no other political office except a commissionership to investigate the affairs of the Pawnee Indians. Judge Haddock will be long and best remembered for his years of service as the Secretary of the Board of Trustees and later of the Board of Regents of the State University. He was appointed by the Board in 1864, and continued to perform the work of that office until September, 1902. His capacity for work, and his grasp of details were such that faculties and trustees alike relied increasingly upon him and his judgment. His knowledge of law and general business practice made him invaluable to the University, both in safeguarding its interests and in presenting its needs to legislative committees. Judge Haddock, however, was not a man who cared for business affairs and the compilation of administrative reports alone. He had a liking for the beautiful in nature and in literature, and from his pen from time to time came interesting reminiscences and literary sketches, which show the breadth and character of Judge Haddock's interests. In August, 1865, Judge Haddock was married to Miss Emma Humphrey, of Tipton, Iowa. She is credited with being the first woman admitted to practice law in the U. S. Courts, the presiding Judge at the time of her admission being John F. Dillon.

WILLIAM CLEMENT PUTNAM was born in Davenport, Iowa, June 27, 1862; he died in Davenport, January 13, 1906. Mr. Putnam was the son of Charles E. and Mary Duncan Putnam, noted in the history of Davenport as among the founders and chief promoters of the Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences. Mr. Putnam, after graduating from the high school of Davenport in 1880, entered the State University Law Department from which he graduated with high honors in 1883. In 1885 he entered into a law partnership with his father which continued until its dissolution by reason of the death of his father in 1887. Mr. Putnam, while an able lawyer, devoted not a little of his time and energy to various business interests outside the law. He was president of the Mutual Plate Glass Insurance Asso., a director in the old Gas Co. of Davenport, and a large owner of real estate in that city, being at the time of his death probably one of the largest owners of real property in Davenport. Besides these interests he was director of the Iowa National Bank for many years, of the Commercial Club of Davenport, and member of the Davenport Outing and Irrawadi Canoe Clubs. Besides his numerous business interests Mr. Putnam was an ardent and constant patron of art and science. He was a promoter of the Library Association of Davenport, that eventually succeeded in erecting their beautiful Carnegie Library, giving to it various collections of rare pictures and prints. But first and last, he was primarily interested in furthering the work of the Davenport Academy of Sciences, an organization that justly has widespread fame among scientific organizations the country over. This was a labor of love as well as of personal interest, because the Academy was in large part the fruit of the life work of his father and mother.

VIVALDO A. BALLOU was born in Plattsburg, N. Y., September 7, 1840; he died in Nevada, Iowa, January 22, 1906. He came west with his

parents in 1850, to Wisconsin. In 1852 he came to Dubuque, where he learned the printer's trade in the office of *The Tribune* and *The Herald*. In 1858 Mr. Charles Aldrich, then editor of *The Webster City Freeman*, made his acquaintance, and engaged his services upon the latter paper, taking him with him to Webster City, where he remained for two years. In 1859 he entered Cornell College, continuing until 1861, when he enlisted in the Second Iowa Cavalry. His service in the army was severe. In September, 1862, he was discharged at Corinth, Miss., for disability. Returning to Webster City he lived at the home of Mr. Aldrich, where he recuperated. Upon his recovery he entered Upper Iowa University at Fayette. Returning to Webster City he again joined Mr. Aldrich who had returned from the war, and together they began the publication of *The Freeman*, which he ultimately purchased from Mr. Aldrich. He published it until 1867, when it was sold to Mr. J. D. Hunter, at present connected with that paper. On the sale of *The Freeman* Mr. Ballou moved to Boone, where he assisted in the publication of *The Boone Standard*. In 1882 he moved to Nevada and bought *The Aegis*, now the *Representative*, of that city, which he conducted for a year and a half. For ten years he was engaged in mercantile pursuits. In 1880 Mr. Ballou could not resist the newspaper habit, and purchased *The Watchman*, which he continued to edit until a few months prior to his death, when illness made active work impossible.

CHARLES F. CLARKE was born in Shelby county, Ind., August 5, 1846; he died in Red Oak, Iowa, Jan. 19, 1906. In 1856 he removed with his parents to Davis county, Iowa, where they located on a farm. In 1863 he went to Centerville and began clerking in a dry goods store owned by Gen. F. M. Drake, who was then in the army. Two years later he went to Albia and was employed as a clerk in a store owned by J. H. Drake, a brother of Gen. Drake. While there he became interested in the development of coal mines in Monroe county. About this time he began work as a clerk in a bank at Albia, and soon decided to make banking his life work. In 1873 he settled in Red Oak and helped to organize the First National Bank, and was elected its first cashier, a position he retained until his death. The Red Oak Sun states that he was "without doubt the most prominent figure in the history of Red Oak, one who had probably a larger part in her growth and development than any other person ever living here." His death elicited strong expressions of the high esteem in which his character and conduct was held by his neighbors and intimate friends. Justice H. E. Deemer, of Iowa's Supreme Court, at the funeral pronounced a eulogy that was a striking tribute to the beauty, charity and strength of his character, and a testimonial of the deceased's fondness for nature and his love for his fellows. His brother, George W. Clarke, represented Dallas county in the Twenty-eighth, Twenty-ninth, Thirtieth and Thirty-first General Assemblies, and was speaker of the house in the Thirtieth and Thirty-first.

GEORGE WILSON was born in Wapello county, Iowa, Oct. 6, 1842; he died in Lexington, Lafayette county, Mo., March 19, 1906. His father, George Wilson, was the first territorial adjutant of the militia of Iowa, a son-in-law of Joseph M. Street, Agent for the Winnebago Indians. (See sketch, ANNALS OF IOWA, v. IV, pp. 563, 576.) In 1862 Mr. Wilson went to Wyoming where for fifteen years he was a general contractor of supplies for the Government and railroad agencies. He served one

term as Senator in the Legislature of Wyoming, and later served a term as Probate Judge in Laramie county, Dakota Territory. In 1877 he returned to Lexington, Mo., where he resided until his death, serving as cashier in his father's bank, and on his father's death succeeding him as president of the bank. Mr. Wilson was a student of history and social subjects, making numerous contributions to newspapers and magazines especially on subjects of finance. His most noteworthy literary work being "The Principles of the Science of Money." He had contributed to the Historical Department valuable letters and papers belonging to his distinguished father.

GEORGE MCNEELEY was born in Highland county, Ohio, October 16, 1840; he died in Russell, Iowa, January 19, 1906. In 1848 he removed with his parents to Henry county, and located near Mt. Pleasant. At the breaking out of the civil war he enlisted as Fifth Corporal, Co. G, Eleventh Iowa Infantry; he was promoted to Fourth Sergeant, and later to Second Corporal. He served throughout the war; was wounded at Shiloh and confined in Andersonville and Charleston prisons. In 1871 he removed to Lucas county, and in 1902 to Russell. He was a licensed preacher of the United Evangelical church. He represented Lucas county in the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth General Assemblies.

CHARLES W. TENNEY was born in New York, February 16, 1834; he died at his home in Seattle, Washington, March 1, 1906. He located in Cerro Gordo county, Iowa, in the spring of 1855, and resided there until two years ago. He was a member of the First Board of Supervisors; was elected County Surveyor in 1863; was a member of the Board of Trustees of the State Agricultural College in 1879, from which position he resigned in 1882, when Governor Kirkwood was appointed to succeed him. He represented the Fifty-ninth District, consisting of Cerro Gordo, Winnebago, Worth and Kossuth counties, in the Twelfth General Assembly.

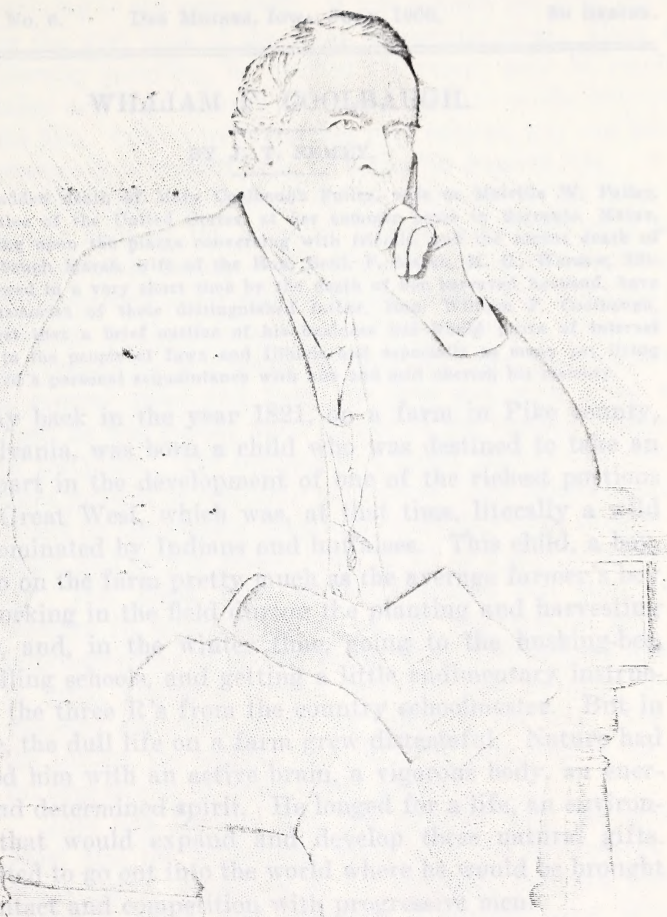
JOSEPH CHAPMAN was born in Otsego county, N. Y., June 15, 1821; he died at his home in Colesburg, Delaware county, Iowa, Oct. 30, 1905. In 1850 he removed to Iowa and eventually became the owner of a large farm near the town of Colesburg, and of other lands in Clayton and Mitchell counties. He was justice of the peace for eighteen consecutive years at Colesburg; a member of the Board of Supervisors for eight or nine years; and represented his county in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth General Assemblies.

Jacob Y. Blackwell was born in Hackettstown, N. J., in 1814; he died at the home of his son in Long Branch, N. J., Feb. 25, 1906. He was one of the pioneer settlers of Iowa, living first in Muscatine, then in Andrew, Jackson county. In 1864 he removed to Iowa City. He represented Johnson county in the Twelfth General Assembly as the colleague of John P. Irish.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

Vol. VII, No. 6. Des Moines, Iowa, 1908. No. 1233.

WILLIAM PENN COBBLE



The early life of William Penn Cobble is a story of a man who, through his own efforts and the aid of his friends, has achieved a position of prominence in the business world. He was born in the year 1821 on a farm in Pike County, Pennsylvania, where he was destined to spend his early years. His father, John Cobble, was a man of considerable wealth and influence, and it was to him that William was indebted for his education and the start of his career. He was a very quiet and reserved man, and his friends have often remarked upon the fact that he was a man of few words, but of great power. He was a man of great energy and initiative, and he was always ready to take the lead in any enterprise. He was a man of great courage and determination, and he was always ready to face the most difficult of tasks. He was a man of great faith and confidence, and he was always ready to trust in his own abilities. He was a man of great love and affection, and he was always ready to help his friends in any way that he could. He was a man of great honor and integrity, and he was always ready to stand up for the right. He was a man of great wisdom and insight, and he was always ready to listen to the advice of his friends. He was a man of great strength and endurance, and he was always ready to face the most difficult of challenges. He was a man of great courage and determination, and he was always ready to take the lead in any enterprise. He was a man of great faith and confidence, and he was always ready to trust in his own abilities. He was a man of great love and affection, and he was always ready to help his friends in any way that he could. He was a man of great honor and integrity, and he was always ready to stand up for the right. He was a man of great wisdom and insight, and he was always ready to listen to the advice of his friends. He was a man of great strength and endurance, and he was always ready to face the most difficult of challenges.

Back in the year 1821, on a farm in Pike County, Pennsylvania, was born a child who was destined to play an active part in the development of one of the richest portions of the great West, where was at that time, literally a wilderness, dominated by Indians and hunters. This child, as he grew up on the farm, spent his days in the fields, working in the fields, planting and harvesting, and, in the evenings, sitting on the porch, looking out over the rolling hills and valleys, and thinking of the future. It was in the time of his farm life that he developed his character. He was a man of great energy and initiative, and he was always ready to take the lead in any enterprise. He was a man of great courage and determination, and he was always ready to face the most difficult of tasks. He was a man of great faith and confidence, and he was always ready to trust in his own abilities. He was a man of great love and affection, and he was always ready to help his friends in any way that he could. He was a man of great honor and integrity, and he was always ready to stand up for the right. He was a man of great wisdom and insight, and he was always ready to listen to the advice of his friends. He was a man of great strength and endurance, and he was always ready to face the most difficult of challenges. He was a man of great courage and determination, and he was always ready to take the lead in any enterprise. He was a man of great faith and confidence, and he was always ready to trust in his own abilities. He was a man of great love and affection, and he was always ready to help his friends in any way that he could. He was a man of great honor and integrity, and he was always ready to stand up for the right. He was a man of great wisdom and insight, and he was always ready to listen to the advice of his friends. He was a man of great strength and endurance, and he was always ready to face the most difficult of challenges.

So in early life this youth, William F. Cobble, by name, left the old farm, the home of his father and dear old mother, and struck out for the great city of Philadelphia. Here he succeeded in securing a humble position in one of the big stores, but his stay was not for a long time, however. This was not his place, and he was not content. With the keen foresight and judgment of a man of great vision, he turned his steps toward the West, where he felt that there was an empire waiting for him. He was a man of great energy and initiative, and he was always ready to take the lead in any enterprise. He was a man of great courage and determination, and he was always ready to face the most difficult of tasks. He was a man of great faith and confidence, and he was always ready to trust in his own abilities. He was a man of great love and affection, and he was always ready to help his friends in any way that he could. He was a man of great honor and integrity, and he was always ready to stand up for the right. He was a man of great wisdom and insight, and he was always ready to listen to the advice of his friends. He was a man of great strength and endurance, and he was always ready to face the most difficult of challenges. He was a man of great courage and determination, and he was always ready to take the lead in any enterprise. He was a man of great faith and confidence, and he was always ready to trust in his own abilities. He was a man of great love and affection, and he was always ready to help his friends in any way that he could. He was a man of great honor and integrity, and he was always ready to stand up for the right. He was a man of great wisdom and insight, and he was always ready to listen to the advice of his friends. He was a man of great strength and endurance, and he was always ready to face the most difficult of challenges.

Johns Link
Wm F Cobble

ANNALS OF IOWA.

VOL. VII, No. 6.

DES MOINES, IOWA, JULY, 1906.

3D SERIES.

WILLIAM F. COOLBAUGH.

BY J. T. REMEY.

The sudden death of Mary Coolbaugh Fuller, wife of Melville W. Fuller, Chief Justice of the United States, at her summer home in Sorrento, Maine, while sitting upon the piazza conversing with friends, and the recent death of Jane Coolbaugh Marsh, wife of the Hon. Benj. F. Marsh, M. C., Warsaw, Illinois, followed in a very short time by the death of her bereaved husband, have revived memories of their distinguished father, Hon. William F. Coolbaugh, and suggest that a brief outline of his business life would prove of interest generally to the people of Iowa and Illinois and especially to many yet living who enjoyed a personal acquaintance with him and still cherish his memory.

Away back in the year 1821, on a farm in Pike county, Pennsylvania, was born a child who was destined to take an active part in the development of one of the richest portions of the Great West, which was, at that time, literally a wild west, dominated by Indians and buffaloes. This child, a boy, grew up on the farm pretty much as the average farmer's boy does, working in the field during the planting and harvesting seasons, and, in the winter time, going to the husking-bee, the spelling schools, and getting a little rudimentary instruction in the three R's from the country schoolmaster. But in his case, the dull life on a farm grew distasteful. Nature had endowed him with an active brain, a vigorous body, an energetic and determined spirit. He longed for a life, an environment, that would expand and develop these natural gifts. He wanted to go out into the world where he would be brought into contact and competition with progressive men.

So in early life this youth, William F. Coolbaugh by name, left the old farm, the home of his father and dear old mother, and struck out for the great city of Philadelphia. Here he succeeded in securing a humble position in one of the big stores; but his stay was not for a long time, however. This was not his place, he felt, and so moved on. With the keen foresight and judgment that ever marked his career, he turned his steps towards the Great West, intuitively feeling that there an empire was being builded and that there his destiny lay.

In due course he came to the town of Burlington, Iowa, arriving in the year 1842. It was a small but thriving village on the west bank of the great Mississippi river. Here, almost literally speaking, he pitched his camp; here he resolved to labor and wait to see what Dame Fortune might have in store for him. Others were meeting with success, why not he? And reasoning to himself thus, he began his western life.

With Mr. Coolbaugh on his journey to the west was a young man by the name of Trevor, a member of a wealthy Philadelphia family. Mr. Trevor soon tired of pioneer life and returned to his eastern home. And about this time he met Thomas A. Hendricks, famous in later years, whose affectionate regard for him lasted through life. Mr. Coolbaugh started a general store and from the first met with great success. Soon he was looked upon as one of the leading business men of the place. The brusque and hardy pioneers of those days were prompt to recognize his talents. His opinions and judgments on the leading questions of the day were eagerly sought after, and he was looked upon by all as a man of marked ability. His ideas were sound, practical and clear cut, and whether in conversation or on the platform he had a most impressive way of stating them. Bold and fearless white men, in great numbers, poured into this new country, waging a peaceful conquest, chiefly as tillers of the soil. The forest, the Indian, the buffalo, each, in turn, gave way to the masterful superiority of these hardy pioneers.

Into this frontier life, this struggle with the savage, the beast and the wilderness, filled with the enthusiasm of vigorous youth, conscious of his strength, buoyant and determined in spirit, and confident of success, came William F. Coolbaugh to take his destined place as a leader among the hardy old pioneers who had preceded him. Burlington was strictly a border town. Immigration to the locality tributary to her was great and steady. Her population was cosmopolitan to an extreme. The hunter, the trapper, the woodsman, the farmer, the Indian, and the college graduate daily mingled on her streets without comment and formed the colony out of which her merchants were to get their business. Some of these pioneers had left the comforts and luxuries of refined

homes in the east, but all met here on common ground, one man as good as another.

In this motley mixture of men Mr. Coolbaugh found himself "a part and parcel," as it were. His business prospered greatly and in a few years, marked by much hard work on his part, he found he had accumulated far beyond the average and was looked upon as one of the rich men of the town. But gentler thoughts than those of business began to fill his mind. Young Cupid selected him for a victim and his heart was pierced. He fell in love with and was married to Miss Jane L. Brown, one of the fairest daughters of old Kentucky, a beautiful woman with sweet and winning manners. Their wedding occurred in the forties and, a devoted and congenial couple, they saw many happy days. They were blessed with a family of most interesting children, only four of whom survived their infancy, viz: Mary E., Mildred, James L. and Jane Eliza. The eldest daughter, Mary E., was born in the Barret House, Burlington, a noted caravansary in those days when Iowa was a territory; she married Melville W. Fuller, a successful and prominent lawyer of Chicago, who became Chief Justice of the United States. Mrs. Fuller was well known throughout the land for her noble character and her personal and social accomplishments. In October, 1888, Washington became their home and there Mrs. Fuller by her graces of person and mind shone in the circles of society into which the official position of her distinguished husband and her own charming attributes introduced her on his accession to his dignified office. She died suddenly August 17th, 1904, at Sorrento, Maine, her summer home. It was the close, in this world, of a fairy tale in which the two principals from their first meeting were ever most congenial and ever lived most happily.

The second daughter, Mildred, died in her seventeenth year, just budding into young womanhood; a winsome girl, with the clear-cut features of her father and much of his intellect.

The son, James L., died in his twenty-seventh year, on the threshold of a most promising life. The youngest child, Jane Eliza, married the Hon. B. F. Marsh, a Congressman and well

known lawyer of Warsaw, Ill. They had a large family and lived in great happiness, being congenial in every way. She died March 18th, 1905, and Col. Marsh soon followed her.

At this time we find Mr. Coolbaugh approaching the zenith of his commercial career. He had amassed an ample fortune for those days, and emerged from a general retail store into a large wholesale grocery business. He had built for the use of his firm one of the finest houses in the town and had associated with him a young man of fine business qualifications and a tireless worker, under the firm name of W. F. Coolbaugh & Co., the junior partner being the late U. S. Senator John Henry Gear, who, besides his success in business, later in his career achieved other distinctions, as Mayor of Burlington, State Senator, Member of Congress, Governor of the Commonwealth, finally reaching his goal as United States Senator, all of which positions he filled with great credit. Gen. John M. Corse* was a clerk in the same establishment.

Mr. Coolbaugh erected in these years, for his family to whom he was fondly devoted, a commodious residence which was generally considered the most elegant in town. He was for some years a member of the State Senate, with Lyman Cook as his colleague, one being a democrat and the other a whig.

But having climbed to the top of the commercial ladder, he looked around for other worlds to conquer and wisely concluded to enter the world of finance, where he felt he was able to act a leading part. What he accomplished in this line during his successive years must have surpassed his most vivid anticipation. His opportunity soon came. The leading, and perhaps at the time the only, banking firm in the town was that of F. J. C. Peasley & Co., the junior partner being Francis W. Brooks. Mr. Brooks was president of the National State Bank for many years and continued as such up to the time of his death, which took place in the year 1869. He was

*General Corse was one of the coterie of military men whose heroic deeds have shed much lustre upon the State of Iowa. His brave conduct at Allatoona where he held his position against the fierce attacks of the enemy, largely outnumbering his forces, has given him a brilliant page in history. This event suggested the famous song of "Hold the Fort" sung by Evangelists Moody and Sankey and arousing the wildest enthusiasm in their audiences.

a good banker, safe, conservative, and a man of few words. His management added greatly to the success of the bank. He erected an elegant suburban home, just south of the city, where his family have since lived in the enjoyment of great comfort and luxury.

Early in the fifties the head of the firm, Mr. F. J. C. Peasley (the father of Mr. J. C. Peasley, who resides in Chicago, and who, for many years, was First Vice-President of the C., B. & Q. R. R. Co., and ably conducted the financial affairs of this great system) died, and then it was that Mr. Coolbaugh reached the place where he was to achieve most brilliant success. He formed a partnership with Mr. Brooks, under the name of Coolbaugh & Brooks, and the firm was established at the corner of Main and Jefferson streets, now occupied by the National State Bank, doing a general banking and land business. This firm continued for many years and was widely known for its wealth and business integrity; it was very prosperous and both partners piled up what was considered (for those days) large fortunes.

In the year 1858 the Iowa Legislature passed an act incorporating the State Bank of Iowa and branches were established in the leading cities and towns. At Burlington the branch bank was established by Messrs. Coolbaugh and Brooks, and with them were associated only a few others, but all leading citizens, viz: Hon. Lyman Cook, Mr. E. D. Rand, Hon. John H. Gear and Hon. James W. Grimes, the latter renowned as an able lawyer and a United States Senator of great prominence and influence. Hon. Lyman Cook was President of the First National Bank from its inception, early in the sixties, up to the day of his death in 1898. He was a prominent citizen, took great interest in municipal affairs, and, at one time, was Mayor of the city. His administration is cited as one of the most efficient Burlington ever had. Mr. E. D. Rand was the leading lumber merchant and one of the wealthiest citizens in the town. He was modest, unassuming and highly respected. His home was probably the most elegant one in Burlington. It still stands and is maintained in much splendor.

The firm of Coolbaugh & Brooks furnished most of the

capital and, being experienced bankers, assumed the management. The first officers were as follows: William F. Coolbaugh, President; Lyman Cook, Vice-President; Francis W. Brooks, Cashier, and although the bank was incorporated in the summer of 1858, it was not opened for business until the month of February, 1859.

The State Bank Act was a liberal one and at the same time conservative and carefully outlined. Our legislators, some of whom were practical bankers, one of them being Mr. Coolbaugh, a prominent and able actor in this matter, evinced great wisdom and foresight in passing the act, recognizing the basic principle of a good profit being assured to the bankers in order to make the scheme successful. Their example in this respect might be wisely followed by the political solons who dominate the halls of Congress at the present day and persistently turn down everything that seems to favor the national banks. One privilege, especially, with many others, that was granted in the State Bank Act that may be of more than ordinary interest at this time, in view of the momentous question as it is presented before the eyes of the people today, is the one of the power to issue circulating notes that was granted to the various branches of the State Bank. Take, for instance, the Burlington branch of the State Bank, being the one that directly concerns us, and we find this: With a paid-up capital of \$150,000, the bank was permitted to issue circulating notes to the extent of \$300,000, having deposited with the Auditor of State bonds to the amount of 12½ per cent, these securities consisting mostly of state bonds. Here is an instance of what is now known as asset currency, and is referred to with considerable satisfaction by the advocates of such an issue today, who point with pride to the fact that the circulating notes of the different branches of the State Bank of Iowa were all redeemed dollar for dollar; no one lost a dollar by them.

Notwithstanding the phenomenal success which had followed his business life up to this time, Mr. Coolbaugh was far from being satisfied. His career was incomplete, he felt. His genius for finance needed a larger field in which to expand, and with prophetic eyes he turned towards Chicago, the Queen

City of the Lakes, then, as now, the gateway of the teeming west, her sinews of trade lapping around the world. Accordingly, in May, 1862, he removed, with his family, to Chicago and opened a banking office at the corner of Lake and La Salle streets, then the center of the business district. The name of the firm was W. F. Coolbaugh & Co., Mr. F. W. Brooks, of Burlington, being the junior partner. He remained in Burlington in charge of the branch of the State Bank there, in which the two partners owned a controlling interest, a condition that continued for many years.

Into this new business Mr. Coolbaugh threw all his mighty powers. Possessed of an almost unerring judgment and the ability to read aright the characters of men in their faces, as presented to him, and able to combine with these the faculty of drawing men to him, it is no matter of wonder that business rushed in upon him almost faster than he could take care of it. Within a year the room became too small for the growing business, and he removed his bank to the corner opposite, into more commodious and better appointed quarters.

It was at this time, early in the year 1863, that Mr. Coolbaugh suffered the greatest sorrow of his life, in the death of his beloved wife, a most lovable woman. Mrs. Coolbaugh had been somewhat an invalid for some years, and the harsh climate of Chicago did not seem to agree with her. After months of heroic and patient suffering, she passed out of this life, buoyant in the hope of a reunion with her loved ones in the mysterious future.

Mr. Coolbaugh's business grew and prospered in the most astonishing manner. He was in his prime, men flocked around him in sheer admiration of his financial generalship. They brought him their business and consulted and advised with him in their affairs, looking upon him as a veritable oracle of commerce and finance, they had such confidence in his judgment.

In four years the new quarters were inadequate to accommodate the business and in the year 1867, impressed with the idea that the business district was moving southward, Mr. Coolbaugh leased of Mr. P. F. W. Peck, a wealthy man and noted for the great number of valuable business corners he

owned, the property at the southwest corner of Washington and La Salle streets, for a period of ten years, with provisions for renewals, at a rental for vacant ground that was considered excessive, even in that extravagant age. But Mr. Coolbaugh's good judgment did not fail him. A large modern building was erected, his bank occupying the principal floor. A year previous to this, however, he had converted the firm of W. F. Coolbaugh & Co. into a national bank, under the National Bank Act, as passed by Congress, an outgrowth of our civil war. This bank was named the Union National Bank and was by far the largest banking institution in the whole western country.

Mr. Coolbaugh's fame as a banker and man of finance was now at its height. He was well known both east and west. But it was the growing states of the west that chiefly contributed to his greatness. They all wheeled into line—Wisconsin, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Minnesota, Nebraska, Kansas, Missouri, and, notably, Iowa, where his name had become almost a household word, each and all, drawn by the magnetism of his influence, poured their increasing reserves into his bank. He understood the needs of the western bankers so thoroughly that he was able to advise, suggest and assist, and in this way there was built up, as it were, between them, a feeling of fraternalism which cemented their business relations and made the western banker his steadfast supporter and friend. It was his policy, and a wise one it proved to be, to come into personal contact with his patrons as far as practical, and being universally fair and honorable in his dealings it was seldom, indeed, that any one felt aggrieved.

In the year 1864 Mr. Coolbaugh was married to Miss Addie Reeves of Newburg-on-the-Hudson, an accomplished woman, beautiful and of most charming personality. She presided with dignity and grace at the head of his household. He built a fine house in one of the most desirable locations to be found in the city and there passed many happy hours in the domestic joys of his hearth and home.

In 1870 he was a member of the Constitutional Convention, which met at Springfield, taking a prominent part in framing the present constitution of Illinois.

All things now prospered with him. His bank increased and grew until it had fairly outstripped all competitors. For many years these prosperous conditions continued to exist without let or hindrance, until there occurred the most appalling disaster of modern times—the great fire in the month of October, 1871, by which almost the entire business portion of this wonderful city was destroyed, together with many of her palatial residences. The flames were so fierce and spread so rapidly that scores of the people were forced to abandon their homes and their property and flee precipitately into the waters of Lake Michigan to save their very lives. The money loss was immense, almost beyond conception; much of the insurance rendered worthless, and the majority of the business men found utter ruin confronting them. But they did not despair; instead they set themselves to work rebuilding the city on a scale that has challenged the admiration of the whole world and made Chicago unique among all her sister cities.

Throughout the whole of this terrible calamity Mr. Coolbaugh was comparatively serene, although he did not know whether the millions locked up in his bank vaults would be found consumed into ashes or not, and he easily held his leadership among his contemporary bankers. He presided at their meetings, advised and encouraged them. Business in all lines was soon resumed with a rush, and where all had been smoking ruins a magnificent city was built that is truly a world wonder. Like a modern Phoenix Chicago rose from her ashes with more than all her pristine grandeur.

But another calamity was impending, although of a far different character. The memorable crisis of 1873 began to stretch its dismal shadow. It moved slowly, but its might was great, and gathered its victims by the thousands—none was spared. The actual disaster was precipitated by the failure of the banking house of Jay Cooke & Co., the fiscal agents of the U. S. Government. Being unable to meet their obligations, they were obliged to suspend. Like an epidemic of disease the trouble expanded rapidly. Almost like a flash it extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from Canada to the Gulf; the whole country was in its throes. Ever since the civil war was terminated and peace declared, the people,

stimulated by their prosperity, had been living and doing business with the greatest extravagance. Production of materials, manufactured articles, in fact, business of all kinds, was largely overdone, the consequence being that credit was expanded to an extremely hazardous extent. Reaction set in, prices toppled, failure after failure took place, and throughout the whole country a terrible panic ensued. Business firms that had withstood the assaults of almost a hundred years fell like grass before the scythe, and with them fell banks, banking institutions and bankers, with scant ceremony.

The Union National Bank, the splendid handiwork of its honored President—W. F. Coolbaugh—proud in its supremacy and for years glorious as the leading and largest fiscal institution in the west, was forced to suspend. It fell with a crash that resounded across the country, and her distinguished builder was carried down in the ruin. Humbled, crushed in spirit, and despairing, he hardly had the heart to contemplate the wreck of his life's work and begin the work of resurrection. But the bank resumed business again, though the dominating influence of Mr. Coolbaugh was no longer aggressive; and the prestige of his great institution had been seriously impaired. It survived for many years and its power is perpetuated today.

Mr. Coolbaugh survived this great disaster for several years, making heroic efforts to retrieve his fallen fortunes, but brooding over the changes in his circumstances, the loss of many he had supposed to be his friends, and various similar disappointments, embittered his life. Heroic as he had always been, he was unable to carry these added burdens. His indomitable courage failed him. The human fabric gave way, and in November, 1877, under the most melancholy and tragic circumstances, his spirit took flight. For his bereaved family many a heart grieved and many tears of sympathy were shed. Mrs. Coolbaugh survives him, with two charming daughters, Addie and Wilhelmina, and is living in dignified retirement, the most of the time in Europe.

While W. F. Coolbaugh was never a politician in any sense of the term, he did take a considerable interest in politics and had a close acquaintance with many of the leaders of his day.

He was a great admirer of that famous democrat, Stephen A. Douglas—"The Little Giant" of Illinois—and in the early fifties, when Mr. Douglas made a political speech in Burlington, he stood in front of Mr. Coolbaugh's new store, when he addressed the people.

He was a staunch democrat, but he was a Union democrat, and during the civil war this meant more than the present generation is able to fully realize. In all the vicissitudes of those momentous years he never wavered in his loyalty to the old flag. The following resolution, passed by the Board of Directors of the Burlington Branch of the State Bank of Iowa, well shows where he stood, and how promptly he took his stand, for the action was taken one week after the Union flag on Fort Sumter was fired upon by the secessionists of Charleston:

BURLINGTON, IOWA,

Wednesday, April 16, 1861.

Meeting of the Board of Directors, held at the Bank, this day. Present, Jas. W. Grimes, Lyman Cook, W. F. Coolbaugh, F. W. Brooks.

Resolved: That the Cashier of this Bank be directed to advance to the Governor of this State, such sum of money as he may require from this Branch for the equipment and preparation of the regiment called for by the President of the United States.

F. W. BROOKS, Cashier.

It will be remembered that the first call of President Lincoln was for 75,000 volunteers to aid in suppressing the rebellion, and presumably Iowa's quota under this call was one regiment. General W. T. Sherman was president of a college in Louisiana at the breaking out of the war, and immediately came north to fight for the Union. He expressed the opinion that the President should have called for not less than 300,000 men; that it would take all of them and perhaps more, with much bloodshed, before the war was ended. He was ungratefully called "Crazy Sherman" for this by the enthusiastic people of the north, but his opinion was fully justified by subsequent events.

Towards the close of the war this old hero and veteran visited Chicago. By his skill and valor in the science of war, he had become idolized by the people. A public reception was given him in the Board of Trade building, on South Water

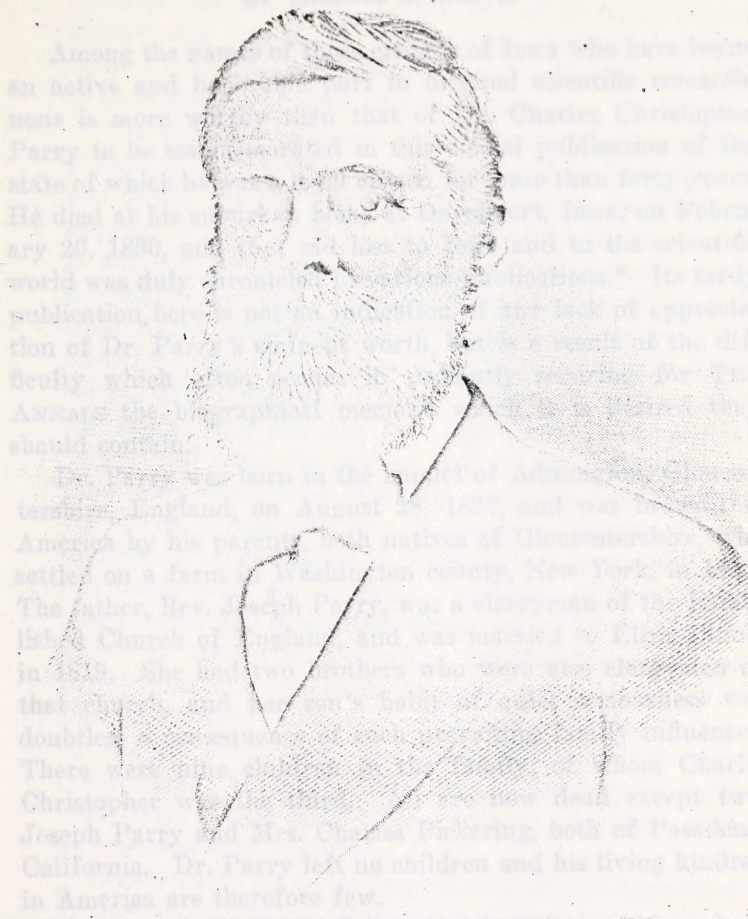
street, and Mr. Coolbaugh delivered the welcoming address. He was a graceful speaker and was most eloquent on this occasion, to the surprise of many who had not before known he had talents in that direction.

A fact that may interest the public to know is that Mr. Coolbaugh was one of the organizers of the Burlington & Missouri River railroad, about the year 1852-3, and for several years was the president of the company. This road, after it had been extended across the state of Iowa to the Missouri river, and reached a basis of considerable prosperity, was absorbed by the C., B. & Q. R. R. Co., which, under the able management of Mr. C. E. Perkins, who for years was its president and practical head, has become a monstrous system and as the "Burlington Route" is known world-wide. Although still prominently connected with its management, he is no longer its president, having voluntarily retired after many years of unqualified success. That honor has been conferred upon Mr. George B. Harris, who is thoroughly equipped for the position by years of experience and training and is looked upon as one of the ablest railroad men in the country.

Mr. Coolbaugh was a man with whom nature had been most generous. Gifted with a handsome physique, a pleasant voice, dignified though pleasing manners, observant, discreet, intelligent and intellectual, he was thoroughly equipped for the life of a financial man and banker. These were elements of his success. He was not fond of what is termed general society, but preferred the radiance of his own fireside. He also enjoyed the companionship of his intimate friends, and informal meetings with them constituted one of his great pleasures. There were few dull moments when he was present, for he was most genial in conversation, quick at repartee and a fine raconteur.

But this gifted man has passed out of our lives; he is no longer one of us; he has fought the good fight and entered into his reward. Many years have intervened, but have not sufficed to efface his memory. It still lives and is tenderly cherished.

BURLINGTON, IOWA.



C. C. Parry M.D.

CHARLES CHRISTOPHER PARRY.

Illustrious American Botanist. He was connected as botanist with the Mexican Boundary Survey and the U. S. Agricultural Department, and was one of the founders of the Davenport Academy of Sciences. Dr. Parry's publications were numerous, giving him high rank in this science in America and Europe.

lated his native talent, and which was the scene of much of the work of that venerated Nestor of botanical science, Dr. John Torrey. Even as a boy, Parry made the acquaintance, on botanical ground, of Dr. Torrey, and of his no less famous co-worker and friend, Dr. Asa Gray; and this acquaintance ripened into life-long friendship and collaboration with both of those masters of their chosen science.

The paternal farm was young Parry's home until the completion of his boyhood, and he bore his full share of its labors and duties. In the intervals of those labors he found time to acquaint himself with all the plants of his neighborhood, and he also made such good use of his local educational opportunities that in due time he entered Union College at Schenectady, from which institution he graduated with honor. He continued his botanical studies in addition to those of his college course, giving special attention to medical botany. This special study, and also the fact that both his mentor-friends, Torrey and Gray, as well as most of the naturalists of that time, were Doctors of Medicine, evidently influenced him in the choice of medicine as a profession. Therefore, upon the completion of his studies at Union College he entered the medical department of Columbia University in New York City, where, after the prescribed course of study, he received the degree of Doctor of Medicine. He was then about twenty-three years old and eager to enter upon a suitable career. Like many other young men of the eastern states at that time, he decided to go west, and chose Davenport, Iowa, as his future home. He reached that thriving town in the autumn of 1846, after a slow and toilsome journey, for there were then no railroads west of Buffalo, N. Y.

Doctor Parry began the practice of medicine upon his arrival at Davenport, but the allurements of his favorite science were so great, and opportunities so favorable for its cultivation, that he soon gave up his professional practice for his more congenial scientific pursuits. The flora of his eastern home was largely new to science when he began to study it, and when he went to his new home upon the banks of the Mississippi river he found the flora of that great region in its primeval condition, and his desire to explore it extensively

became irrepressible. Opportunities for gratifying that desire soon presented themselves, the first one having been offered in 1847 by a land surveying party of the General Government in charge of Lieut. J. Morehead. With this party he explored the botany of Iowa as far west as the Raccoon Fork of the Des Moines river, the site of the then lately established Fort Des Moines, and that of the present State capital, arriving there just after the final removal of the Indians, by treaty stipulation, from that part of central Iowa. His second opportunity came in the following year, when he joined the then newly organized geological survey authorized by the General Government and placed in charge of Dr. D. D. Owen. This was the first expeditionary geological and biological work of many of its kind which have been authorized by the General Government, and which have finally culminated in the present United States Geological and Biological Surveys. It is an interesting fact that from time to time in subsequent years Dr. Parry was officially connected with a large number of those exploring parties.

From his boyhood to the end of his life Dr. Parry was an industrious collector of plants, and his collections all possess unusual value because of their completeness and their discriminating illustration of structural relationships and floral groupings. Moreover, they were the credentials of his scientific labors in the field. He supplied a large number of scientific and educational institutions with duplicate specimens of his collections, but he always retained for his own use and reference a large private herbarium. In October, 1878, he generously deposited his entire private herbarium with the Davenport Academy of Sciences, of which he was one of the founders and its second president. In connection with this generous act he presented to the Academy a written account of the gradual accumulation of those floral treasures which is so largely autobiographical that its insertion here is especially appropriate. It is as follows:

My earliest gatherings in the botanical field were begun in 1842, while residing in the attractive floral district of northeastern New York, and continued more or less actively for five years, while occupied in a course of medical studies. During this interval I spent one season in

central New York, including a trip to Niagara Falls. The two last years of this period were especially memorable by being favored with the personal acquaintance of the distinguished American botanist, Dr. John Torrey, to whose assistance and encouragement, equally shared by nearly all active American botanists of this generation, I am largely indebted for whatever success I may have attained.

In the fall of 1846 I removed to Davenport, Iowa, and in the following season, 1847, I was actively engaged in securing the flora of this district, including a summer excursion to central Iowa, in the vicinity of the present State capital, Des Moines, with a United States land surveying party under the charge of Lieut. J. Morehead.

In 1848 I was connected with Dr. D. D. Owen's geological survey of the Northwest, making botanical collections along the course of St. Peter's river, and up the St. Croix as far as Lake Superior. A list of the plants collected during this and the preceding season was included in Dr. Owen's report, published in 1852.

In 1849 I was appointed botanist to the Mexican Boundary Survey, going by way of the Isthmus of Panama to San Diego, California, which latter place was reached in July. In September of the same year I accompanied an astronomical party to the junction of the Gila and Colorado rivers, returning to San Diego in December. The important collections of this season were unfortunately lost in crossing the Isthmus of Panama while in charge of the late Gen. A. W. Whipple, being probably involved in a disastrous fire while stored in Panama, awaiting transportation. In the subsequent year, 1850, this loss was partially made up by somewhat extensive collections in the vicinity of the Southern Boundary line, and including a land trip up the coast as far as Monterey.

In the year 1851 I was ordered to Washington to make up my report, but before concluding it I was unexpectedly summoned to join the field party on the survey of the boundary, then transferred to El Paso, on the Rio Grande. This point was reached by an overland trip, via San Antonio, Texas, late in the fall of that year, 1851. In January of the succeeding year, 1852, I was connected with a small detailed party of exploration across the country west of El Paso, extending as far as the Pimo settlements on the Gila river, returning by the same route to El Paso in April. Subsequently I was connected with various surveying parties on the line of the Rio Grande, south of El Paso, including late in the season the section of the river below Presidio del Norte, comprising a succession of gigantic chasms, which never before or since have been visited by any botanist.

In the winter of 1852-3 I returned to Washington and made up my report, since published in the bulky volumes of the Mexican Boundary Survey. The interval from 1854 to 1860 was spent mainly in Davenport, not actively engaged in botanical work.

In the spring of 1861 the culmination of the "Pike's Peak" fever again opened the way for western exploration, and in a private collecting trip to the Rocky Mountains, I secured a rare collection of Alpine

plants, including, among many novelties, some of the early discoveries of Dr. James on Long's Expedition, in 1820. In the following season I was associated with E. Hall and J. P. Harbour in further exploration of the Rocky Mountain district, the botanical results of which were published in the Proceedings of the Philadelphia Academy for 1863.

In 1864, in company with Dr. J. W. Velie, then of Rock Island, Ill., I continued my Rocky Mountain collections, embracing the district of Long's Peak and Middle Park.

In 1867 I accompanied a railroad surveying party in the interests of the Pacific Railway Company, across the continent, on the line of the 35th parallel of north latitude. The most valuable part of my collections during that season were made in western Kansas and southeastern Colorado, passing by the Sangre de Cristo Pass to northern New Mexico; thence late in the winter season through Arizona, crossing the Sierra Nevada at Tehachapi Pass, and through the Tulare and San Joaquin valleys to San Francisco. A list of the plants comprised in this collection was subsequently published in Dr. W. A. Bell's work entitled, "New Tracks in North America," but without an opportunity for personal revision by the collector.

An interval of several years subsequent to the latter trip was occupied in filling the position of Botanist to the Agricultural Department at Washington. The principal work there devolving upon me was that of arranging the extensive botanical collections which, as the result of various government explorations, had accumulated at the Smithsonian Institution. The bulk of these had previously passed through the hands of Dr. Torrey, whose gratuitous labors in reducing this mass of raw botanical material to systematic shape has never been properly acknowledged.

On being relieved from this position in the fall of 1871, the season following I again revisited the Rocky Mountain alpine district, being then accompanied by Mr. J. Duncan Putnam. In 1873 I was attached to the Northwestern Wyoming Expedition under Capt. W. A. Jones, extending through the Wind river district to the Yellowstone National Park, Mr. Putnam being assigned as my meteorological assistant.

In 1874 I made a private collecting tour to South Utah, securing a valuable collection of the flora of the singular desert district in the valley of the Virgin, near St. George. In 1875, again accompanied by Mr. Putnam, I spent the summer in central Utah, in the vicinity of Mt. Nebo. In the fall of that year I continued my collecting trip to southern California, and in the season of 1876, in connection with Prof. J. G. Lemmon, the enthusiastic California botanist, I made a very full collection of the plants in the vicinity of San Bernardino, including the high mountain district adjoining, and the desert stretches lying east of the Sierra Nevada.

My last and closing labors as a botanical collector were made during the present season [1878], mainly in the vicinity of San Luis Potosi, Mexico, extending on my return trip by way of Saltillo and Monterey

to the more familiar botanical district of western Texas, which I had partially explored twenty-six years previously.

From all these various sources collections, more or less complete, have accumulated on my hands, the great bulk being fortunately distributed far and wide to the various herbaria of America and Europe. An active correspondence with the principal American botanists during the past thirty years has added largely, in the way of exchanges, to the material for illustrating western American botany. Hoping only for an opportunity to reduce this scattered material to systematic order, and to see it safely deposited in some scientific institution in the West, where it properly belongs, I gladly avail myself of the invitation extended to me by the Trustees of the Davenport Academy of Sciences.

In fully realizing the fact that with advancing years my active labors as an explorer and collector are virtually finished, it is a pleasant reflection that some of the results of my labors, here deposited in the Academy of Sciences with which I have been from the first identified, and located in my adopted home on the west bank of the Mississippi, may perchance prove a source of assistance and encouragement to future botanists long after the "gathering hand" shall be itself gathered.

Doctor Parry was not so near the close of his active labors as he seems to have supposed himself to be in 1878, when he wrote the foregoing autobiographical notes, and he soon showed himself to be still ready to respond to all proper demands of humanity and of scientific progress. His father sickened and died in 1879, and the son hastened to the paternal home to attend to duties required by that closing scene of a long and useful life. These and other duties claimed his time for the remainder of that year to the exclusion of scientific work.

When, in 1880, Prof. C. S. Sargent organized his field parties for work pertaining to the Forestry Division of the United States Census, he desired the aid and counsel of the wisest American botanists then living, and he accordingly called upon Doctors George Engelmann and C. C. Parry to personally accompany him on his journeys of observation and to assist him in his official work. Notwithstanding his advanced age, Dr. Engelmann took an active part in that work, and Dr. Parry bore a still more laborious part in it. He thus spent most of the time from the spring of 1880 to the autumn of 1882, his explorations ranging from the Columbia river region to southern California and through portions of the Rocky Mountain region.

The spirit of botanical exploration was again upon him, and in the autumn of 1882 he returned to San Francisco, from which city as a center he prosecuted his self-imposed labors. During the following winter, spring and summer he made numerous journeys of exploration, some of them extending into the peninsula of Lower California; and in the autumn of 1883 he returned to his home at Davenport with his collections.

While he held the position of Botanist to the United States Department of Agriculture he made a journey to Europe in his official capacity, visiting the Royal Gardens at Kew and other famous gardens and collections in various cities of the continent. At Kew he made the personal acquaintance of Sir Joseph Hooker, of world-wide fame, who, like Torrey and Gray, became his life-long admiring friend. In June of 1884 he went a second time to Europe, spending more than a year studying the collections at the gardens and herbaria of the various great institutions of England and the continent, and consulting the great libraries there. Returning to his home in 1885, he spent the time until the following summer in arranging his collections and writing up his notes concerning them.

The year 1886 was spent at his home in occasional journeys into neighboring states, his labors with his collections and the special studies connected with them fully employing his time, according to his long settled habit, when not engaged in field exploration. Most of his time from the autumn of 1886 to the summer of 1889 was spent in California perfecting his field studies of the floras which he had explored in former years. He returned to his home in the summer of the last named year, and in the following autumn he journeyed through Canada and New England, and visited New York, Philadelphia and Washington. From this journey, which proved to be his last one, he returned to his home only a few weeks before his death.

The foregoing remarks give, at best, only a brief cursory review of the life work of Dr. Parry, for it would require many pages to record an adequate account of its scientific character and importance. Many persons learn to collect plants and to prepare them skilfully for preservation in herbaria and for scientific investigation by others. Although Dr. Parry placed hundreds of his newly discovered species of

plants in the hands of special investigators for scientific description, and although no one ever exceeded him in the amount of his personal collections, his work is in no way to be compared with that of the ordinary collector. When he turned over such plants to other investigators he did so knowing them to be hitherto unpublished and also knowing their important relation to other plants and to the progress of botanical science. He felt obliged to thus relieve himself of constantly accumulating material which required scientific investigation that, if prosecuted by himself, would impede his chosen work of systematic exploration. His special object in field exploration was to study the living plants in their native habitats, to observe the full course of their growth from germination to maturity, the effects of physical environment upon species, and their association in native floral groups. He was unwilling to yield this special object for any other branch of the science, however attractive it might be.

While botany was the chief subject of Dr. Parry's scientific investigation it was by no means the only one in which his ability was manifested. He was a broad-minded naturalist; and while engaged upon his botanical explorations he made many valuable observations upon other subjects. The two following examples are mentioned only to show the breadth of range of those observations. His field-notes, recorded in the Report of the Mexican Boundary Survey, contain the best account of the geology of a part of the region traversed by that expedition which had been published up to that time; and he was the first to publish an account of the peculiar form of boomerang used by the Pueblo Indians in their rabbit hunts. At the end of this memoir is reproduced the list of Dr. Parry's published writings, which was prepared by his helpful wife, and after his death presented by her to Dr. Preston to accompany his sketch which was published in the Proceedings of the Davenport Academy of Sciences, as already mentioned. One must refer to the publications enumerated in this list to form even an approximate idea of the character and extent of Dr. Parry's scientific and economic labors.

The teaching of an old proverb is to the effect that a man's character is known by that of his associates, and it may be

applied to Dr. Parry with peculiar significance. There are no names more profoundly revered in connection with botanical science than those of Doctors John Torrey, Asa Gray, and George Engelmann. All three of these great naturalists had unlimited confidence in the scientific accuracy of Dr. Parry's labors and held him in the warmest personal esteem, evidences of which they were not slow to manifest. On his part Dr. Parry responded with all the geniality of his kindly nature and omitted no suitable opportunity to do honor to his distinguished friends. Among the opportunities which he thus improved was that of the application of their names to some of the grand and graceful trees which he discovered, and to some of the impressive physical features of the regions which he explored when they were almost new to the vision of civilized men.

While making special studies of high mountain floras Dr. Parry built for the protection of himself and his collections a cabin in the recesses of the complex Rocky Mountain ranges of Colorado. In full view of the site of his solitary abode two adjacent mountain peaks, and not far away another, rise from their massive bases into the cold thin atmosphere, while their sides are covered with nature's own mantle of floral texture. Dr. Parry labored many months upon, and around, those mountains and made choice collections from their vegetal wealth. To the two mountains first mentioned he gave the names of Mount Gray and Mount Torrey, respectively, and to the third the name of Mount Engelmann. These names are now recognized and used by the residents of that region, and also in various publications. Also, while studying the flora of Pike's Peak, a well known mountain mass of Colorado, he gave the name of Engelmann's Canon to the large and picturesque gorge which nature has excavated into the base of that mountain, and through which the cog-wheel railroad now runs to reach the summit. To Dr. Parry's great gratification he was, in after years, privileged to revisit those grand scenes in company with each of the three distinguished friends with whose names he has inseparably connected them. It were well if one of the peaks in the vicinity of Mounts Gray, Torrey and Engelmann could have borne the name of Parry, but as that

act of recognition was delayed too long, the United States Land and Geological Surveyors have agreed in bestowing Dr. Parry's name upon a peak of the Snowy Range, in an adjacent district.

Perhaps no portion of Dr. Parry's work illustrates more forcibly his extraordinary devotion to it than does that which he performed upon the mountains just mentioned. The summit of Mount Gray is 14,341 feet above sea-level; that of Mount Torrey, 14,336 feet; that of Mount Engelmann, about 14,000 feet, and that of Mount Parry, 13,133 feet. The "timber line," that is, the extreme upper limit of the growth of trees of any kind, upon the mountains then visited by Dr. Parry is about 11,600 feet above sea-level. Upon their summit portions, which rise from a few hundred feet to nearly 3,000 feet above the timber line, grows the so-called alpine flora which Dr. Parry went to study. This stunted plant-life prevails over the whole of those summit portions except where the rocks are too bare for root-hold, or where patches of perpetual snow fill the hollows. One who has never visited such mountain peaks can hardly realize the chilling and oppressive loneliness which prevails there, even in the summer months, nor the excessive physical exertion required to accomplish the long continued task which Dr. Parry set for himself. Still, it was while living and working alone under such circumstances that he conceived the admirable idea of connecting the names of his already famous friends with some of the grandest mountain scenery of our country.

It was not only those persons whose scientific pursuits were identical with those of Dr. Parry who held him in the high esteem that has been mentioned, for that sentiment was fully shared by those who were associated with him in citizenship and in the ordinary affairs of life. The esteem of his home associates is shown in the fact that the Davenport Academy of Sciences elected him its president for seven successive years, until his long absences in the field made it imperative that he should decline further election.

One of the principal personal traits of Dr. Parry, next to his truthful sincerity, was an indisposition to struggle for either popular or posthumous recognition; and it is because

of this trait that many of his labors have not been sufficiently recorded. It is a natural wish of his friends that he might, himself, have described and discussed all the new forms which he discovered, but, as already shown, he found this impracticable, and we see that he chose wisely as to the scope of his labors. It was this choice of scope that made his labors unique among those of botanists, and few men have conferred more important benefits upon botanical science than he did by his chosen methods of work.

Another characteristic trait of Dr. Parry was his practical sense, which was manifested not only in the prudent management of his personal affairs, but in his professional work. He strictly followed scientific methods in all that work and spared no pains to arrive at scientific truth; and yet he gave much study to plant industry and was quick to perceive both the industrial and aesthetic value that any of his newly discovered plants might possess under cultivation or protective preservation. He thus not only enriched forestry and horticulture with a large number of new and valuable forms, but he did much in the interest of general agriculture. Indeed, he gave much more attention to these economic features of his work than is generally known; and his labors in that respect alone, if properly recorded, would be sufficient to establish an enviable reputation.

Doctor Parry was, to a marked degree, self-reliant, self-respecting, thoughtful and undemonstrative. And yet his manner was so frank and sincere that he quickly secured the confidence of all with whom he came in contact, from the highly cultured citizen to the woodmen and hunters with whom he often of necessity consorted in his wild journeys. These frontiersmen habitually spoke of him as "the good doctor," and often sought his professional aid in their ailments and accidents. Although he was so often a wanderer and so much alone in his wanderings, he greatly enjoyed the fellowship of his friends and dearly loved his home and all that made it a home. He was twice married, first, in 1853, to Miss Sarah M. Dalzell, of Davenport. She died in 1858, leaving an only child, a daughter, who, in her childhood, also died. His second marriage was in 1859, to Mrs. E. R. Preston, of

Westford, Connecticut. For more than thirty years this devoted wife was the faithful and able helper of her distinguished husband, often accompanying him in his journeyings, and often patiently waiting his return from long absences; always acquainting herself with the progress of his work and keeping a memorandum of his writings and labors. She still lives to mourn him who, while he was passionately devoted to his scientific studies, was faithful in friendship, constant in love, and exceptionally kind to all those who could claim his consideration.

The accompanying portrait represents quite well the facial features of Dr. Parry, but it of course gives no indication of his bodily form. This was of virile mold, without superfluous flesh, and in all respects well adapted to endure the fatigue and privations of his exploring work. His hair and beard, before the silvering touch of time, were dark in color, but his eyes always retained the clear blue of his youth. Upon the occasion of his last visit to Washington he called upon me, as had long been his habit. His vigor then seemed unimpaired, but I was a little surprised to observe that the grey threads of his hair had considerably increased since I had last seen him. Still, I did not suppose this change to be an indication of failing health or energy, and I little thought I should never see him again. This small portrait will be viewed with peculiar pleasure by those who knew the genial original in life, and future students of botany will look with interest on this representation of the features of one whose name and achievements have become a part of the floral history of this continent.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, April 20, 1906.

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- Notice of the late I. A. Lapham. Vol. II., p. 29.
- Biographical Sketch of the Late J. Duncan Putnam. Vol. III., p. 255.
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BREMER COUNTY.—We have been informed by a gentleman from Bremer that that county is settling up rapidly with an intelligent and industrious population. The County Seat has been located at Waverly, seventeen miles north of Cedar Falls. At the latter place there are now six stores, all doing a good, and we trust profitable business. The counties of Buchanan, Black Hawk and Bremer are among the best in the State, and emigrants will not be disappointed in finding good locations in those counties unless they be very hard to please.—*Dubuque Daily Herald, January 17, 1854.*

IOWA UNDER TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENTS AND THE REMOVAL OF THE INDIANS.

BY ALONZO ABERNETHY.

THIS NEW EDITION OF LOUISIANA.

The territory from which the State of Iowa was formed became a part of the United States through the Louisiana purchase of April 30, 1803. The acquisition of this territory secured subject to the rights of the Indians who were in possession.

This acquisition was a great benefit to many respects. In area it more than doubled the territory of the United States, adding 1,171,383 square miles to the previous area of 27,844 square miles. The territory of the United States and the possibilities of cultivation.

practically as a gift to the United States. It came from the prospective humiliation of being captured by the English. The Westerners had blazed a trail for their produce, but no order had been issued to close the Mississippi. "The French intend to sell New Orleans deliberately throw down the gauntlet to the Westerners. They at once united in earnest protest against this injustice. They threatened to organize an army to invade to capture New Orleans. President Jefferson had dispatched Monroe to France to try to buy the city with a little territory adjoining on the east, but before he reached Paris Napoleon sold to Livingston, our minister, "I will sell you Louisiana." Without authority to buy, without money to pay, Livingston hesitated. "Jefferson had led his party into power as the special champion of States' Rights and the special opponent of national sovereignty."

Finally Napoleon offered to sell, and after some parleying, \$15,000,000 was named in the treaty. The United States had just sold our government less than two years before. The acquisition of this territory was a great benefit to many respects. In area it more than doubled the territory of the United States, adding 1,171,383 square miles to the previous area of 27,844 square miles. The territory of the United States and the possibilities of cultivation.

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*Yours very truly,
Alonzo Abernethy*

ALONZO ABERNETHY.

Soldier, legislator, educator. Rose from private in the Ninth Iowa Infantry to Colonel.

He took part in 40 battles, and was twice wounded. Graduated at the University

of Chicago in 1866. He served in the Iowa house of representatives (1866);

as superintendent of public instruction (1872-6); and as regent of

IOWA UNDER TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENTS AND THE REMOVAL OF THE INDIANS.*

BY COL. ALONZO ABERNETHY.

THE PURCHASE OF LOUISIANA.

The territory from which the State of Iowa was formed became a part of the United States through the Louisiana Purchase of April 30, 1803. The title was acquired subject to the rights of the Indians who were in possession.

This acquisition was a marvelous one in many respects. In area it more than doubled the territory of the United States; adding 1,171,931 square miles to its previous area of 827,844 square miles. The fertility of its soil and the possibilities of cultivation were incomparably greater. It came practically as a gift from the great Napoleon, to save him from the prospective humiliation of its capture by the English. The Westerners had blazed their way down the Ohio, and into the Mississippi valley. New Orleans was the only outlet for their produce, but an order had been issued to close the Mississippi. "The French Intendant at New Orleans deliberately threw down the gage of battle to the Westerners. They at once united in earnest protest against this injustice. They threatened to organize an army of invasion to capture New Orleans. President Jefferson had dispatched Monroe to France to try to buy the city with a little territory adjoining on the east, but before he reached Paris Napoleon said to Livingston, our minister, "I will sell you Louisiana." Without authority to buy, without money to pay, Livingston hesitated. "Jefferson had led his party into power as the special champion of States' Rights, and the special opponent of national sovereignty." Impatiently Napoleon pressed his offer to sell, and after some parleying, \$15,000,000 was named in the treaty of purchase. This province cost our government less than two cents an acre. It solved some national and some international problems that had already become acute and serious. Most of all, it settled in the simplest possible manner

* This paper was read at the tenth biennial meeting of the Pioneer Law Makers' Association.

and for all time, the civil, industrial, and international status of North America. It dedicated the continent to governments "of the people, by the people, for the people." It made later acquisitions easy and natural. At the end of a century, the power and possibilities given this government by that purchase, over the destiny of humanity, are beginning to be revealed.

IOWA TERRITORY UNDER SUCCESSIVE GOVERNMENTS.

Our Iowa part of this territory, about one-twentieth, passed under various names in its progress toward statehood, eight altogether. In the original treaty of cession it was termed, the colony or province of Louisiana, or simply Louisiana. March 26, 1804, Congress passed an act dividing the territory; that lying north of the 33d degree of north latitude being organized as the District of Louisiana, and attached for civil purposes to Indiana Territory, which at that time joined it on the east, and was under the administration of Mr. William Henry Harrison as territorial governor. The act to take effect October 1, 1804, and continue for one year. This act of Congress vesting the executive power in the governor of another territory was not satisfactory to the people of the district. They held that they were being placed under "the dictates of a foreign government," that is, across the river. They objected strongly also to the provision authorizing the President to arrange with Indian tribes owning lands east of the Mississippi to remove and settle on the west side. Congress accordingly made haste to give them a territorial government of their own, changing the name to the Territory of Louisiana, and providing for a governor, secretary, and three judges, and later some other civil officers. This act to take effect July 4, 1805.

This territory of Louisiana was continued until 1812, when the name was again changed to the Territory of Missouri, the act to take effect December 7 of that year, and giving additional powers to the governor and other executive officers, providing also for a legislative body to consist of two houses, the lower house to be elected by the people.

When Missouri was admitted as a state, August 10, 1821, the remainder of the Territory of Missouri was left practically

without any civil government. This was not, under the circumstances, so very serious an oversight, since about the only white people within its bounds, after Missouri had been cut off, were fur traders or trappers, who were as a rule scattered at long distances from each other over this vast territory. But now that Missouri was filling up on the south, and Illinois on the east, with the steady and ever-increasing army of invasion crowding westward, it was in the nature of things impossible for the fairest region in all this great western world to much longer remain the happy hunting grounds of the roving and untutored red men, in their eager and exultant pastime of scalping each other.

June 28, 1834, Congress rather tardily attached this region to the Territory of Michigan for the purpose of temporary government.

In the meantime, however, the barrier of the Mississippi had been removed, and what is now eastern Iowa had been opened up for settlement, and for thirteen months a steady stream of immigration had been pouring across the river and spreading itself out everywhere miles away to the west.

Two months after the organization of this Territory a Legislative Council convened at Detroit and organized two counties west of the Mississippi—called the Iowa District—divided by a line running due west from the lower end of Rock Island. They were named Des Moines and Dubuque, and constituted each a township, namely, Flint Hills, and Julien. This act gave the first semblance of government to this new district, and soon led to important results. George W. Jones was sent as a delegate to Congress the next year and soon secured the law creating the Territory of Wisconsin, which took effect July 3, 1836, covering the same territory as the former, with a portion left out which a few months later became the state of Michigan. Governor Henry Dodge of the new Territory ordered a census in the following August, which showed a population of 10,531 within the district. But meantime not a township of its land had been surveyed. This Wisconsin Territory continued just two years, and was followed July 3, 1838, by the Territory of Iowa, eliminating from the former territory what is now the state of Wisconsin. Thus

cut down, Iowa embraced still all that portion of the original territory of Louisiana lying between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, extending from the northern boundary of the state of Missouri on the south to the British possessions on the north; that is, all of Iowa, all of Minnesota west of the Mississippi river and a line drawn due north from its source, and all of the Dakotas east of the Missouri and White Earth rivers.

At this date not a quarter section of land had been offered for sale by the government, though a census taken the previous May showed a population of 22,859. December 28, 1846, the State of Iowa was formed with its present boundaries.

INDIAN OCCUPANCY AND OWNERSHIP.

During the forty-three years from the Louisiana Purchase to the organization of our state the Indians had exclusive control for thirty years and partial control the remaining thirteen. Their right to the territory occupied was recognized from the first, notwithstanding the slender grounds for any very valid claim, oftentimes based largely on their ability to drive away other claimants who also wanted the same territory for occasional use as hunting ground.

Forts were established and occupied by United States troops, successively on the border, at Fort Madison, Rock Island, and Prairie du Chien, at an early day; and later at Council Bluffs in 1839, Fort Atkinson in 1840, Des Moines in 1843, and Ft. Dodge in 1849, to protect the Indians from the encroachments of whites and to guard frontier settlements in territory already ceded, from depredations of the Indians.

The early Presidents all voiced the sentiments of the people generally in their solicitude for the future of the aborigines found here at the time of the discovery. President Monroe, who had earlier proposed to colonize the Indians west of the Mississippi, "as they would never be disturbed there by white men," said to Congress in 1825:

Being deeply impressed with the opinion that the removal of the Indian tribes from the lands which they now occupy within the limits of the several states and territories, is of very high importance to our Union, and may be accomplished on conditions and in a manner to promote the interest and happiness of those tribes; the attention of

the government has been long drawn, with great solicitude to the subject. Experience has clearly demonstrated that in their present state it is impossible to incorporate them in such masses, in any form whatever, into our system. The great object to be accomplished is the removal of these tribes on conditions which shall be satisfactory to themselves, and honorable to the government.

It has been estimated that there were as many as ten thousand Indians who claimed their home in Iowa when the first treaties were made for their removal. Some estimates make the number as high as fifteen thousand. Prior to June 1, 1833, the entire territory of Iowa was in the undisputed possession of the Indians—Sacs and Foxes mainly—while north of their territory, in what is now northern Iowa and Minnesota, were the hunting grounds of various tribes of the Sioux. Boundary lines were unknown to the savages and bloody conflicts between these hostile and warlike tribes were of frequent occurrence as they made incursions upon each other's territory.

Mr. Willard Barrows, United States Deputy Surveyor, Cincinnati, Ohio, in his Notes on Iowa, published in 1845 with map, says:

It was not till the summer of 1833 that any Indian title was extinguished to the territory of Iowa. The country had been in possession of various Indian tribes for centuries; its rich and fertilizing soil had for ages drank the blood of contending foes for possession. Its hills and valleys, its rivers and prairies, have witnessed the most bloody conflicts ever fought by the savages of our western world, as the numerous battle grounds that everywhere strew the land will testify.

THE NEUTRAL LINE.

The government had begun early in the century, through its Indian agents and other officers, to check the spirit of savagery between the more hostile tribes, and various treaties of "peace and amity" had been concluded with them when Gov. William Clark of St. Louis, then Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and Gov. Lewis Cass of Michigan Territory, negotiated a treaty with various Indian tribes at Prairie du Chien, August 19, 1825, by which it was agreed that the government should run a line between the Sioux on the north, and the confederated tribes of the Sacs and Foxes on the south, which

should be a boundary between their countries. Section 2 of this treaty read as follows:

It is agreed between the confederated tribes of the Sacs and Foxes, and the Sioux that the line between their respective countries shall be as follows: Commencing at the mouth of the Upper Ioway river, on the west bank of the Mississippi, and ascending the said Ioway river to its left fork, thence up that fork to its source, thence crossing the fork of the Red Cedar river in a direct line to the second or upper fork of the Des Moines river, and thence on a direct line to the lower fork of the Calumet (Big Sioux) river; down that river to its junction with the Missouri river.

The line provided for in the above excerpt was surveyed by Nathan Boone, United States Deputy Surveyor, beginning April 19, 1832, as follows:

Beginning at a point inaccessible in the middle of the main channel of the Upper Iowa and its confluence with the Mississippi river, thence running up the Iowa river, south 62 degrees and 20 minutes west, 23 miles and 20 chains to a big spring near the mouth of the left hand fork of that river, 50 links wide. On the lower side of the fork is a cliff about 20 feet high. Thence up said left hand fork, south 17 degrees and 15 minutes east, 8 miles and 20 chains, thence south 73 degrees and 15 minutes west, 133 miles and 43 chains to the second or upper fork of the Des Moines river.*

The first point named is supposed to be the mouth of Trout Run in or near Section 9, Township 98, Range 7, about six miles below Decorah, Winneshiek county; the second, in or near Section 23-97-7; the next section of the line ran to the Des Moines river. Capt. Boone in his Field Notes describing this latter line says:

From this point ran a random line south 75 degrees west, to strike the second or upper fork of the Des Moines river—ran this line 130 miles and 46 chains to the east bank of the second or upper fork of the Des Moines river, 150 links wide, running southwest, which was found to be 4 miles and 5 chains northerly of the said fork. Thence a meandered line to the upper or second fork of the river, making the length of the true line 133 miles, 43 chains from the source of the left hand fork of the Upper Iowa river to the upper or second fork of the river Des Moines. Here established a corner on the east side and at the junction of said fork with the river Des Moines and planted

*Surveyor's Field Notes. Copies of the Field Notes kindly furnished the writer from the Office of Indian Affairs at Washington, for the preparation of this paper, are deposited in the State Historical Department at Des Moines.

a post in prairie at high water mark, on the southwest side of a natural mound of from 40 to 50 feet in width at base and 10 feet in height. Immediately opposite this mound is the head or upper point of an island, the main channel of the river passes on the east side of the island. The true line from this point to the head of the left hand fork of the Iowa river is north 73 degrees, 15 minutes east.

The point was also witnessed by two elm trees standing near the post—one 24 inches in diameter, the other 12 inches; but these trees have probably long since disappeared.

This point is doubtless at the confluence of the east and west forks of the Des Moines, in Section 19-91-28, three miles below Dakota City in Humboldt county. No other forks on the river would comply with the length and direction of the lines given in the Field Notes. A number of early maps which show this neutral line and the boundaries of the neutral ground on either side of it have been consulted, and all corroborate this view; among the number are Lieut. Albert M. Lea's Map of 1836, John Plumbe's and J. H. Colton's Maps of 1839, J. H. Colton's and Jesse Williams' Maps of 1840, Newhall's Map of 1841, Willard Barrows' Map of 1845.*

Lieut. Lea's map shows the mouth of the Lizard a few miles below the line of the Boone survey of the neutral line, the mouth of the Boone river 12 or 15 miles below the southern boundary of the neutral ground, and the north line touching Clear Lake on the north.

Part II of the Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology for 1896-97, Plate 131, contains a small map of Iowa showing these and later Indian boundaries, but rather inaccurately drawn.

The remainder of the treaty line—"and thence in a direct line to the lower fork of the Calumet river; and down that river to its junction with the Missouri river"—was never run. It was expressly stipulated in the same article of the treaty that this line was not to be considered as settled until the assent of the Yancton band should be given. And if the said band should refuse their assent, the arrangement of that portion of the boundary line should be void and the right of the parties to the country bounded thereby should be the same as if no provision had been made for an extension of the line

*The libraries of the State Historical Department at Des Moines, and of the State Historical Society at Iowa City, contain each very interesting and valuable collections of these early maps of Iowa.

west of the forks of the Des Moines river. By the eleventh article of that treaty (1825) a council was to be held with the Yancton band of Sioux, during the year 1826, to explain to them the stipulations of the treaty and to procure their assent thereto, should they be disposed to give it, but no record is on file in this office that such a council was ever held.*

THE NEUTRAL GROUND.

A second treaty of peace and amity was held at Prairie du Chien, July 15, 1830, at which the Sioux Indians ceded a tract 20 miles in width north of the neutral line, and the Sacs and Foxes a like tract south of the line, between the Mississippi and the Des Moines rivers; this forty milé tract to be held as neutral ground. Both lines were run in three sections as the neutral line had been, and parallel to it. The northern boundary began at the Mississippi 20 miles north of the Upper Iowa, the first section being 44 miles and 41.50 chains in length, apparently terminating in the northwest corner of Winneshiek county. The second was 5 miles and 40 chains long, and the west section 127 miles in length, passing south of Osage, north of Mason City, and touching the north bank of Clear Lake at one point, and reaching the Des Moines near the southeast corner of Palo Alto county.

The southern boundary of the neutral ground began on the west bank of the Mississippi river at a stake 5.40 chains southeast of a very noted rock of about 200 feet in height. This conspicuous cliff was known as Painted Rock, on which was drawn at some very early date the figure of an animal, and the word "Tiger" with some other names and symbols. Judge Murdock said the painting was there in 1843, and looked ancient at that time. This rock is in the northeast quarter of the northwest quarter of Section 3-96-3, about half a mile north of Waukon Junction in Allamakee county. The survey was commenced by Nathan Boone, June 19, 1832, from the mouth of the Upper Iowa to Painted Rock and two miles west where he set a two mile post, when he quit work in consequence of the hostility of the Indians. September 8, 1833, James Craig resumed the survey at the point where Major Boone left off, running the line south 62 degrees 20 minutes

*Letter from Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 23, 1906.

west 19 miles further, where he planted the twenty-one mile post; thence south 17 degrees 15 minutes east 7 miles, crossing the Turkey river on the seventh mile; thence south 73 degrees and 15 minutes west, 125 miles and 33 chains to the Des Moines river. The first section of this line passed near the town of Luana, to about Section 27-95-6; the next to Section 36-94-6, in Meadow and Marion townships, Clayton county. The southwest corner of the neutral ground, that is, the point where the southern boundary reached the Des Moines, is easily and accurately determined by the surveyor's field notes recording the meanderings of the river north to the post established by Capt. Boone in the earlier survey. This survey begins four miles above the mouth of the Boone river at the northeast corner of the northern loop of the river, in Section 15-87-27, and follows the various windings of the river throughout, as they are given in the new maps of Webster and Humboldt counties in the Iowa State Atlas of 1904. The line passed very near the present towns of Fayette and Iowa Falls.

CESSION OF WESTERN IOWA.

Another clause of this treaty of July 15, 1830, was as follows:

The said tribes (Sacs and Foxes) cede and relinquish to the United States forever all their right and title to the lands lying within the following boundary, to-wit: Beginning at the upper fork of the Des Moines river, and passing the sources of the Little Sioux and Floyd rivers to the fork of the first creek which falls into the big Sioux or Calumet on the east side; thence down said creek and Calumet river to the Missouri; thence down said Missouri river to the Missouri state line, above the Kansas; thence along said line to the northwest corner of the said state;* thence to the high lands between the waters falling into the Missouri and Des Moines, passing on said high lands along the dividing ridge between the forks of the Grand river, thence along said high lands or ridge separating the waters of the Missouri from those of the Des Moines, to a point opposite the source of the Boyer river, and thence in a direct line to the upper fork of the Des Moines, the place of beginning. But it is understood that the lands ceded and relinquished by this treaty are to be assigned and allotted under the direction of the President of the United States, to the tribes now living thereon, or to such other tribes as the President may locate thereon for hunting and other purposes.

*At this date the western boundary of Missouri extended both north and south from the mouth of the Kansas.

The above described cession, though not made for the purpose of opening this large western section of our state to the settlement of whites, finally facilitated such a result fifteen years later.

THE HALF-BREED TRACT.

A treaty had been signed at Washington, August 4, 1824, with the Sacs and Foxes providing that: "the small tract of land lying between the rivers Des Moines and Mississippi, and the extension of the state boundary line of Missouri, is intended for the use of the half-breeds belonging to the Sac and Fox nation." This treaty was made for the benefit of the families of early traders and trappers who had married Indian women. The tract contained 113,000 acres, and was held by them until 1834.

THE BLACK HAWK PURCHASE.

The first land in Iowa acquired by the government from the Indians for the purpose of opening it to permanent settlement, consisted of a tract extending along the Mississippi from the northern boundary of Missouri to the southern boundary of the neutral ground about 50 miles wide, and called the Black Hawk Purchase. The Keokuk Reserve, a strip 10 by 40 miles in extent along the lower Iowa river, about half being on each side, and extending down to Wapello's village below the present site of Wapello in Louisa county, was reserved from this purchase. This tract was surveyed in October, 1835, by Charles DeWard, Assistant Surveyor: commencing at a point on the northern boundary of the state of Missouri, 50 miles west of the Mississippi, and 9.90 chains east of the 122d mile of the boundary, thence on a course north 28 degrees east, 95 miles and 43.15 chains to the intersection of the Red Cedar river 40 miles from the Mississippi, and thence north 29 degrees 15 minutes west, 75 miles and 14.50 chains to the intersection of the south line of the neutral ground; thence along that line 27 miles and 50 chains to the Turkey river, and along said south boundary to Painted Rock. The southern terminus of this line was 28 miles and 30 chains west of the Des Moines river, and about 5 miles west of the southwest corner of Van Buren county. The angle was near

where the Cedar river crosses the east line of Johnson county, and the northwest terminus, in the northern part of Fremont township, 92-10 in Fayette county.

The treaty by which this tract was acquired was negotiated September 21, 1832, by Gen. Winfield Scott,* and Gov. John Reynolds of Illinois, with the Sacs and Foxes and Winnebagoes, at a council held on the west bank of the Mississippi, where Davenport now stands.

The council had been called at Rock Island, but the meeting was changed to the west side of the river because the small-pox had broken out among the troops on the island. This purchase of some five million acres cost the government ten or twelve cents an acre. The treaty was ratified by Congress February 13, 1833, and the Indians gave possession June 1. This tract seems to have been demanded of the Indians as a kind of indemnity for the expenses of the recent Black Hawk war.

September 28, 1836, Gov. Henry Dodge made a treaty with the Sacs and Foxes at Davenport, for the purchase of the Keokuk Reserve; and secured possession November 1 following. Young James W. Grimes was secretary of this council. This tract of 256,000 acres cost \$195,988, about seventy-seven cents an acre.

SECOND BLACK HAWK PURCHASE.

October 21, 1837, another treaty was made at Washington, D. C., for the cession of an additional 1,250,000 acre tract adjoining the Black Hawk Purchase on the west; the northern and southern points to correspond with the northwest and southwest corners of the former purchase, the lines to meet at a point west of the angle, and about twenty-five miles distant.

This tract was partially surveyed by Chas. Bracken in 1839. The line ran from a point on the Red Cedar river, 40 miles from the Mississippi, west 25 miles, 51.10 chains; thence north 9 degrees 55 minutes west, 69 miles, 2.32 chains; thence with the cession line of 1832,

*The writer well remembers seeing Gen. Scott and being greatly impressed with the majestic appearance of this one of his early heroes, as he was passing through Ohio during the presidential campaign of 1848. The governor, Lewis Cass, also previously mentioned, was another boyhood hero, viewed with awe at an earlier date as he was traveling through Ohio in his private carriage from Detroit to Washington while representing Michigan in the U. S. Senate.

south $29\frac{1}{4}$ degrees east 75 miles, 14.50 chains to beginning. This constituted the upper half of the cession and contained 544,035.84 acres. The survey was then suspended on account of sickness of the surveyor.*

The south leg of the western boundary crossed the Des Moines river at the old town of Iowaville, a mile above Selma in Van Buren county.

This tract cost some twenty cents an acre. Thus was opened for settlement five months after Iowa Territory was created nearly three hundred townships of land, which was about one-fifth of what eight years later became the state of Iowa.

PURCHASE OF CENTRAL IOWA TERRITORY.

When, however, the government had once removed the Mississippi barrier, and permitted the steadily advancing army of civilization to plant its feet on the nether banks of the Father of Waters, no second halting place could long be maintained within the beautiful land, short of the Missouri, and the government agents were kept busy seeking new treaties. At the end of another four years so many had come into the new territory to find homes, and crowding up to the borders, while wild game was seeking refuge in the forests of western rivers, that when Gov. John Chambers met the Sac and Fox Indians at their agency near the Des Moines, ten miles west of the border, and a few miles east of where Ottumwa now stands, October 11, 1842, he was finally able to convince them that Iowa would no longer afford them hunting grounds suited to their needs; and a treaty was concluded by which they conveyed all their remaining lands in Iowa to the United States. They were to vacate the eastern portion May 1, 1843, and the remainder October 11, 1845. The line of division was to be: "A line running due north and south from the Painted or Red Rocks on the White Breast fork of the Des Moines river, which rocks will be found about eight miles, when reduced to a straight line, from the junction of the White Breast with the Des Moines."

The red rocks, however, were found to be, not on the White Breast which enters the Des Moines from the south, but on the

*18th Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology, Pt. 2, p. 767.

north side of the Des Moines itself, about eight miles above the mouth of White Breast creek, to follow the river, or 51.3 miles in a direct line. There are no other such rocks in the county nor indeed in the state. They form a very conspicuous ledge of deep red sand-stone, just such as would become a landmark to these roving peoples, and known far and wide; and are situated very near the center of Section 35-77-20, in Marion county. The line ran about a mile west of Knoxville and struck the south boundary of the neutral ground three miles west of Ackley in Hardin county. The late Senator Alfred Hebard of Red Oak, Iowa, was present at the negotiation of this treaty and signed it as a witness.

The Indians generally removed as they agreed, only about two hundred remaining beyond the allotted time, and they soon left. Before the first day of May, 1843, large numbers of white people assembled along the border, awaiting the hour when they could enter the portion of the new purchase then thrown open. Up to that date United States soldiers guarded the Indian country from intruders, as ten years previously they had guarded the Black Hawk Purchase. Eager for the choicest locations, some explorers, when the midnight hour struck, crossed the border with blazing torches, and set stakes, and blazed trees, to mark their claims. The rest of the Purchase was guarded by United States troops until the time fixed by the treaty for the removal of all the Indians, when there was another rush for choice locations.*

Two treaties of purchase and removal were made in 1846; one, June 5, by Col. Peter A. Sarpy, at Trader's Point on the Missouri river, in Mills county, with the Pottawattamies, for the re-purchase of the 5,000,000 acre tract on which they had been located by the government in 1835, and their removal within two years to Kansas; and another, by which the Winnebagoes, October 13, 1846, ceded their lands in the neutral grounds along the Upper Iowa, Turkey, Wapsipinecon, and Cedar rivers, for territory on the St. Peter's river in Minnesota, from which they were removed in 1848.

When the Sisseton and Wahpeton bands of the Sioux finally surrendered the Spirit Lake country, by treaty of July 23, 1851, more than 200,000 white people had homes in Iowa, yet a year later than that even, a fierce battle was fought

*Dr. Wm. Salter's "Iowa, the First Free State in the Louisiana Purchase," p. 251.

twenty miles northeast of Algona in Kossuth county, between a band of Musquakies and a party of Sioux who had come to hunt on the Upper Des Moines. They defeated their enemies, leaving sixteen dead Sioux to be scalped by their victors, left on the field and never buried nor removed.

Allusion was made above to the fact that when Iowa Territory was organized in 1838, 23,000 people were residing within its bounds on the 6,000,000 or more acres previously opened for settlement by the first and second Black Hawk Purchases; and that the government was not yet ready to sell an acre of land. The people had simply gone in and selected their claims, some of them—many of them—had been there waiting to buy for more than five years. Homesteaders in those days had no special privileges, as in later years, of securing their homesteads without cost, nor even to buy at a fixed price. The law then provided that when the lands had been surveyed, and land offices opened, the lands must all be offered at public auction, to the highest bidder; no bid to be accepted for less than \$1.25 an acre.

The first surveyors who entered the Black Hawk Purchase to lay off township lines came in the autumn of 1836, after Gov. Dodge's census takers had recorded the names of 10,531 residents.

At the end of two years' surveying enough land had been divided into quarter sections to open land offices. One was opened at Dubuque, November 5, 1838, and the other at Burlington, November 19, 1838.

At the Dubuque office twenty-three townships were placed on sale, in townships ranging from 78 to 92, and ranges from 1 to 8.

At the Burlington office twenty-five townships were placed on sale, in townships ranging from 67 to 77, and ranges from 1 to 10.

October 21, 1839, six more townships were placed on sale, all at the Burlington office; and in 1840, 140 additional townships had been divided up and were placed on sale.

There are many interesting phases connected with the early history of Iowa, including the character of the pioneers, methods of travel in those days, kinds of homes first occupied,

occupations of the emigrants, means of subsistence, absence of both market and marketable products, the unique and effective methods adopted by the homesteaders for adjusting their claims after the surveyor's lines had been run, and of securing their farms at the lowest price without competitive bidding. Most of these can be gleaned from the current histories of the State, THE ANNALS OF IOWA, the Historical Record of Iowa, and the interesting volumes published for the last twenty years by the Pioneer Law Makers' Association.

A POWER PRESS.—A queer looking article was hauled up in a wagon before the entrance to the Globe Building yesterday, which for a time was the observed of all observers. It was evident to every one that it was some sort of a machine, but whether for grinding corn, threshing wheat, or splitting shingles, various and conflicting were the conjectures. Although quiet looking enough perched up in the wagon, it was regarded with a sort of suspicious uneasiness, till a printer from the Herald office, recognizing the appearance of the stranger, smiled a welcome and approached it with extended arm. Suspicion was at once superceded by a conviction that it had some relation to the art of arts. And so it has. It is a Power Press, the first in the State of Iowa, we believe, brought hither by the proprietors of the Dubuque Herald to keep pace with the increase of job work in this place, and to do it at such prices as will enable every person to help along his business, by circulating cards, circulars, etc., among the people. This machine will probably be in operation in a few days, when the public will be invited to gratify their curiosity.—*Dubuque Daily Herald, January, 1854.*

WHENCE CAME THE PIONEERS OF IOWA?

BY F. I. HERRIOTT,
Professor in Drake University.

[*Concluded from April.*]¹

There is a subtle attraction about exclusive explanations of political events or institutional developments that is wont to lure us into erroneous conclusions—conclusions that are too extensive or sweeping. It is untrue to say that the population of Iowa prior to 1850 was made up entirely of emigrants from any one section of the country. The pioneer population, no less than the present population, we shall find, was an infusion of people hailing from various regions. The representatives of the several race elements each and all played parts more or less important in the life of the State. But in the coalescence or collision of the peoples from the various sections in their new habitat some one race or group of immigrants predominated and determined the character of the government and the general drift of political opinion. In what follows I am concerned to ascertain and to make clear what the dominant elements or streams were among the pioneers of Iowa.

We have seen that while there are many facts in the history of Iowa that tend strongly to substantiate the tradition that New Englanders first settled the State the absence of the distinctive local institutions of New England and in their stead political conditions, institutions and social habits of radically unlike types, suggest, if they do not enforce the conclusion that peoples from other regions dominated by different habits and ideals constituted the major portions of the streams of pioneer immigration prior to 1850. Our question now is—Whither shall we proceed from New England to discover the ancestral seats of the pioneers whose habits, notions and traditions of government and society so power-

¹ *Erratum.* President Shelton's address, referred to on p. 375, was made in 1902 instead of 1892 as stated.

fully affected the currents of politics and the development of forms of government in Iowa during the formative period of the State when its fundamental institutions were given their "set" and the civic and social traits of the people were so largely determined? Into the lands of the tall pines and the deep snows north of the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence; or into the middle states; or into the vast regions south of Mason and Dixon's line and the Ohio river?

The nativity of the pioneers of Iowa, those settling in the State prior to 1850, unfortunately cannot be determined precisely by a resort to census enumerations. We are compelled to have recourse to inductive proofs gathered from sundry sources and to various deductive or general considerations governing the movements of population westward from the Atlantic seaboard from colonial times up to the outbreak of the civil war. Such evidence is circumstantial and often variable in character; nevertheless it affords us bases for definite conclusions.

The character of a state's immigration is determined, of course, by many and various conditions and factors. But in the last analysis the nature of the immigration and the rate of influx are determined by two sets of conditions and causes, both being in the long run, of equal force and importance. The first set is the character of the economic advantages which a state offers and the expense of travel thereto. The second complex of causes is the conditions, economic, political and social, in the countries or states whence the population may or does emigrate. In brief, we shall discover the character of Iowa's pioneer population in sundry fundamental facts or laws that control the conduct of peoples in their migrations. We must appreciate Iowa's geographical location, the chief features of her topography, her natural products having commercial value, the routes and modes of travel to her borders. We must likewise realize the character of the predominant industries in the regions whence the state may have received its immigration and the economic,

political, and social consequences with respect to the redundant population in those regions. Space limits obviously prevent satisfactory treatment of all these antecedent conditions and factors, and I shall consider chiefly the first set of considerations mentioned.

Furs, metals, wooded streams and beautiful prairies, with highly fertile acres and favorable climate, have been Iowa's chief economic advantages throughout her history. Prior to 1830 furs and metals were the attractions that lured frontiersmen within the State's borders. The one mineral found, viz: lead, while of consequence was not a very important factor so far as concerned its immediate effect upon pioneer immigration. Furs, on the other hand, was an important factor. Buffalo and deer flourished on our prairies and beaver and otter thrived in our rivers and streams.¹ Since 1840, however, neither our metals nor our fur bearing animals have constituted the predominant or persistent attractions of Iowa. The attraction has been her beautiful and bountiful lands.

The routes of travel by which the pioneers gained access to the haunts of our beavers and to our fertile acres were mainly three: First, via the Great Lakes to Green Bay, thence up the Fox river to Lake Winnebago, thence across to the Portage, and down the Wisconsin river;² second, via the Ohio river, thence up the Mississippi and Missouri rivers; third, overland by wagon. The degree of use of these routes before the advent of the railroad can only be surmised. Prior to 1845 certainly the river routes were the highways chiefly used by the westward bound emigrants.³ From 1845 overland travel by wagon became increasingly common until the railroad became a practicable mode of travel, round about 1860.⁴

¹ Salter's Iowa, p. 31.

² Featherstonhaugh's Geological Reconnaissance, pp. 121-123; and History of Clayton County (Interstate Pub. Co.), pp. 250-254.

³ L. H. Langworthy's Dubuque, Its History, Mines, Indian Legends, p. 5; N. H. Parker's Iowa As It Is in 1855, pp. 53-61, and J. M. D. Burrows' Fifty Years in Iowa (1838-1888) pp. 33-36, 62-63.

⁴ ANNALS OF IOWA (3d ser.), vol. II, pp. 264.

With such commercial and industrial attractions and such routes of travel thereto we should naturally presume that Iowa's pioneer population in the main hailed from the land of the pines and from south of Mason and Dixon's line. Indeed, when we consider the nature of the industries of the people to the northeast and southeast prior to 1840, and the economic effects upon redundant population such a conclusion seems to be enjoined.

The first people to penetrate and frequent Iowa in any numbers were the French and Canadian hunters, traders and *voyageurs*. No large or durable French settlements, however, were found when the immigrants began to come into the State after 1830. From this fact it is perhaps commonly assumed that people of French extraction or of Canadian lineage formed no considerable proportion of the State's early population. This conclusion, however, is hardly warranted. But as our special concern here is the major factor in the pioneer population, I shall pass over this interesting element and turn immediately to the population that came into Iowa via the Mississippi river and overland by wagon. From what section did the major or predominant number come?

We may determine this in various ways; first, by noting the nativity of the men chiefly in control in the State's pre-natal period; second, by ascertaining the nativity of the first residents in numerous sections; third, by the nativity of the men in power in the territorial and State governments in the pioneer days prior to 1850; fourth, by comparison of the returns of the national census of 1850; fifth, by a study of the industrial, political, religious and social habits and institutions of the pioneers; sixth, by a study of contemporary opinion; seventh, by a similar study of the pioneer immigration into and emigration from the states of the Ohio valley, namely, Pennsylvania, the Virginias, Kentucky and Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, Wisconsin and Missouri. Space limits permit but brief consideration of some of these modes of approach to the subject.

The nativity of the officers in charge of the governmental agencies in a region often, if not usually, indicates the nativity of the pioneer population—at least it points to the origin of the major political and social influences that prevail when the political habits and institutions of the people are being established. In the first settlements of the upper Ohio valley the hardy pioneers usually pushed ahead of the army and the assessor and justice of the peace; but in the Louisiana Purchase the military authority always, and often the civil jurisdiction of the national government were “extended” over its vast unsettled regions previous to or coincident with the influx of settlers. The reports and correspondence of such officers would naturally have a pronounced influence upon relatives, old friends and neighbors “back in the states” that would induce emigration to the region where “splendid opportunities” awaited those who would but take them.

When France released her authority over the Louisiana Purchase in 1804, the region embracing Iowa was for a short time attached to the territory of Indiana, over which William Henry Harrison, a son of old Virginia, was governor. At St. Louis, in 1804, he negotiated the treaty by which the United States gained the right of access to most of the lands of the Sacs and Foxes. It was a Marylander, Gen. James Wilkinson, stationed then at St. Louis, who ordered Lieut. Zebulon M. Pike forth on his exploring trip up the Mississippi. Col. George Davenport, a one time partner in the American Fur Company, and influential in the history of Scott county and Davenport, served under Wilkinson, being with him on the Sabine during the trouble with Aaron Burr.¹ Among the officers stationed at Ft. Madison in the winter of 1808-9 was a Kentuckian, Lieut. Nathaniel Pryor, a member of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.²

¹ ANNALS OF IOWA (1st ser.), vol. I, p. 99. After his discharge from the army Col. Davenport was employed in the service of Col. William Morrison of Kentucky, a government contractor.

² See ANNALS OF IOWA (3d ser.), vol. III, pp. 98-99. Tuttle in his History of Iowa (p. 60) credits Zachary Taylor with constructing Ft. Madison but it seems without warrant. ANNALS, p. 99.

The first governor having intimate relations with the region embracing Iowa was Capt. Meriwether Lewis, a son of Virginia, the leader of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. The Brigadier General and Indian Agent for the territory was his distinguished companion, Capt. William Clark, another son of Virginia. Upon the organization of Missouri territory (that included Iowa) in 1812, Gen. Clark was made governor, holding the office until 1821, when Missouri entered the Union. Governor Clark's voice, however, continued potent in the region as Indian Agent until his death in 1838; one noteworthy instance being the treaty of 1824, whereby the Half Breed tract was established. It was at the instance of Gen. Clark that Antoine LeClaire, afterward so prominent in the history of Scott county, was taken into the American service and given an English schooling to enable him to serve as an interpreter.¹ Among the first "white" women in Clayton county, it is claimed, was a former slave or house servant of Gen. Clark. She was a mulatto.²

During the period from 1821 to 1834, when Iowa was merely a part of the unorganized territory of the United States, its affairs were looked after by officers of the army and Indian Agents, whose work consisted mainly of protecting the Indians against aggressions of the whites. Among them were many southerners who later acquired great fame in national affairs. The first officer sent to look after the Galena miners was Col. Willoughby Morgan, a Virginian.³ Col. Zachary Taylor was another Virginian with whom the miners in Dubuque came into direct collision on July 4, 1830. Col. Taylor ordered them to disperse and on their refusal sent troops from Ft. Crawford to arrest them. Years after he declared to Mr. Langworthy that "those miners at Dubuque were worse to manage than the Seminoles or even the Mexicans."⁴ Associated some-

¹ ANNALS OF IOWA (1st ser.), vol. I, pp. 145-146.

² History of Clayton County, p. 251.

³ Wis. His. Coll., vol. VI, p. 272.

⁴ Langworthy's Dubuque, pp. 18-21, 21.

what intimately with Taylor, especially during the Black Hawk war, was a Kentuckian of note, Lieut. Jefferson Davis. He is declared to have acted with and for Taylor when the Mission School for the Winnebago Indians was established in Allamakee county in 1854.¹ Davis was also assigned to the adjutantship of the First U. S. Dragoons, of which Henry Dodge was colonel. In that regiment Davis, we are told by the late Gen. James C. Parrott of Keokuk, himself a Marylander, was a "great crony of my [Parrott's] Capt. Browne."² The captain referred to was Jesse B. Browne, afterwards one of the first merchants of Keokuk and the speaker of Iowa's first territorial house of representatives that convened in Burlington in December, 1838. With another Iowan, G. W. Jones, later of Dubuque, Jefferson Davis formed in those early days a fast friendship that endured until death severed the ties—a friendship that had a momentous influence upon the political views and conduct of one, if not both of Iowa's first senators, a friendship that eventually caused the imprisonment of Gen. Jones on the charge of treasonable conduct during the civil war. With that same regiment was Lieut. Albert M. Lea, a North Carolinian, whose report on explorations throughout Iowa determined the site of the second Ft. Des Moines, and the publication of his little book of "Notes," in Philadelphia in 1836. Another southerner of note in the same regiment was Capt. Nathan Boone, the youngest son of the great Daniel Boone, of Kentucky. He aided Lieut. Lea greatly in furnishing data for the latter's map of Iowa.³

Another distinguished southerner intimately associated with the preterritorial days of Iowa was Robert E. Lee. With respect to Lee Mr. Langworthy suggests that it was probably largely due to his report to congress in 1838 that Iowa received her name.⁴ There are some who claim that

¹ History of Allamakee County, p. 368.

² ANNALS (3d ser.), vol. III, p. 367.

³ Iowa Hist. Rec., vol. VI, p. 550.

⁴ Langworthy's Dubuque, p. 41.

Lee county was named in honor of the efficient and genial officer who studied the region of the Rapids so thoroughly.¹ One of the classmates of Davis and Lee at West Point was afterwards a notable figure in Iowa's history, Charles Mason, for many years Judge of the Supreme Court and subsequently the author of the Iowa Code of 1851. In the service with these men, especially in connection with the Black Hawk war, were Generals E. P. Gaines, a Virginian and Henry Atkinson, a North Carolinian, after whom Ft. Atkinson, located on Turkey river in Winneshiek county, was named. At this fort was stationed Capt. J. J. Abercrombie, a Tennessean, and Lieut. Alfred Pleasanton, a Washingtonian, both of whom rose to high rank in the Union army, and Lieutenants Simon B. Buckner, Henry Heth, Abraham Buford and Alex. W. Reynolds, all of whom became general officers in the Confederate army.² Another conspicuous figure in the negotiations with the Sacs and Foxes following the Black Hawk war was also a Virginian, Gen. Winfield Scott.

Next to Gen. William Clark, of Missouri, the most noteworthy Indian Agent of the national government immediately charged with the supervision of the interests of the Indians in Iowa and Wisconsin, was "a grand old Virginian,"³ Gen. Joseph M. Street. It was he who strove so vigorously to initiate the policy of mission schools among the Indians. His services for the nation's wards won for him honorable distinction in the Indian annals of the middle west. He lies buried in the graveyard at Agency City, Iowa, near-by the grave of the chief Wapello, of the Sacs and Foxes. Gen. Street's son-in-law, Capt. George Wilson, was in the same company with Jefferson Davis at Ft. Crawford. Both were in the company that expelled the Dubuque miners.⁴ Capt. Wilson later became the first adjutant of the militia of the

¹ ANNALS (1st ser.), vol. I, p. 894.

² ANNALS (3d ser.), vol. IV, p. 452.

³ Judge George G. Wright's characterization, ANNALS (3d ser.), vol. II, p. 387.

⁴ ANNALS (3d ser.), vol. IV, p. 565.

territory of Iowa.¹ Gen. Street's son, Joseph H. D. Street, was the first register of the land office in Council Bluffs.

Another prominent if not dominant figure in the Black Hawk war was Henry Dodge.² He soon thereafter became governor of Wisconsin territory and thereby of Iowa. He was a native of Indiana, but he spent his youth in Kentucky and began his public career in Missouri in 1805. He gained distinction in the latter state, holding many offices from sheriff and marshal up to the major general of Missouri's militia and member of the constitutional convention of Missouri in 1820. He was one of the positive factors in the first legislative enactments passed by the legislature of Wisconsin that first met at Belmont, Wis., and later at Burlington, Iowa.

If the general associations of men constitute any considerable factor in determining their conduct, in creating their attitude or state of mind with respect to life and its affairs, then enough has been shown to indicate that southern rather than New England ideas and traditions dominated the men who controlled Iowa, when it was in the initial processes of beginning, when it was inchoate, as the lawyers would put it. Their presence in and about Iowa was unquestionably a potent fact in determining the character of the inflow of immigrants that began in 1830. Let us ascertain, as far as may be, the nativity of the first settlers.

The first frontiersmen, other than the Canadian traders and trappers and *voyageurs*, to frequent Iowa were doubtless Kentuckians. With Lewis and Clark, besides Nathaniel Pryor already mentioned, were Sergeant Charles Floyd and nine other young men, all Kentuckians. Floyd's remains now lie on the bluffs of the Missouri near Sioux City. When William Hunt was fitting out his Astorian party at St. Louis in 1810 he was anxious to secure and did enlist

¹ ANNALS (3d ser.), vol. IV, pp. 563-570.

² Governor Ford of Illinois disputes Gen. Dodge's fame as the hero of the Black Hawk war. See his History of Illinois, pp. 146-153.

the services of several Kentuckian hunters and river men.¹ On their way up the river both the scientist, Bradbury, and Hunt separately encountered three Kentuckians returning, who for three years preceding had been hunting and trapping at the headwaters of the Missouri and Columbia.² That many of these "men of the western waters" had frequently penetrated Iowa far inland is surely not a violent presumption.

Col. John Smith of Missouri, some time after the death of Julien Dubuque and the sale of the latter's "Mines of Spain" at St. Louis, went up the river in a keel boat with sixty men, bent on mining and smelting lead in the region round about Dubuque. The belligerent attitude of the Indians, however, effectually interfered with his plans.³ The inhabitants of the mining region of Galena were largely people from Kentucky, Tennessee and southern Illinois, a region inhabited largely by people from the former states. It was Col. James Johnson, of Kentucky, brother of the celebrated Col. R. M. Johnson, who in 1823 inaugurated the lead mining in northwestern Illinois and southwestern Wisconsin. With him were Col. James Simrall, of Kentucky, the commander of Kentucky dragoons in the campaign in the northwest between 1812 and 1813; and John S. Miller, of Hannibal, Mo.⁴ Among that mining population was a notorious mining character, "Kentuck Anderson," who had a widespread reputation as a bruiser in fist fights, who later went over to Dubuque and in a feud six miles southwest of Dubuque was killed in 1836.⁵

All of southwestern Wisconsin was settled chiefly by southerners. It was their presence and predilections that secured the adoption of the county commissioner system of

¹ Irving's *Astoria*, ch. XIII.

² Bradbury's *Journals* (Thwaite's ed.), p. 98; Irving's *Astoria*, ch. XIII.

³ Iowa Historical Record, vol. XVI, p. 105.

⁴ Dr. Moses Meeker on "Early History of the Lead Region," Wisconsin Historical Collections, vol. VI, pp. 272-280. Caleb Atwater, in his *Tour to Prairie du Chien*, says erroneously, that "Gen. Henry Dodge, of Missouri," first settled in and began to work the lead mines. American Antiquities, p. 170.

⁵ Meeker *Ibid*, foot note of L. C. D. (Lyman C. Draper), p. 275.

local government in Wisconsin, and maintained it until the state was admitted into the Union in 1848, despite the wishes and protests of the New Englanders and New Yorkers who had gained control in Michigan and who were rapidly coming into Wisconsin.¹ Col. Arthur Cunyngname traveling across Illinois in 1850 encountered numerous caravans or wagon trains of the Kentuckians and Tennesseans from the Galena mines returning for the winter to their homes south of the Ohio.² We shall see later that the Dodges and Governors Clark and Hempstead, were among those interested in lead mining around Galena. Iowa, no doubt received prior to 1850, no inconsiderable number of the southern people from southern Wisconsin and northern Illinois. It is clear that the people who first began to look with covetous eyes across the Mississippi to the attractive lands in Iowa in the main hailed from the south.

We find southern men, or men of southern extraction, or of southern affiliation no less conspicuous and prominent in the government of the territory and State prior to 1850 and even well up to the outbreak of the civil war. Governor Robert Lucas, the first chief executive of the territory, was a native of Virginia, a descendant of that sturdy Scotch-Irish stock that so early pushed westward through the gaps of the Alleghanies into the valleys converging on the Ohio. His successor, John Chambers, although born in New Jersey in 1789, spent his life mainly in Kentucky from 1792 to 1844. In his old age he returned to Kentucky where he died. Governor James Clark was born in Westmoreland county, Penn. In 1836 he went to Missouri, thence to Belmont, and finally to Burlington. He married a daughter of Governor Henry Dodge, and thereby probably resulted his appointment. The first governor of the new State was Ansel Briggs, a Vermonter, a whig in Ohio, who became a democrat when he settled in Jackson county, Iowa, in 1836.

¹ Wis. Hist. Coll., vol. VI, pp. 502, 506, 507. Spencer's Local Government in Wisconsin.

² Cunyngname's A Glimpse at the Great Republic, p. 52.

His successor, Stephen Hempstead, although born in Connecticut, spent his youth in St. Louis, gained business experience in the lead mining region of Galena and settled in Dubuque in 1836. Governors James W. Grimes and Ralph P. Lowe were northern men by birth and affiliation. Governor Samuel J. Kirkwood was a Marylander, moulded as was Governor Lucas by a subsequent residence in Ohio.

In the relation of the territory and State to the national government, southerners and men of southern predilections were likewise dominant in most of the important positions. The first federal judge was John James Dyer, a native of Pendleton county, Virginia, now West Virginia. But for his refusal to consider the democratic nomination he probably would have been the first governor of the State of Iowa.¹ The United States marshal was Dr. Gideon S. Bailey of Van Buren, a native of Kentucky. Judge Dyer's successor in 1855 was another Virginian, James M. Love. Iowa's first territorial delegate to congress was W. W. Chapman, who was born and educated in Virginia under the tutelage of the noted lawyer St. George Tucker.² His successor in 1841 was Augustus Cæsar Dodge, a son of Governor Henry Dodge, born during the latter's residence in St. Genevieve, Mo., and he was Iowa's national representative until the State was admitted into the Union in 1846. When the first legislature broke the senatorial deadlock of 1846, the first senators elected were A. C. Dodge and George W. Jones. The latter was born at Vincennes, Indiana, spent his youth in Missouri, and was educated at Transylvania University, Kentucky. One could without doing violence to language claim one and perhaps both of Missouri's distinguished senators as Iowa's guardians and representatives in congress. Thomas H. Benton had, as is well known, a direct family interest in Iowa through his nephew who early attained distinction in Dubuque and later in State affairs in Iowa, and

¹ Iowa Historical Record, vol. XIII, p. 3.

² Ibid., II, p. 244.

Senator Lewis F. Linn was a half-brother of Governor Henry Dodge. So industrious was Senator Linn on behalf of the interests of this State that he was known as the "Iowa Senator."

Iowa's first representative in the lower house of congress was Shepherd Leffler, of Burlington; William Thompson of Mt. Pleasant, was our second; both sons of the Keystone state. Daniel F. Miller, our third representative, was born in Maryland, and our fourth, Lincoln Clark of Dubuque, was born in Massachusetts, but he had been a resident of Alabama from 1830 to 1848. Of the six other representatives in congress prior to 1860 one, James Thorington of Davenport was a North Carolinian, and Timothy Davis of Dubuque was a New Jerseyan who lived in Kentucky from 1817 to 1847.

Striking evidence of the domination of men of southern affiliations and antecedents in Iowa's political affairs prior to 1850, and even beyond, is afforded in the membership rolls of the early legislatures and constitutional conventions. The delegation from this side of the Mississippi in the Wisconsin legislatures that met first at Belmont and later at Burlington, numbered 18 out of the 39 members. Of Iowa's quota there was only one representative of New England, and one from New York, whereas there were four from Pennsylvania (three being from Washington county). The south had 8 representatives: one each from Virginia and Georgia, and three each from Kentucky and Tennessee. There was one each from Ohio and Illinois. In the first legislature of the Iowa territory in 1838, there were 20 southerners, 5 New Englanders, 8 from the middle states, and 5 from Ohio and Illinois. Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky and Tennessee were the southern states represented. Disregarding the southern stock among the people of Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois, sons of the south constituted more than half of the membership. The records of nativity are not complete for subsequent sessions and the states of origin

cannot be given except for the State senate in 1851, and the fifth general assembly that met in 1854. In the senate of the third general assembly (1851) southerners continued the most numerous, 7 as against 2 from New England. In 1854, however, we note an increase in the relative proportions of the representatives from the middle and northwest states. Nevertheless there were in the senate 10 southerners and only 4 New Englanders, and in the lower house 16 from the south and but 9 from northeast of the Narrows.

In the constitutional conventions that convened in 1844, 1846 and 1857 we find men hailing from south of Mason and Dixon's line greatly outnumbering the New Englanders. In the first convention there were 11 Virginians, 6 North Carolinians, 8 Kentuckians, and 1 Tennessean, 26 in all; while New England was represented by 10; the middle states by 23, of whom 13 came from Pennsylvania; Ohio had 8, and Indiana and Illinois each one. In the second the numbers were 15 from the south, 8 from New England, 4 from the middle states, and 5 from the northwest states. In the convention of 1857 the south had 10, New England 6, the middle states 11 and the northwestern states 9 representatives.

NATIVITY OF SOME OF IOWA'S LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATION.¹

Born in	Territorial Legislatures				State Assemblies			Constitutional Conventions		
	1st Wis., 1836-37		1st Ia., 1838-39		3d	5th		1844	1846	1857
	H. of R.	Co'ncil	H. of R.	Co'ncil	Senate	H. of R.	Senate			
New England...	1	.....	2	3	2	9	4	10	8	6
Middle States...	3	2	5	3	4	26	9	23	4	11
Southern States	6	2	15	5	7	16	10	26	15	10
Northwest States	1	1	4	1	5	15	6	10	5	9
Europe	1	1	.....	.....	.....	3	2	3	....	....
Total	12	6	26	12	18	69	31	72	32	36

¹ Figures in table, reading from left to right, are based upon Salter's Iowa, pp. 209-210; Fulton's Sketches of the Northwest, p. 154; a MS. in the Aldrich Collection; Senate Journal 1854 Appendix, pp. 246-248, 520-521; Shambaugh's Constitutional Conventions, 1844 and 1846, Appendices A and B; and Debates of Constitutional Convention (1857) vol. I, p. 4.

Among the pioneers opinions were now and then expressed concerning the nativity of the population. As we might anticipate the subject was not one that, amidst the press of efforts to subdue forest, prairie and stream, would seriously engage attention or elicit seasoned opinion. Personal associations, especially political and religious affiliations, usually narrowed vision and interfered with impartial judgment. A few recorded opinions are found that are of interest although they are somewhat divergent; some were expressed early in the history of the State, some in memoirs and recollections published in recent years.

Writing to Peter Cooper in 1868 Governor Samuel Merrill, a native of Maine who came to Iowa in 1856, declared that the State was "settled mainly from Ohio, Indiana and Pennsylvania, with a large admixture from New England."¹ Judge Francis Springer, also a son of Maine, who represented Louisa and Washington counties in the territorial council in 1840-41, and in 1857 became president of the third constitutional convention, stated in his "Recollections," published in 1897, that "the first settlers of Iowa, it has been said, were from southern Ohio, Indiana and Illinois."² Professor L. F. Parker, one of Iowa's pioneer teachers and historians, writing in 1893 said that "the earliest settlers came largely from southern Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and the most northerly of the southern states; Pennsylvania soon furnished a large contingent. . . . About 1854 large additions were made to the population from New England and from its earlier overflows into New York and northern Ohio."³ Mr. George Duffield of Keosauqua, a pioneer of 1837, has recently told us that when his father, James Duffield, started west in 1837, there were thousands of settlers "on the move" towards Iowa leaving Pennsylvania and Ohio. "They [the Duffields] were joined on their way down the Ohio by movers from the Carolinas, Kentucky and other

¹ ANNALS (1st ser.), vol. VII, p. 102.

² ANNALS (3d ser.), vol. II, p. 575.

³ L. F. Parker's Higher Education in Iowa, p. 11.

states, and all were afloat in keel boats, 'broads' and steam-boats."¹ The observation of the late Theodore Parvin respecting the settlement of sons of the Old Dominion in southeastern Iowa has already been quoted.² According to Hawkins Taylor "Yankees were a scarce article" in Lee county in the first years of the territory.³ During the winter of 1841 the late Mr. James Hilton of Monroe county made "a pedestrian tour of the counties of Lee, Des Moines, Henry, Jefferson and Van Buren" and he found that "by far the greater part of the settlers in that part of Iowa were from Virginia, Kentucky and Indiana. . . ."⁴

These three opinions are especially noteworthy. They were expressed by men whose experience with and knowledge of the pioneers were both extensive and official. Each opinion was expressed in connection with or relative to a critical event in the life of the territory or the State. The nativity of the people was consciously considered in the first and third and evidently in mind in the second: hence their significance.

When the first proposals for the organization of the territory of Iowa were being urged upon congress, the lynx-eyed, far-seeing guardian of slavery, Calhoun, was stoutly opposed. George W. Jones, the delegate of Wisconsin who urged our case "told him that the inhabitants were mainly from Missouri, Kentucky and Illinois; that the institutions of the south had nothing to fear from them. Mr. Calhoun replied that this state of things would not last long; that men from New England and other states where abolition sentiments prevailed, would come in and drive him from power and place."⁵ The error of both Jones and Calhoun was their lack of appreciation of the abolition or anti-slavery sentiment among the southerners who came north.

¹ ANNALS (3d ser.), vol. VI, p. 425; or *Memories of Frontier Iowa*, p. 29.

² *Ante*, pp. 368-9.

³ ANNALS (1st ser.), vol. VIII, p. 339.

⁴ ANNALS (3d ser.), vol. VI, p. 464.

⁵ Quoted from *Salter's Iowa*, pp. 229-230.

Writing to Salmon P. Chase upon conditions in Iowa in 1856, Governor Grimes declared: "the southern half of our State is strongly pro-slavery, but I think we will be able to carry a majority with us for free principles. . . . The north third of our State will be to Iowa politically what the Western Reserve is to the state of Ohio."¹ The implications plainly are: first, people of southern sympathies, if not of southern lineage numerically prevailed in Iowa up to 1856; second, the same was true of southern Ohio; and third, the opponents of slavery, if they were to win in their fight against the arrogant advance of the leaders of the southern system had to depend upon the division of the southern residents in Iowa. The latter fact has not been fully appreciated in Iowa. No more has a similar state of facts in southern and western Pennsylvania, in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois.

In 1859, excluding slavery, the question that vexed Iowans locally more than any other matter was the continuance of the county judge system that was instituted in 1851. The gross disregard of economy in financial administration, and often flagrant misuse of their autocratic powers in many districts outraged the dearest traditions of the New Englanders and New Yorkers who came into Iowa in such numbers between 1850 and 1860. Mr. Julius H. Powers was elected to the senate in 1859 from a district in north central Iowa comprising nine counties. He was chairman of the senate committee on county and township organization. In describing the contest in the legislature over the attempt to revolutionize the system of local government, Mr. Powers explains the animus of the struggle, and so far as I can discover he is the only observer or writer who has perceived the profound social and political consequences of the different streams of pioneer immigration into Iowa in the *ante bellum* period:

Two tides had flowed into Iowa in populating the State, one from the

¹ Salter's Grimes, p. 54.

east, bringing the New England element and habits, with its memory of town meetings and individual rights, and one from the south bringing with it the southern element with its thoughts and polity.

In the early settlement of the State the southerner had largely predominated, and the State's early organization was fashioned and moulded by that influence, and the old baronial system had been perpetuated through the slave power where necessity required a centralizing. To abolish this one man power and disburse it among the many was looked upon by the southern element as dangerous in the extreme, and considerable bitterness was engendered when a change was demanded.

Party lines were thrown down, and former influences and surroundings controlled the vote.¹

All these things may be so; and still the numerical preponderance of southern stock in Iowa prior to the civil war is by no means demonstrated. The predominance of southerners among the men charged with the supervision of this region in the preterritorial days may have been a mere chance occurrence. The preference of the national government for men of southern blood or views in the territorial appointments was due, some may contend, to political conditions affecting the entire nation. Again the large number of southerners in our early legislative and constitutional assemblies, while very suggestive, is not in and of itself proof of the numerical preponderance of southern stock. And as to opinions they usually are based on promiscuous and vagrant impressions. The facts may be far different.

We have three census enumerations, the federal counts of 1850 and 1860, and the state census of 1856, that enable us to determine, with precision, the nativity of Iowa's pioneers at the close of the period hereunder consideration. A comparative study of their returns enable us clearly to discern the predominant elements in the previous decades.

According to the federal census of 1850 the number of native born New Englanders in Iowa was only 5,535; of which 813 were natives of Maine, 580 of New Hampshire, 1,645 of Vermont, 1,251 of Massachusetts, 256 of Rhode Island, and 1,090 of Connecticut. The pioneers hailing from the middle states aggregated 24,516; Pennsylvania was

¹ Powers' Historical Reminiscences of Chickasaw County, pp. 240-241.

credited with 14,714, and New York with 8,134. The total number born in the southern states amounted to 30,954. Virginia gave us 7,861, Maryland 1,888, North Carolina 2,589, Tennessee 4,274, Kentucky 8,994, and Missouri 3,897. From the states of the old Northwest territory we received 59,098; Ohio sending us 30,713, Indiana 19,925, and Illinois 7,247. The native born Iowans numbered 50,380.

There are some striking exhibits in the foregoing. In the first place the inhabitants of Iowa who claimed New England as their place of birth did not number four in the hundred of the population of 1850. Second, the number hailing from the southern states was nearly six times the number coming from east of the Hudson. Third, there were more native born Virginians than there were native born New Englanders altogether. Fourth, the number of Kentuckians likewise outnumbered the total number coming from New England.

The enumerations of 1856 and 1860 show some increases, both absolutely and relatively, in the numbers hailing from New England and the middle states. Nevertheless the people of the south continued to outnumber the natives of New England three and two to one, as may be seen from the following summary. Even in 1860 the Virginians in Iowa alone exceeded the total number coming from Connecticut, Massachusetts and Vermont:

NATIVITY OF NATIVE BORN PIONEERS OF IOWA.

	1850	1856 ¹	1860	Percentage		
				1850	1856	1860
New England.....	5,535	18,389	25,040	3.2	4.3	4.4
Middle States.....	24,516	85,196	103,173	14.3	20.0	18.1
Southern States.....	30,954	54,942	54,006	18.1	12.9	9.4
Northwest States.....	59,098	172,303	193,005	34.5	40.6	33.9
Iowa.....	50,380	93,302	191,148	29.6	21.9	33.7
Other States.....	138	122	2,400	.8	.3	.5
Total natives.....	170,621	424,254	568,832	.....	.....	.....

The significance of these figures cannot be appreciated, however, until we realize that the peoples coming to Iowa

¹ Some of the items included in the totals here given are so blurred in the original tables that the numbers below may be subject to slight corrections.

from Delaware, from southern and western Pennsylvania and from Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and southern Wisconsin were likewise predominantly southern in their ancestry, affiliations and traditions. This fact, I believe, is no less demonstrable than the preponderance of southerners in Iowa in *ante bellum* days.

The New England tradition must be adversely considered, and presumptuous though it may seem, Justice Miller's judgment must be reversed; the decision must be Iowa was settled first by sons of the Old Dominion interspersed with the vigor of New England. Upon such a holding much that is inexplicable in Iowa's history becomes easily understandable. We can readily appreciate why Senator Dodge could so confidently proclaim in the senate in 1854 that he and his colleague, General Jones, with the senator from Pennsylvania were the only senators from the north who had voted against the Wilmot Proviso and for the fugitive slave law; and why Governor Grimes found the south half of Iowa so strongly pro-slavery.

This predominance of southern stock among Iowa's pioneers, the prevalence of southern traditions among the dominant political forces of the State prior to the civil war had ineradicable effects upon the life and institutions of Iowans. Throughout the entire history of the State one may discern a sharp cleavage among the people of Iowa that in general typifies the traditional conflict between the Cavalier and the Puritan. It is manifest not only in the political life of the State but in the social life of the people, in industry and commerce, in church and religion, in education and modes of recreation—sundry phases of which the writer hopes some time to set forth.

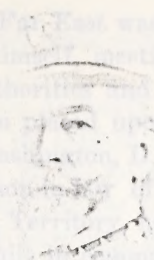
ANNALS OF IOWA.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

REAR-ADMIRAL GEORGE COLLIER REMEY.

Our portrait of this distinguished naval officer was engraved some years since, but has never been published in these pages until now. It is nevertheless an excellent likeness. Admiral Remy was born in the city of Burlington, Iowa, August 10, 1841. He was appointed a cadet in the U. S. Naval Academy at Annapolis, from which he graduated in 1859. His first assignment was to the sloop-of-war Hartford on the Asiatic station, in which he served until his return to the United States in 1861. His next duty was under an appointment as executive officer of the gunboat Marblehead, until 1863, when he was transferred to the steam sloop Canandaigua of the South Atlantic Squadron. While with these vessels he took part in several engagements with the enemy's batteries. He commanded the naval battery on Morris Island during the siege of Fort Wagner and the bombardments of Fort Sumter. In this last affair he was captured by the confederates and was for thirteen months a prisoner. During this period he was an occupant of various jails and of Libby prison. This imprisonment deprived him of the opportunity for the service he most desired. After he was paroled in November, 1864, he was appointed executive officer of the Mohongo on the Pacific station. He thereafter served as instructor in gunnery at the Naval Academy, was for a time on duty at the Naval Observatory at Washington, D. C., and filled several other important assignments until the war with Spain, when, having attained the rank of Commodore, he commanded the naval base at Key West, Fla. He was promoted Rear-Admiral in November, 1898. In March, 1900, he was ordered to the command of the Asiatic Squadron, which up to that time was the largest fleet ever commanded by an American

admiral. His services in the Far East were useful to his country and highly creditable to himself. In all respects the approval of the naval authorities and the President. Soon after its conclusion he was placed upon the retired list and took up his residence in Washington, D. C.



Admiral Remy is a son of Charles Mason, pioneer Chief Justice of Iowa Territory. Having in 1872 married his daughter, Mary J. White, of Portsmouth, N. H., he interested himself in aiding the effort to procure the obsolete guns which now stand in front of our Capitol, and later on was instrumental in sending many valuable items to our Museum from the Far East. A fine oil portrait of the Admiral has been placed in the Iowa Historical Art Gallery.

WILLIAM F. COOLBAUGH

The part Mr. Coolbaugh took in the early political and legislative history of Iowa was of signal importance. It was an invaluable contribution to the honor and credit of the State in a momentous national crisis. It anticipates the very interesting recollections of Mr. Coolbaugh's life contributed to *THE ANNALS* by Mr. John T. Remy.

Milton D. Browning, a brother-in-law of Mr. Coolbaugh, was a member of the Senate in the First, Second, Fourth, and Fifth General Assemblies. He was a leading member of the Whig party, as Mr. Coolbaugh was a leading Democrat, and the brothers-in-law sometimes had sharp words in the political conflicts of the time. It was a period of party dissension and reconstruction. Mr. Coolbaugh was elected to the Iowa Senate the same year James W. Grimes was elected Governor.

While the two men were not close personal friends, they were in the highest respect. In Mr. Grimes' mind the Whig position in the Federal party considerations were not the same as in the path of A. Douglas as a political leader, and Mr. Grimes as stren-

Sincerely yours,

Geo. C. Remy.

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While of opposite political parties, they were close personal friends, and enjoyed each other's confidence and respect. In Mr. Grimes' mind the cause of Freedom transcended party considerations, as in his whole public life he sunk the partisan in the patriot. Mr. Coolbaugh adhered strenuously to Stephen A. Douglas as a political leader, and Mr. Grimes as stren-

uously opposed him, but their personal attachment continued unbroken.

In the fifth General Assembly Mr. Coolbaugh was Chairman of the Committee on Internal Improvements, and a member of the Committee on Ways and Means. He early gave notice of a memorial to Congress to repeal the duties on sugar, and later presented a memorial from citizens of Burlington for a law providing that in all additions to towns and in all new towns a portion of land should be set apart for public parks. A letter shows his enlightened views on the subject and his genial mind:

IOWA CITY, Jan. 18, '55.

REV'D WM. SALTER:

DEAR SIR: I am just in receipt of your valued favor of 16th inst. I think your suggestions are excellent and entitled to the favorable consideration of the General Assembly. I will take great pleasure in laying the memorial enclosed before the Senate where I know it will commend itself to favor. I doubt, however, whether at this late time of the session we can get the bill through. In anticipation of an adjournment on the 23d the Senate resolved a few days since that no *new* business should be received after this date except by unanimous consent. I will, however, if a favorable opportunity occurs try the temper of the Senate and endeavor to introduce it.

Yours truly,

W. F. COOLBAUGH.

Mr. Coolbaugh's service in the Senate continued from 1854 to 1861. He supported Governor Grimes' administration in the great matters of Land Grants to railroads, the Constitution of 1857, the investigation of malfeasance in office by the Superintendent of Public Instruction (James D. Eads), Public Schools, the Geological Survey of the State, and the establishment of a Hospital for the insane, and institutions for the blind and the deaf and dumb. Though neither Mr. Coolbaugh nor the Governor were members of the Constitutional Convention, their counsels were of great weight in shaping the Constitution of 1857. Upon the outbreak of the civil war Mr. Coolbaugh gave his firm support to the course of Senator Grimes in Congress, and to Governor Kirkwood. In August, 1861, he joined with a number of citizens of both political parties in Burlington in a congratulatory letter to Mr. Grimes (Life of Grimes, p. 147).

Soon after the close of the war, Mr. Coolbaugh asked the good offices of Mr. Grimes for Henry Dodge Clark, son of the last Governor of the Territory, to obtain an appointment for him in the Regular Army. During the war he had been a soldier in the Eleventh Pennsylvania Cavalry, and was now made a second lieutenant in the Eleventh U. S. Infantry. Mr. Coolbaugh wrote to Mrs. A. C. Dodge, "I feel very grateful to Grimes, to whom we owe the appointment."

The Honorable Peter A. Dey gives these reminiscences of Mr. Coolbaugh and Mr. Grimes in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, April, 1903, pp. 253-'4:

When I first knew them they roomed together at the Clinton house in Iowa City. In general matters of state policy they were in accord. Mr. Coolbaugh afterwards told me that when it became apparent that Senator Grimes would vote in favor of acquitting President Johnson, he went to Washington for the special purpose of advising him against such a course. He said to Mr. Grimes: "You are the idol of your party in Iowa. The party is radical in the extreme and wrought almost to frenzy by the murder of Lincoln and the apostasy of Johnson. You are the most sensitive man I ever knew. By the course you propose you will bring upon yourself the vengeance of your party, and your state will disown you. You will not outlive this action a year." The reply of Senator Grimes was: "I have considered all this. But my position is right, and if I die tomorrow I shall vote as my convictions dictate. I have no respect for President Johnson personally and less for his policies. But I believe each department of the government is independent; and so long as his official acts are not in violation of the constitution and the laws, the president cannot be removed by the joint action of the house and senate merely for a difference of views or for official acts that are entirely within his jurisdiction."

W. S.

DR. CHARLES A. WHITE.

Ponce de Leon sought the fountain of perpetual youth in the Everglades of Florida. His search was bootless for his particular wish was vain. He sought bodily vigor and insurance against its decadence. His wish mortal man never has realized, and alas never can realize. But had the proud Cas-

tilian only known the potency within himself he would not have fretted his spirit or gone far over seas to satisfy the restless desire of his soul. The spirit of youth is always man's possession if he wills it so. Let him seek truth and strive earnestly, continuously to increase human welfare by adding to knowledge those exact and orderly truths the sum of which we call science and perpetual youth with its buoyancy, exalted hopes and splendid purposes is his without limit and mankind with himself is the beneficiary in perpetuity.

The truth of this sentiment is exemplified in the life and work of Dr. Charles A. White who prepared for *THE ANNALS* the interesting memoir of Dr. Charles Christopher Parry, of Davenport. Dr. White, as our old time readers well know, was Iowa's State Geologist from 1866 to 1870, and Professor of Natural History in our State University from 1867 to 1873, when Bowdoin College in Maine enticed him away from us. From 1875 to 1892 Dr. White was intimately associated with the scientific work of our national governmental surveys as geologist and paleontologist. Since 1876 he has been closely connected with the work of the Smithsonian Institution, in which he is now an Honorary Associate.

Dr. White has always been an enthusiastic and indefatigable worker. Resting on his oars has never been one of his pastimes. His researches and writings have covered a remarkable range of subjects in science although they related chiefly to botany, geology, paleontology and zoology. The valuation placed upon his work by scientists is evidenced by the fact that in 1885 Mr. J. B. Marcou prepared for the Bulletin of the National Museum, an "Annotated Catalogue" of his published writings in which not only extended accounts, reports and treatises were listed, but also any of his "short published notes which contain any expression of his views upon scientific subjects." The catalogue made a pamphlet of 181 pages and contained 151 titles. In 1897 Mr. T. W. Stanton prepared a supplemental catalogue in which 60 new titles were added. Since then Dr. White has published at least twenty-two additional papers presenting either memoirs and appreciations of the lives and work of deceased associates in the promotion

of science or short studies of particular subjects in science. His writings altogether number at least 233 titles. Although his span of life has gone beyond four score years, his buoyant youthful spirit and active, energetic interest in science is strikingly shown by the fact that since January 1, *The Popular Science Monthly* and *Science* contain interesting and instructive articles on botanical subjects. Of late years Dr. White has been prevented by reason of age from making extensive explorations far afield, but it has not interfered with his active prosecution of first hand scientific investigations. In his garden at Washington he has for years had a place where pleasure and profit and science have been systematically pursued with some notable results. His observations of the development of his garden products, especially tomatoes, have aided materially in establishing certain theories of evolution advanced by Dr. White and Prof. De Vries relative to the origin of species and varieties of plant life by mutation.

From its inception nearly twenty years ago the Historical Department has had a fast friend in Dr. White. He has always been one of our most ardent and effective helpers. Several important articles have been contributed by him to *THE ANNALS* and collections of the Department have been greatly enriched by documents, records, reports and field specimens which he generously secured and forwarded or caused to be forwarded. It is largely by reason of such gratuitous assistance so readily and generously given by Dr. White and others that our collections contain the many rich stores they do today. May he live long and prosper is our wish!

Here is an interesting item concerning Dr. White which we have taken the liberty of extracting from a letter to the Editor of *THE ANNALS* written June 25, 1906:

I am glad to know that my memoir of Dr. Parry is soon to appear.
* * * Your suggestion that I should write it was opportune, for I am almost the last one living who knew him well and also knew the character and scope of his work. Indeed, it has fallen to me to be a veritable "Old Mortality" to my contemporary naturalists, and I have written memoirs of no less than seven of them. There are only two now living who are older than I am—Professors E. T. Cox (85 years) and J. M. Safford (83 years).

THE ERRORS IN THE CENSUS MAP.

THE ANNALS is under obligation to Col. Alonzo Abernethy, of Osage, for the following statement of the specific errors in the map prepared for the recent Census of Iowa (1905) purporting to show the original boundary lines of the several accessions of territory secured from the Indians. The map in question, and the notes and comments thereon, were reprinted in the January ANNALS.

1. The original boundary line between the Sac and Fox, and the Sioux Indians, provided for by treaty of 1825, is erroneously extended from the Des Moines to the Big Sioux. The extension was never made. (See letter of Commissioner of Indian Affairs.)

2. The north boundary of the neutral ground stops at the east branch of the Des Moines in Kossuth county, while the actual terminus was at the west branch in Palo Alto county. (See copy of same map in Pt. 2, 18th An. Report, Bureau of Am. Ethnology for 1896-97, Plate 131.)

3. The two eastern sections of the south boundary of the neutral ground are wholly wrong. The second section appears longer than the first, whereas the first section west of the Mississippi, is twenty-one miles long, and the second seven miles. The west section of this line reached the Des Moines farther south than indicated, namely, about four miles above the mouth of the Boone, crossing the Boone less than nine miles east of its terminus.

4. The southwest corner of the Black Hawk Purchase is seven or eight miles too far west. The point is but twenty-one miles, thirty chains west of the Des Moines, and probably less than five miles west of the southwest corner of Van Buren county.

5. The northwest corner of the neutral ground is also too far west. This corner is not in Bremer county as shown, but in Fayette county nearly or quite three miles east of the east line of Bremer.

ALONZO ABERNETHY.

Osage, Iowa, May 4, 1906.

THE IOWA SOCIETY OF NEW YORK.

Through the kindness of Gen. Grenville M. Dodge, the Historical Department has received accounts of the beginnings and transactions of the "Iowa Society of New York," which began its existence on February 1, and inaugurated its first series of annual banquets on April 28, at the Waldorf Astoria. For some years the organization of such a Society was discussed by Iowans in New York City. Mr. Carl Snyder, formerly editor of *The Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, who in recent years has gained fame as a writer on scientific subjects, is credited with being the chief factor in bringing about the organization. General Dodge was made President, Judge John F. Dillon, formerly Chief Justice of our Supreme Court, S. V. White, one of the noted financiers of the country, and J. R. Sheffield, were made Vice Presidents, and Coker F. Clarkson, Secretary and Treasurer. Among other notable Iowans present at the dinner given by General Dodge on February 1, to effect the organization, were Col. Charles D. Palmer, Manager of the International Banking Company; E. A. Stedman, General Manager Wells-Fargo Express Company; W. C. Brown, Vice President of the New York Central Railroad Company; William T. Hornaday, Director New York Zoological Park; Mr. Allan Dawson, editor *The Globe*. So favorable was the outlook that circulars were immediately sent out, with the result that a Society was inaugurated with 180 charter members. A notable banquet was arranged for April 28 at the Waldorf Astoria. The menu and program was printed upon beautiful vellum with a handsome cover design containing views of Iowa's first and last capitol buildings, the State seal, a reproduction of a medallion of Black Hawk, and a pioneer with his ox team and prairie schooner traveling overland to Iowa. The toasts with one exception were given by members of the Iowa delegation in Washington. Hon. James Wilson responded to the toast, "The Iowa Farm;" Senator Allison, "Iowa, Its Evolution as a Commonwealth, and the Part It Has Borne in the Building of the Republic;" Judge Dillon, "The Early Judges and Lawyers

of Iowa." The spirit that warmed the hearts of the banqueters was beautifully expressed in the couplet:

Old friends are the best friends and
You can't get old friends in a day

THE SEMI-CENTENNIAL OF CEDAR RAPIDS.

During the week beginning Sunday, June 10, the city of Cedar Rapids celebrated with interesting ceremonies the semi-centennial anniversary of its incorporation. Nearly two years ago Hon. C. D. Huston, then Mayor, called a meeting of her citizens for the purpose of instituting measures for the appropriate recognition of the event. Under the general charge of an efficient executive committee, of which Mr. E. E. Clark was chairman, an elaborate program was formulated and successfully carried out. Each day of the week was devoted to special interests—thus Sunday was given up to Sabbatical discourses replete with recollections of the religious experiences of the pioneers; Monday was set aside for programs recounting the civic and social beginnings and development of the city. The festivities included besides formal literary programs, balls and banquets, parades and prize contests, picnics and reunions, all the pleasant diversions that enter into the jollity of such an occasion. The "Official Program" with its historical accounts and its illustrations makes an attractive booklet of 64 pages. For the historian the most valuable result of such an event is the ingathering and preservation of the reminiscences of the pioneers and builders of the city's foundations. *The Cedar Rapids Republican* and *The Gazette* expended much energy and money in garnering and presenting a large amount of valuable historical material descriptive of the beginnings and growth of Cedar Rapids.

NOTABLE DEATHS.

JAMES DAVIE BUTLER, born March 15, 1815, in Rutland, Vermont, died November 20, 1905, in Madison, Wisconsin, was an encyclopedic scholar, learned in many ancient and modern languages, and in almost every department of human knowledge, historian, lecturer, litterateur, world-traveler, a most genial companion, his presence and conversation inspiring and giving cheer. A graduate of Middlebury College, 1836, and afterwards tutor there, he had among his pupils Henry W. Starr and John G. Foote, afterwards prominent citizens of Burlington, Iowa, and David S. Sheldon, professor in "Iowa," and the "Griswold" College at Davenport, and one of the founders of the Academy of Science in that city. A graduate of Andover, 1840, and continuing his studies there subsequently for a period, after a year's travel in Europe, he entered the ministry, preached for six months at Burlington, Vt., where John A. Kasson, then a young attorney in that city, was a member of his congregation. He was pastor at Wells River, Vt., Danvers, Mass., and Cincinnati, Ohio, and a professor in Norwich University, Vt., in Wabash College, Ind., and in the Wisconsin State University, at Madison. In the lore of the ancient and modern classics, especially of Homer, Horace, Dante, and Shakespeare, no American scholar surpassed him. His ancestry being that of some of the founders of Boston, Mass., also partly Huguenot, he was an enthusiast in the study of American history. An antiquarian and genealogist, he explored old family and town records, and traced the connection of the present with former times on many anniversary occasions. For fifty years Professor Butler was one of the most active members of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and an indefatigable worker with Lyman C. Draper and its other founders in enriching the library, the museum, and the publications of the Society with its wealth of treasures. He was employed at one time in the land department of the Burlington & Missouri River Railroad, whose Commissioner, George S. Harris, was his cousin, to furnish public information about the lands given by Congress to that corporation. He made several trips over those lands, observed their latent productiveness, predicted their future value, and wrote many newspaper articles and pamphlets to promote their sale and settlement. He translated some of the pamphlets into foreign languages, and they were scattered broadcast in Europe. A large emigration to Nebraska followed, and the railroad was enriched by several millions of dollars. He was at the same time employed to answer letters of inquiry about the lands from foreign countries, which he did in the language of each country. During this period he spent a year in Burlington. His cousin, Mr. Harris, then resided in the "Fletcher" house (now Mr. Hawkins'), near the bluffs. On one morning-stroll upon the edge of the bluffs, the Professor encountered the famous Swedish singer, Christine Nilsson, whom he had heard the previous evening in Grimes' Hall, and they fell into mutual delight over the charming scenery up and down the Mississippi. He was present at the dedication of the noble obelisk in memory of Sergeant Floyd, at Sioux City, May 30, 1901, and added a unique feature to the ceremonies by exhibiting the original journal which the Sergeant had kept of the Lewis and Clark expedition up to two days before his death. It had been discovered in Kentucky many years ago by Lyman C. Draper, and safely stored away by him in the collections of the Wisconsin Historical Society. The Professor had edited its publi-

cation, and now threw into the occasion the charm of his own historical spirit and vivid imagination as he recalled with tenderness and pathos the scenes of a century ago. On his ninetieth birthday the Senate of Wisconsin, of which body he had often served as chaplain, sent him as many roses as were his years, and adjourned to give him their personal greetings at his home. In a subsequent letter, May 25, 1905, he wrote with his accustomed zest of a new edition of an old book, "An English Traveller, Coryat," a pilgrimage to Venice, published in the Bible year, 1611, the description in which he found so good that he said, "Thus oldest books are once more the youngest." He added, "My health for the oldest man here, moves wonder in every body, and not least in myself. May He in whose hand our breath is, make his word that angels' food which at his earthly table he gave to those who sat with him at meat! I still find a Hebrew text my best lullaby in the night watches." Having rounded out ninety years, seven months and five days his end was peace and he joined the kindred spirit of "the immortal dead who live again in minds made better by their presence."

W. S.

JOHN LEE BROWN was born in Essex county, New Jersey, October 31, 1838; he died May 24, 1906, in Cedar township, near Chariton, Lucas county, Iowa. In 1848 he, with his father, removed to Brookville, Ind., thence the next year to Greensburg, and again in 1854, to Warren county, Ind. At the age of 17 Mr. Brown came to Iowa, living for three years in the north part of Madison county. The hard times of 1857 so discouraged him that he returned to Marion county, Indiana, where he attended school and also engaged in teaching. On July 21, 1862, he enlisted in Co. A, 17th Indiana Battery, of which Benjamin Harrison, afterwards president of the United States, was colonel. At the battle of Resaca, May 15, 1864, Mr. Brown was wounded so severely that he lost his arm, and was discharged on account of this disability in March, 1865. He was soon elected recorder of deeds in Hendricks county, which office he held for four years. In 1870 he removed to Iowa, settling in Lucas county. He was soon elected constable, and later appointed deputy sheriff, and special collector for the county treasurer. In 1873 he was appointed justice of the peace, and in 1875 was elected county auditor by the republican party, being re-elected three consecutive times. While serving his fourth term he was elected to the position of State auditor in 1882. Mr. Brown's career as Auditor of State will always be one of the noted official careers of this State. In the administration of his office his supervision of insurance companies was so rigorous that it finally resolved into a collision of himself with Governor Buren R. Sherman, which resulted in his forcible expulsion from office by the Governor, and finally his impeachment and trial before the bar of the Senate. The contest between Governor Sherman and Auditor Brown was one of intense bitterness, the merits of which cannot be dealt with here. Upon the inauguration of Governor Wm. Larrabee in 1886, Mr. Brown was reinstated, whereupon ensued the investigation and impeachment of the Senate. The case aroused widespread interest and much legal talent was employed on the part of the prosecution and the defense. Auditor Brown was acquitted and on the advice of the Attorney General, Governor Larrabee reinstated Mr. Brown in the office of Auditor. One of the hardships endured by Mr. Brown was the heavy expense entailed by the trial. Although he was acquitted by the legislature he was not reimbursed for his outlays for attorneys, and the other numerous expenses connected with the trial. For nearly ten years he urged the

matter before the legislature without effect. Finally, however, the injustice was remedied by an appropriation made in 1896, allowing Mr. Brown \$4,000. Notwithstanding his adverse experiences and heavy burden of debt, Mr. Brown returned to Chariton and in the fall of 1886 purchased *The Chariton Herald*, which he made a republican paper. He remained in charge until 1898, vigorously promoting his personal and party interests.

JOSEPH S. TRIGG was born in Hertfordshire, England, April 8, 1841; he died in Rockford, Iowa, June 6, 1906. He received the rudiments of his education in the schools of his native town. He came with his father to the United States, settling on a farm near Fond du Lac, Wis. In 1859 he removed to Freeborn, Minn. During the civil war he enlisted in Company E, 10th Minnesota Infantry, continuing in the service until the end of the contest. When mustered out he returned to Minnesota, but soon removed to Floyd county, Iowa, where he engaged in farming until 1874. From 1874 to 1882 Mr. Trigg was the auditor of Floyd county. At the close of his term he was honored by being elected mayor of Charles City. He became interested in a creamery and in the marble business. Other interests soon attracted him. In 1885 he began his career as editor of *The Rockford Register*. He made it a paper of note and influence in the State, managing it until he removed to Des Moines to take charge of the agricultural department of *The Register and Leader* in 1904. Mr. Trigg became widely known through his writings upon subjects of special interest to agriculturists. He specialized in this particular field. He not only wrote extensively along lines of interest to farmers, but he was constantly in service as a lecturer upon such subjects. He simply wrote the results of his own experience and observation as a farmer. He had put his own hand to the plow and knew whereof he wrote. Terse and piquant and vigorous in expression, he soon became one of the most widely quoted writers in the west. He knew all about the Iowa farm and could tell it in a way that people everywhere delighted to read. His words of courage and hope were an inspiration to thousands of earnest people who were laboring to improve their surroundings and better their condition in life. Then, he was a lovable man, one who enlisted the friendship and hearty good will not alone of those who made his acquaintance, but of his wide circle of readers. Few deaths that have occurred in Iowa have been more widely or more sincerely mourned.

JAMES A. LYONS was born in Morgan county, Ohio, April 12, 1838; he died in Grand Junction, Colorado, May 12, 1906. In 1855 Mr. Lyons' parents removed to Allamakee county, Iowa. On the outbreak of the civil war he enlisted in the 1st Iowa Cavalry, in which regiment he remained until he was discharged by reason of disability caused by a wound in his arm and shoulder. In August, 1862, he was made 2d Lieutenant in the 27th Iowa Infantry, and served until he was again compelled to resign on account of his wound. In 1868 he settled in Guthrie county. After pursuing farming for two years, he removed to Guthrie Center and entered into mercantile business. As a merchant he was successful and in the course of his residence in the county seat of Guthrie county built up a large and profitable business. In 1883 Mr. Lyons was elected a member of the 20th General Assembly, and was re-elected to the 21st. He became well known for his stand upon various measures prominent in those sessions with the result that upon the close

of the session of the legislature in 1886 he was nominated by the republican state convention for the office of Auditor of State, which office he filled for three successive terms. In 1893 he was a prominent candidate for Governor before the Sioux City convention, but was defeated by Frank D. Jackson. Mr. Lyons continued in the mercantile business in Guthrie Center until 1900, when by reason of enfeebled health of both himself and his son, he removed to Colorado.

EDWIN R. CLAPP was born in Cazenovia, Madison county, N. Y., May 30, 1827; he died in Des Moines, Iowa, June 8, 1906. In 1825 his father had settled in Madison county, N. Y. In 1837 he removed to Mt. Pleasant, Iowa. The subject of this sketch spent two winter terms in Prof. Howe's Academy at Mt. Pleasant. In 1846 he came to Ft. Des Moines where with his brother William, he entered into mercantile trade. From 1847 to 1851, with the exception of a few months, he pursued farming north of the present site of Des Moines. On returning to Des Moines he engaged in freighting between Des Moines and Keokuk with ox teams. In 1853 he built the first ice house and stored the first ice ever housed for market in central Iowa. At the session of the General Assembly in January, 1860, Mr. Clapp was elected sergeant-at-arms of the House of Representatives. He served through the session efficiently, and with a good degree of credit to himself. In 1867 he became agent for the Chicago & Rock Island Railroad Company, and for some years devoted himself to the management of the department of the Rock Island road from Davenport to Council Bluffs. Mr. Clapp early exhibited marked ability in the accumulation of wealth through prudent and judicious investments. At the time of his death he was one of the wealthiest citizens of Des Moines.

CHARLES A. WARWICK, editor of *The Keokuk Constitution-Democrat*, was born in Butler county, Ohio, Nov. 25, 1852; he died in Keokuk, April 4, 1906. His father's family came to Lee county in 1835, settling near New Boston, where he lived until he was 15 years of age. In 1867 Mr. Warwick came to Des Moines, where for four years he was employed in a grocery store. He then returned to Ft. Madison where for four years he was a shipping clerk for a firm of contractors. In 1875 he entered upon a newspaper career in Keokuk in which he continued until the day of his death. He first worked for *The Keokuk Gate City* as traveling and city solicitor. He was then advanced to the position of city editor of the paper, and eventually became its manager. In 1886, with Mr. R. S. Ransom, he bought *The Keokuk Democrat*, and entered upon independent newspaper management. In 1888 *The Democrat* and *The Keokuk Constitution* were consolidated. In 1891 he purchased the interest of his partner and organized a stock company of which Judge Edward Johnston was a shareholder. Mr. Warwick was very successful in the management of his newspaper properties and a hard, industrious worker. He made himself thoroughly familiar with the various details of newspaper management and his industry and caretaking application gave him his marked success in the management of *The Constitution-Democrat*.

WILLIAM RIVERS SELLON was born in New York City, August 23, 1824; he died in Burlington, Iowa, May 14, 1906. His father was an Episcopal minister. The son lived in New York and attended private schools. At the end of his Freshman year in Columbia College he went

with his father to Pittsfield, Ill. During the Mexican war he was a member of the 1st Illinois Volunteers known as the Quincy Riflemen. At the age of 27 he returned to New York City, living there several years. He engaged as a clerk in a railroad office, and later as book-keeper in a mercantile house. At the outbreak of the civil war he enlisted in the 9th Michigan Infantry. He was captured at Stone River by Forrest's Cavalry, and spent three months in prison at Madison, Ga. In 1863 he was made Lieutenant Colonel of the 12th U. S. Colored Infantry. At the close of the war he settled in Burlington, where he engaged in business until 1871, when he was appointed county superintendent of schools. Col. Sellon was one of the first shorthand reporters appointed under the law providing for such assistance to our district courts. He held the position 16 years under Judges Tracy, Smyth, Newman and Stutsman. In 1887 he removed to Independence, Mo., and later to Kansas City, returning in 1899 to Burlington, where he lived with a daughter and her family until his death.

TIMOTHY JORDAN CALDWELL was born in Vermilion county, Indiana, July 21, 1837; he died in Adel, Iowa, June 16, 1906. He came west with his parents who settled in Dallas county in 1853. Prior to coming to Iowa he attended the seminary at Newport, Indiana. In 1861 he graduated from the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Keokuk. He engaged in the practice of his profession in Adel where he continued in residence until 1864 when he became the surgeon of the 23d Iowa Infantry. Upon his discharge from that service he returned to Adel, and continued the practice of medicine in that community until his retirement a few years since. Dr. Caldwell was a progressive practitioner, at various times going east to pursue post graduate courses in various departments of medicine in order to equip himself the better for his profession. He was interested in several large business enterprises, especially banking, and was successful in all his undertakings. In politics Dr. Caldwell was an active and influential republican. He was elected as a member of the House of Representatives in 1881, serving in the 19th General Assembly. In 1883 he was elected to the Senate, and for eight years represented Audubon, Dallas and Guthrie counties.

JOHN HILSINGER was born at Marathon, Cortland county, N. Y., March 4, 1834; he died March 26, 1906, at Sabula, Iowa. Mr. Hilsinger was reared in New York, working on his father's farm, and later as a carpenter and joiner and wheelwright. He read law and was admitted to the bar at Ithaca, N. Y., in the fall of 1857, before the supreme court of that State. In 1858 he came to Iowa, locating in Floyd county, where he was admitted to the bar. He soon afterwards settled in Sabula, Jackson county. He continued to reside there until his death. For two years he was principal of the Sabula High School. In 1860 he was elected township supervisor. In 1861 he was appointed postmaster of Sabula, and held the office with but slight interruption, until President Cleveland's election in 1885 when he resigned. During the war he was enrolling officer for Jackson county. In 1864 he was elected to the State Senate, serving with marked ability in the 11th and 12th General Assemblies. From 1884 to 1890 he was a member of the Board of Supervisors of Jackson county. Almost from the incorporation of the town of Sabula in 1863 Judge Hilsinger served as city attorney. He was one of the Iowa delegates to the Republican National Convention which nominated James G. Blaine for President in 1884.

ROBERT E. WARREN was born in Vast, Tenn., March 16, 1829; he died in Des Moines, Iowa, June 16, 1906. In 1841 Mr. Warren's father settled in Lee county. Two years thereafter he removed to Mahaska county, where the late Mr. Warren resided until 1891, when he came to Des Moines. Mr. Warren's father is credited with having erected the first flouring mill in Mahaska county, which his son Robert continued to operate for many years. In 1881 Mr. Warren was elected to the 19th General Assembly as a member of the House of Representatives. For a few years after his removal to Des Moines, he engaged in the lumber business. In 1899 he was appointed one of the collateral inheritance tax appraisers of Polk county, which position he held until the time of his death. Mr. Warren's son, Hon. J. L. Warren, represented Marion county as a member of the House of Representatives, in the 28th and 29th General Assemblies, and as Senator in the 30th and 31st.

LYMAN A. ELLIS was born near Burlington, Vt., March 11, 1835; he died at Clinton, Iowa, June 8, 1906. He received his education in the schools of Bakersfield and Colchester, and graduated from a law school in Vermont. In the spring of 1861 he came to Iowa and located in Lyons, Clinton county. In 1865 he was elected district attorney of the 7th Judicial District, including the counties of Jackson, Scott and Muscatine. He soon became a successful jury advocate and trial lawyer, and was four times chosen to the position. He finally retired in 1880, thereafter engaging in practice in State and Federal courts. In 1893 he was elected to the General Assembly as Senator from Clinton county. He refused re-election in 1897 because the necessary absence in Des Moines interfered seriously with his law practice. During the extra session of the 26th General Assembly in 1897 he was chairman of the judiciary committee and was made a member of the joint committee of the house and senate for the Annotation and Publication of the Code of 1897.

CLARENCE C. VANDERPOEL was born in Columbia county, N. Y., Nov. 22, 1830; he died in Mitchell, Iowa, January 11, 1906. His parents, while he was quite young, removed to Jefferson county, Wis. He obtained his college education in Carroll College and the State University of Wisconsin. During the war he joined Company E of the 12th Wisconsin Infantry, of which his father was Captain. He served two years and was discharged because of disability. He then entered the commissary department as a clerk, and served in that capacity until the end of the war. After his army life he settled in Mitchell county, Iowa. In 1883 he was elected representative in the 20th General Assembly.

KEELY R. MADDEN was born in Salem, Indiana, Sept. 9, 1855; he died April 2, 1906, at Emanuel Hospital, Omaha. His parents came to Iowa in 1855, settling in Davis county, moving thence to Clarke, and thence to Washington county. After his marriage in 1879 Mr. Madden settled on a farm near Greenfield, Adair county. In 1883 he established himself in the mercantile business in Greenfield. Upon the extension of the railroad to the town of Fontanelle Mr. Madden removed to Bridgewater and established a general mercantile business. In 1898 he was elected to the 27th General Assembly.

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3D SERIES.

THE BATTLE OF PLEASANT HILL, LOUISIANA.

BY S. F. BENSON.*

It is said that the Battle of Pleasant Hill, April 9th, 1864, bears the unique distinction of an engagement from which both belligerents fled precipitately, and yet each party claimed the victory as soon as it discovered the flight of the other.

No one can thoroughly understand this great battle without considering the fighting of the previous day, the disasters of which had determined all this day's strategy.

Early in April, 1864, Maj. Gen. E. Kirby Smith, C. S. A., who controlled the military operations of the whole trans-Mississippi Confederacy, with headquarters at the little city of Shreveport, La., found himself threatened from two nearly opposite directions.

General Frederick Steele was approaching from the north with an army of some 15,000 men and two long supply trains, and at the same time Maj. Gen. N. P. Banks, with a splendid army of about 32,000 well disciplined troops was rapidly approaching by way of Red River, having with him a fleet of some fifty steamers, twenty-two of which were armored gunboats, mounting in all about 300 guns. Admiral David D. Porter of naval fame commanded the fleet.

*Solon F. Benson was born in Jackson county, Iowa, Nov. 20, 1839. His grandfather, Stutson Benson, then but twelve years of age, carried ammunition for the patriot soldiers at the battle of Bennington, Vt., Aug. 16, 1777, where the British were defeated and their general, Baum, killed. Young Benson was captured and taken to Quebec, where he would have been tried for treason but for the fact that he was in law "an infant," owing to his tender age. He reached home safely and in later years migrated westward and became a pioneer mill owner on the southern shore of Lake Erie. His oldest son, John Benson, came to Iowa in 1838, remaining for a time in each of the counties of Muscatine, Jackson, Delaware and Hardin. The son, Solon, was educated in the common schools and at Lenox College, Hopkinton, Iowa. He served two years in the 32d Iowa Infantry, losing an arm in the Battle of Pleasant Hill. During the past sixteen years he has been cashier of the bank of Pierson, Iowa.

The object of these expeditions was two-fold—first, to prevent the western armies from rendering aid to their brethren struggling with Sherman east of the great river, and second, to destroy, if possible, the Western Confederate armies.

They accomplished the first of these objects, but failed utterly in the second.

Everything gave way before the splendid army of General Banks, and his advance was rapid, successful and very orderly, until about the 5th of April he entered with high spirits upon that long overland march from Grand Ecore, near Natchitoches, to Shreveport via Spanish Lake, a distance of eighty miles, where all the way the land forces were separated from the fleet by the deep and impassable barrier of Bayou Pierre, which leaves Red River a few miles below Shreveport, and only returns to that river a few miles above Grand Ecore.

General Kirby Smith was of the opinion that Banks should be allowed to arrive in the vicinity of Shreveport before risking a pitched battle, but his field-marshal, Gen. "Dick" Taylor, was very strongly of the opposite opinion that this perilous portage offered the best possible chance to destroy the Federal army. And Taylor's insistence verged closely on mutiny, insomuch that he even threatened to march his army away into Texas if not permitted to fight the enemy at this juncture. He was further confirmed in his determination by the mistaken belief that all of the 10,000 troops loaned to Banks by Sherman were with the fleet, not having other means of transportation, while, as a matter of fact, only about 2,500 of them, the provisional 17th Corps, were detailed as an escort for the transports.

Believing, therefore, that Banks had but little more than half his force now under his immediate control, Taylor bravely offered battle at the little village of Pleasant Hill on April 3d. His offer, however, was refused, because at that early date none but the mounted scouts had advanced to that point.

Taylor then withdrew his army some twenty miles farther to the vicinity of Mansfield, and selecting a strong position at the Moss Plantations three miles below Mansfield, he sat down

like a grim watch dog, to wait the coming of the foe. As a sort of screen to deceive the enemy, he had left behind him a few cavalry regiments to dispute the way.

Without closing up his detachments, Banks pressed rapidly into the very teeth of the enemy.

He had now present for duty less than 23,000 fighting men, as follows: Two small divisions 13th Army Corps, Gen. T. E. G. Ransom, 4,500; First Div. 19th Corps, Gen. W. H. Emory, 5,300; detachment 16th Corps, Brig. Gen. A. J. Smith, 6,500; five brigades mounted men, Brig. Gen. A. L. Lee, 5,000; and of course the usual complement of artillery.

He had left the 2d Division, 19th Army Corps to garrison Alexandria, and had sent the provisional 17th Corps, about 2,500 strong, to protect the transports along the river. And his army had been not a little depleted by sickness and disability. He had with him, however, the "Corps de Afrique," or colored engineer brigade, numbering about 2,150, whose duties were to make roads, fortifications and bridges, but who were armed and could fight if necessary.

These detachments, with their two long wagon trains, being unnecessarily stretched out, covered the road for more than thirty miles, so that when the head of his column struck the enemy, it would require nearly two whole days to close up on the front.

About five miles beyond Pleasant Hill, and forty from Grand Ecore, on April 7th, the Federal cavalry under Brig. Gen. A. L. Lee, fell foul of the first outpost of the enemy, and a hot fight ensued in which the southern men had the best of it, driving rearward Col. Harai Robinson's 3d brigade, and compelling its two batteries to retire.

About a quarter of a mile to the rear, however, they were reinforced by Col. T. J. Dudley, in command of the 1st brigade of cavalry, and the enemy was routed, and the forward march resumed.

This little fight is known as the battle of "Wilson's Farm," and it cost General Lee sixty-two men, eleven of whom were killed. The enemy lost about ten or twelve. A little beyond this point is a small, sluggish creek or bayou,

known as "The Brushy," where one William Robertson then lived, and operated a small steam grinding mill. Here the surgeons gathered the wounded, took the family dining table for an operating table, and filled the Robertson home with the wounded, about fifty in number.

It was in the midst of this fight, and while Robinson's brigade was being driven rearward, that General Lee sent an orderly back to Gen. W. B. Franklin requesting that a brigade of infantry be sent him.

This little request, trifling as it may seem, appears to have been the beginning of trouble for the whole expedition.

Major-General Thomas is credited with the wise remark that the issue of a great battle may turn upon the loss of a linch-pin, and this arrangement seems to have been the proverbial linch-pin which wrecked the whole Red River Expedition.

General Franklin refused the request, saying that if the resistance was too great for the mounted force, the cavalry should fall back on the infantry, and not detach the infantry to be destroyed in detail. But the messenger who carried the request was not satisfied with General Franklin's reply, and appealed from Franklin to the General-in-Chief, N. P. Banks, who happened to be near, and General Banks imprudently reversed Franklin's orders, and directed him to send forward the desired brigade.

Franklin delivered the order to Gen. T. E. G. Ransom of the 13th Corps, who was in advance, and the 1st Brigade, 4th Division, 13th Corps, under command of Colonel (afterwards Brev. Brig. Gen.) W. J. Landram, by making a night march, was able to report to General Lee at daylight on the morning of the 8th.

One infantry regiment was deployed across the road with the cavalry on its flanks, and the forward march continued, the enemy resisting and picking off men with their excellent sharp-shooters.

The march was very rapid, and by noon the column reached the great Moss Plantations, about three miles south-

east of Mansfield. Ascending a little hill at this place, the army found itself unexpectedly confronted by a great battle line, extending as far as the eye could reach, with batteries, banners and guidons, all in position ready for a great battle.

The southern commander had drawn up his forces in a V shape, into the jaws of which the Federal troops had inadvertently marched.

Instead of retiring to a safe distance and awaiting reinforcements, General Ransom proceeded to arrange his line of battle, conforming to the angle of the enemy's line, a most dangerous arrangement, because, owing to this peculiar formation, either wing of the Federal army would be subject to a rear attack the moment the opposite wing could be broken by the enemy; and as the stage road, the only avenue of escape, ran nearly parallel with the longer leg of the "V," the right, the situation was extremely critical, and a strong central reserve would seem to be of the greatest importance. But Ransom had only the 1st Division at the front, about 2,500 infantry, supported by about 4,000 cavalry, and as the enemy extended his lines beyond Ransom's extreme flanks, Ransom placed all his infantry in line, depending on some mounted regiments for a reserve. This arrangement, of course, rendered the position quite hazardous.

The infantry occupied the apex of the angle, and the cavalry were dismounted and placed on the flanks, Lucas on the right and Dudley on the left.

The enemy's plan of attack consisted in massing a strong force on his extreme right, with intent to turn the Federal left (the shorter leg of the angle) which would imperil the whole Federal line.

For this important duty the splendid division of Maj. Gen. J. G. Walker, about 5,000 strong, was sent to the Confederate right, and to conceal the movement, General Mouton's division, about 2,500 strong, was flung with terrific energy against the Federal right center, while the mounted men guarded the Confederate flanks.

After a short delay the enemy began his charge, which was for a time nobly resisted. As the thunders of battle rose

higher and higher, the sledge-hammer charges of General Mouton fell heavier and still heavier upon the Federal right center.

Weakened by continual loss, the regiments at the critical point began to waver, and the enemy charged with redoubled fury. The men fought now with clubbed guns and with awful desperation, while the fate of the day swung doubtful in a trembling balance.

At this critical moment, Colonel Robinson charged in with his mounted brigade, and Captain Nettleton, commanding the 6th Massachusetts Cavalry, calling instantly on three squadrons, about one hundred men, fell like a thunder-bolt upon the almost victorious foe, and the fighting now descended to a literal butchery. In less than three minutes Captain Nettleton lost half of his men and thirty-six horses, and the N. O. Consolidated Crescents, C. S. A., were hurled back utterly discouraged with the loss of 64 per cent. of their men, and among them, seven color bearers had fallen in quick succession.

The line was temporarily restored, though an immense pile of mingled horses and men, marked the scene of strife, and the shattered regiments could scarcely hope to hold the bloody angle. And now General Ransom began the perilous task of calling off the regiments, while Mouton charged into the breach, capturing the 19th Kentucky bodily, and picking up an immense number of scattering men.

At this juncture General Cameron came upon the ground with the 4th Division, 13th Corps, about 1,800 men, and a new line was formed about one-fourth of a mile back from the first, but the new line was scarcely formed before it too gave way, and the day was lost.

General Banks had sent swift messengers back to Franklin, some nine miles in the rear, begging him for Heaven's sake to hurry forward, for the front was hard pressed, and now he rushed into the very thickest of the fight, to encourage his men; where the bullets flew thickest, there he might be seen, wearing his conspicuous Sibley hat, pleading with the men, and

even begging them with tears in his eyes to hold their ground just a little longer as help was very near.

But no human power could stay the tide of disaster, and the great battle line, once broken, fell slowly back, still fighting stubbornly, all its fragments converging toward the narrow opening where the road entered the great forest in the rear. At that point the cavalry train (157 wagons), and one hundred new ambulances, completely blocked the road, no precaution having been taken to get them out of the way, so confident had the train masters been in the success of the army. And all this train was even headed west, toward the battle line.

Of course the train could not be immediately turned without dire consequences, and an indescribable jam at once ensued. The drivers were all colored men, and the contagion of fear spread among them like wild fire, and the most horrible confusion followed. Wagons were overturned, mules tangled in traces, and the whole train soon overwhelmed by the retreating army from the front. The drivers cut the traces, mounted their mules, and abandoned everything, leaving the road simply impassable, and the enemy pressing from the front made large captures. One hundred and fifty-seven wagons, containing the cavalry supplies, one hundred new ambulances, and twenty-two pieces of artillery fell into the enemy's hands, including the Chicago Mercantile Battery, six Rodman guns, Orlando Nim's magnificent Massachusetts Battery, six guns, Klauss's Indiana Battery, four guns, and some small guns belonging with the cavalry. And that splendid army of more than 9,000 men, was now scattered in confusion along the road, and utterly useless for immediate service, and worst of all the confidence of victory had now passed to the Confederate banners, while the Union soldiers fled rearward with blanched faces, literally crushed with panic and despair, and some of the strongest men even sank to the earth utterly helpless.

General Emory's men had just halted for the night at the old steam mill on the Brushy, after a hard day's march, and they were preparing their evening meal when the long

roll sounded and they sprang forward at the utmost speed for the front. For over three miles they almost flew along the great stage road, and then they began to meet the first fringe of the great retreat.

In order to gather in all these stragglers, Gen. Wm. H. Emory detailed one company of the 161st New York on either side of the column, to be deployed in open ranks, with their guns carried horizontally in front of them, and with orders to stop all fugitives. For a little while this plan worked very well, but when the column struck the solid mass of the fugitives, these wings were swept away like cobwebs, one company returning to its own regiment and the other taking refuge in the 116th New York.

At this juncture General Banks appeared and directed Emory to form his battle line on the first favorable ground.

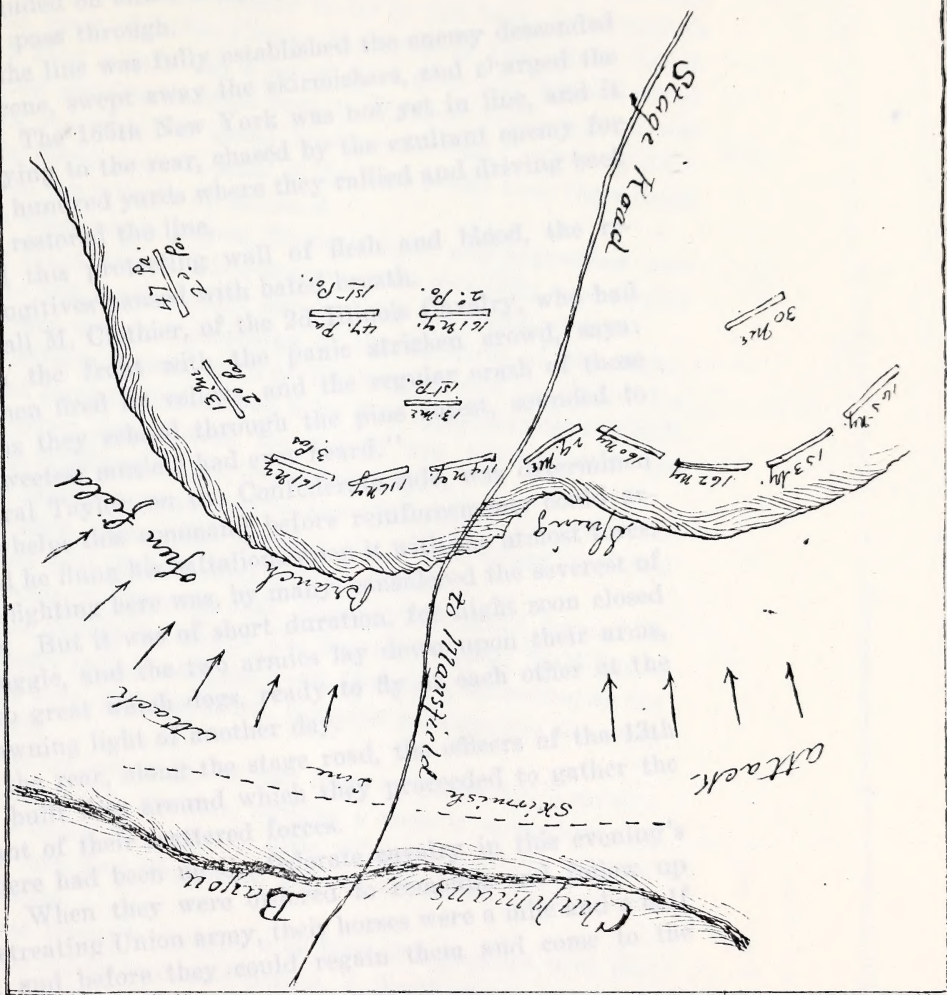
Arriving about that time at a little crest of hills overlooking a small creek near Chapman's Bayou, twelve and one-half miles from Pleasant Hill and four and one-half from the Moss Plantations, Emory began deploying his men in line of battle. By this time they were breathless and scattered far along the road, and it was no short task to close up on the front and deploy in line.

To gain a little time, Emory went forward about one-fourth of a mile with the 161st New York, and spread them as skirmishers across the road to receive the first shock of the approaching foe.

It is said that a wounded officer begged him not to risk this fight, as his entire command numbered scarcely half the army that had been destroyed but an hour before. But the old war horse thrust his sword into the ground and roared, "The Nineteenth Corps have never yet been whipped, and by Heaven they will not be tonight." And they were not.

Perhaps a sublimer spectacle has never been witnessed by mortal eye than this little band of heroes wedging their way into that frightful mass of panic stricken humanity.

To prevent the men from catching the contagion of fear before they even saw the enemy, the full brass band of the division was posted at the crossing of the road, the colors



planted there, and to the cheerful music of the band, the line quickly extended on either side, an opening being left for the fugitives to pass through.

Before the line was fully established the enemy descended upon the scene, swept away the skirmishers, and charged the main line. The 165th New York was not yet in line, and it was sent flying to the rear, chased by the exultant enemy for some three hundred yards where they rallied and driving back their foes, restored the line.

Behind this protecting wall of flesh and blood, the retreating fugitives paused with bated breath.

Marshall M. Clothier, of the 2d Illinois Cavalry, who had fled from the front with the panic stricken crowd, says: "These men fired by volleys, and the regular crash of those volleys, as they echoed through the pine forest, sounded to me the sweetest music I had ever heard."

General Taylor, on the Confederate side, was determined to overwhelm this command before reinforcements could arrive, and he flung his battalions upon it with the utmost force, and the fighting here was, by many, considered the severest of the day. But it was of short duration, for night soon closed the struggle, and the two armies lay down upon their arms, like two great watch dogs, ready to fly at each other at the first dawning light of another day.

In the rear, along the stage road, the officers of the 13th Corps built fires around which they proceeded to gather the remnant of their scattered forces.

There had been no Confederate cavalry in this evening's fight. When they were ordered to remount and follow up the retreating Union army, their horses were a mile and a half back, and before they could regain them and come to the front, the fight was over.

When the fighting ceased at night, a council of war was held, to consider the critical occasion. There was every indication that the contest would be renewed with great fury in the early morning. Very little dependence could be placed in the scattered army that had been beaten at the front, and the 16th Corps was fourteen miles away, and could not be brought

forward till this army might be utterly destroyed. The only safe plan, therefore, seemed to be to fall back, by a night's march, upon the 16th Corps—the army of Gen. A. J. Smith which after a hard day's march, had gone into bivouac about one and one-fourth miles east of Pleasant Hill, at what was known as “The Old Camp Meeting Ground,” where, within the old burial ground, some of the boys rested their tired limbs between the hillocks of the dead.

At Chapman's Bayou, Emory's tired and supperless men rested till midnight, when runners were stealthily sent among them to call them silently into line for the night retreat.

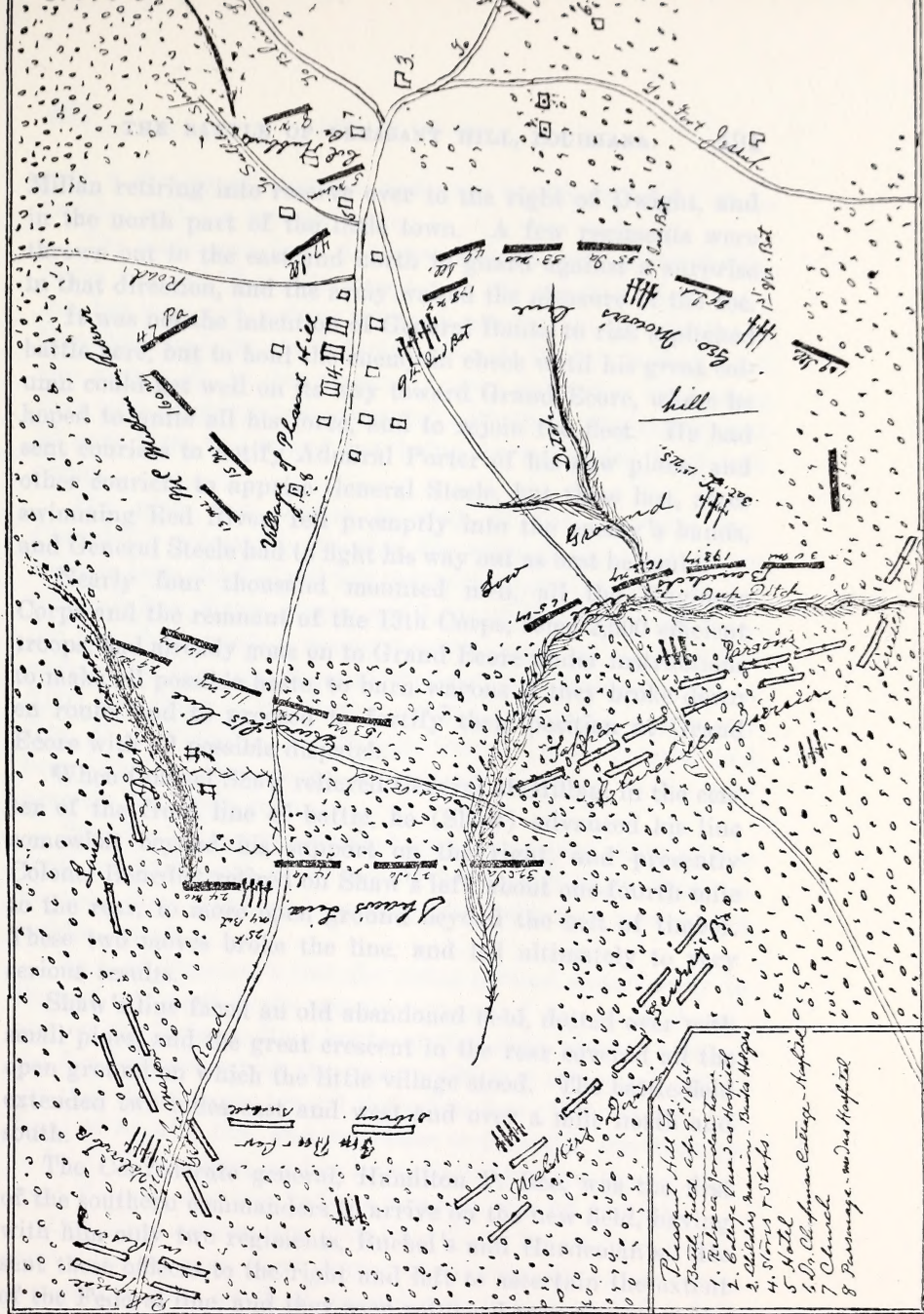
Twelve miles of marching in the darkness of the night, with Franklin's great train of 700 wagons, and the ruins of a defeated army to be gathered in as they marched, was no small undertaking, and before the march was accomplished the morning light had tinged the eastern sky.

The enemy appears not to have discovered their absence till morning, when after shelling the woods where they had been, they sent their cavalry swiftly after.

Arriving at Pleasant Hill, Emory's command formed its battle line facing the enemy, the Second Brigade, McMillan's, in the center facing west, the First, Dwight's, extending on the right and rear, and the Third, Benedict's, extending far away to the left.

Just as the last of the column drew in, the enemy's cavalry made a dash upon the rear, sending a mass of stragglers and teamsters flying through the little village, and these overran the 153d New York Regiment, and for a moment quite a confusion ensued.

General Emory's division now formed a crescent with the convex side facing west, and Gen. A. J. Smith, coming in from the east, arranged his line in another crescent with the concave side facing southwest, and the horns of the two crescents hooking upon each other about the space of a brigade, and the two lines about a quarter of a mile apart. Emory's line was strengthened by the 2d Brigade, 3d Division, from Smith's corps, Col. Wm. T. Shaw's, and this brigade relieved McMillan, and thus occupied the center of the front line, Mc-



MAP OF THE BATTLE-FIELD OF PLEASANT HILL, LA.
 The area here shown is about 2 1/2 miles long and 1 1/2 miles wide. The Union positions are indicated by heavy black lines; the Confederate regiments by two parallel lines. Gen. Mower's line should read Gen. Mower's line.

Millan retiring into reserve over to the right of Dwight, and in the north part of the little town. A few regiments were thrown out to the east and north to guard against a surprise in that direction, and the army waited the pleasure of the foe.

It was not the intention of General Banks to risk a pitched battle here, but to hold the enemy in check until his great column could get well on its way toward Grand Ecore, where he hoped to unite all his force, and to rejoin the fleet. He had sent couriers to notify Admiral Porter of his new plans, and other couriers to apprise General Steele, but these last, after swimming Red River, fell promptly into the enemy's hands, and General Steele had to fight his way out as best he could.

Nearly four thousand mounted men, all the Engineer Corps and the remnant of the 13th Corps, some 2,500 efficient troops, had already gone on to Grand Ecore under instructions to make all possible haste, to burn wagons if they broke down en route, and to proceed to fortify their position at Grand Ecore with all possible dispatch.

When Colonel Shaw relieved General McMillan, in the center of the front line of battle, he (Shaw) advanced his line somewhat beyond his support on the right, and presently Colonel Benedict retired on Shaw's left, about one-fourth mile to the rear, to more open ground beyond the belt of timber. These two moves broke the line, and led ultimately to very serious results.

Shaw's line faced an old abandoned field, dotted over with small pines, and the great crescent in the rear covered all the open ground on which the little village stood. The battle-field extended two miles east and west and over a mile north and south.

The Confederate general, Hamilton P. Bee, was the first of the southern commanders to arrive on the new field, having with him only two regiments, Buchel's and Hardeman's. He sent these officers to the right and left to ascertain the extent of the Federal line, and they soon returned reporting that the line extended but a short distance to the left (the Federal right), terminating at a deep ravine, but extending over a mile in the opposite direction. He was much astonished at

such a display of strength, and gave up his intention of attacking with his two regiments.

The contingent from Arkansas and Missouri, 5,000 strong, under General Churchill, were not in the previous day's fighting, but were now making a forced march from the vicinity of Mansfield, and the Confederate general, Taylor, waited until two o'clock P. M. for them to arrive, and when they came they were so completely exhausted with their long march that he gave them two hours' rest before he would put them into action.

His plan was similar to that of the previous day. Churchill's command was sent far over to the Confederate right to turn the Federal left, while the mounted force, under Generals Bee, Major, Bagby and Lane, dismounting and turning their horses into a nearby pasture, made up the long left wing of his line, and General Walker's fine division of about 5,000 men filled in the center. Mouton's division, now under Gen. C. J. Polignac, the French Prince (since Mouton had been killed on the eighth), was placed in reserve in the rear near the Mansfield road.

Benedict's line now occupied very low ground along a little creek or ditch, with dense wood fringed with thick brush in his immediate front, and too near him for safety in case of a sudden attack.

Back of Benedict's line the rising ground sloped away to the east and north to the remoter crescent of Gen. A. J. Smith, and on the little swelling knobs of that open ground bristled the few batteries which the army could now command, pointing their black noses toward the sullen foe. Well toward the front of Smith's line, and very close to Benedict, was Battery L, 1st U. S. Regulars, and at intervals to the rear, the 1st Vermont Battery, and two Indiana batteries, the 3d and 9th.

One other battery, the 25th New York, four twelve pound steel rifled cannons, Capt. Irving D. Southworth in command, occupied a little swell of ground close beside the Mansfield road, and far out in the very front of the battle, and like a faithful sentinel, at intervals threw a shell far over into the opposite wood, where the enemy was supposed to be marshaling his commands.

Suddenly, about four o'clock in the afternoon, a puff of smoke shot out from the opposite cover far over to the right, and a projectile came screaming over gun No. 2, of the 25th New York. It was the Valverde, Texas, battery opening the battle. The guns of the New York battery replied instantly, and the thunders of an artillery duel rose, echoing among the pineclad hills. The New York battery was doing most excellent service, and the Valverde battery was getting badly hammered, when two more Confederate batteries, farther to the left, joined in the fray, and the air was filled with shot and shell. Just then a long line of mounted men issued from the opposite wood, and swept proudly across the great field. It was the Confederate brigade of General Bee, men from western Texas, splendidly mounted and thoroughly disciplined. As they covered the long interval between the two lines of battle, they made a most magnificent display. They seemed to believe the Federal line had turned tail and left the field, the battery having almost ceased firing, and all being still on our side. Shaw's line was not easily seen, lying close to the ground, and screened by the woods in their immediate rear. The New York battery fell back a little in the rear of the skirmish line, and the infantry held their fire for closer targets. When they had come very near, the infantry poured a terrible volley into that splendid cavalry parade, and it went to pieces like a house of glass. Not many were unhorsed, but all went rearwards in the wildest confusion.

Once within the shelter of the woods beyond the open field, they dismounted and returned immediately as infantry, and advancing upon Shaw's line, they poured volley after volley into his ranks. Our men believed they were fresh troops, and that the cavalry had been utterly destroyed. But every battle is essentially a series of illusions and this was one of them.

So long as the attack was pressed from the front, Shaw's position was impregnable, but when Major and Lane had wedged into the imprudent intervals he had left between his line and his support on either flank, his regiments were assaulted from the right flank, rear and front. Major Fyan of the 24th Missouri, on Shaw's right, became alarmed for the

safety of his command, and retired to the rear, fighting his way back with considerable loss. The 14th Iowa next became the target for the enemy's cruel cross-fire.

For an hour this went on. The roar of battle drowning every other sound, guns heated until it was dangerous to load, smoke covering the whole field until neither friend nor foe could be seen—and suddenly the whole scene changed. The firing partially ceased, and through the smoke of battle the men glanced anxiously about uncertain from what quarter the next disaster would come.

Churchill had now gained his vantage ground, as he thought, in the rear. And now for the first time, the noise of guns began to come from far over in the direction of Smith's great reserve crescent. But Churchill's guide had missed his mark, and landed Churchill directly into the focus of the crescent, instead of its rear. On low ground, within the left horn of Smith's crescent, lay the brigade of Colonel Benedict of the 19th Corps, and his skirmishers were nestled under cover of the deep ditch in his immediate front. Down upon these the Missouri troops descended with a running charge, catching them in the ditch, and mingling friend and foe in one common affray, and thus preventing the main line from firing lest they should kill their friends on the skirmish line.

Clubbing their guns they retired, fighting stubbornly, up the slope to the right and rear, toward the very center of the great crescent, dotting the bare hills with the dead and wounded as they went, and chased hotly by the exultant foe. They were driven through the 9th Indiana Battery, and through the 178th New York Regiment in Smith's crescent, and the havoc of battle now shifted into the little town itself, more than a mile from Shaw's front, while the southern men, taking possession of some of the buildings, opened fire upon the rear of McMillan's brigade, lying in reserve in the west suburb of town, and in Dwight's rear.

The great army of General Banks was now cut in twain; confusion reigned in its center, the guns of Battery L, except one out of six, were in the enemy's hands, and the whole left wing of the Federal army was in the greatest peril.

Banks now sent an officer to notify the women and children to flee for their lives, and hastily gathering their little ones, they ran out into the great forest, and only returned when darkness had closed the carnage around their homes.

General A. J. Smith, seeing the danger to the west wing of the army, sent an orderly to recall Shaw from his perilous position, but Shaw was just then very busy with the troublesome enemy in his immediate front, and being all ignorant of the disaster in his rear, and even of the foe sandwiched in between him and his nearby support, replied that he was too busy to go just then, but as soon as he could lick the Johnnies in his front a little more he would pull out. Presently he rode down along the rear of his line with intent to deliver the order for retreat, and came very near getting captured, and then he discovered the dismounted cavalry in his rear, and being unable to reach the left of even his own brigade, he left Colonel Scott, 32d Iowa, to extricate himself as best he could, and delivered his order to the other regiments.

At this juncture, Gen. Richard Arnold, Chief of Artillery, ordered the 25th New York Battery, in Shaw's front, to limber to the rear, and in doing so they, too, ran into the enemy in Shaw's rear, and reversing their guns, fired a volley rearward, and escaped through the opening thus made. Captain Irving, however, found four horses dead on gun No. 1, and had to spike and abandon that gun, though he afterwards pulled it off with the limber from the ammunition wagon, while the Johnnies captured his ammunition wagon, and he only recovered it at the Cane River fight, some days later.

The 24th Missouri, of Shaw's brigade, had already gone back, and Shaw got the 14th Iowa off in fairly good order, but the 27th Iowa had to run the gauntlet in wild confusion, and lost heavily in its escape, while the 32d Iowa remained out in the midst of the field without orders, and beyond the reach of Federal help.

The southern leaders now felt exceedingly jubilant, and they rushed past the 32d Iowa in quest of bigger game beyond, though some of their officers riding down in the belt of timber in the rear of that regiment, encountered several of the boys

in blue, whom they mistook for southern soldiers, and to whom they called, "Boys, go right to the front. Our men are driving the enemy on the right, and our victory will soon be complete."

General Dwight, seeing that the army on his left had apparently gone to everlasting smash, now threw two of his regiments, the 114th and 153d New York, across the road to his left, and Shaw's line being withdrawn, the dismounted cavalry of General Bee now charged in on Dwight's line, and in this charge they recovered their gallant Colonel Buchel, who had fallen shortly before and was, for a little time, a prisoner in the ranks of the 14th Iowa. He was mortally wounded, and died two days later in General Bee's camp.

It was now the climax of Confederate success. The whole battle had changed. Southern soldiers now stood where Shaw's line had been, and a great southern army filled the whole center of the field. But they had gone a little too far, and the tip of the crescent's left horn charged their right flank, and McMillan charged their left, and the whole line of Smith's great crescent, rising up from the ground like an apparition, delivered their fire, and with a great, prolonged cheer, charged straight at the southern line.

It was a splendid sight to look upon, this long line of blue upon the higher ground, undulating over hill and dale, with officers galloping at the head of the several commands, and with loud, long cheers, bearing down upon the enemy. To the southern men it was an appalling sight. They gazed upon it for just one moment, and flesh and blood could stand no longer, and turning tail, they ran hastily back to the protecting ditch.

Here they made a desperate stand, even driving back their assailants, on the left, but Smith's men, now joined by Benedict's men, paused not for an instant, but with grand old Joe Mower at their head went straight at them across the ditch, catching many of them by the shoulders and remanding them as prisoners, to the rear.

The same sort of panic now reigned in the southern ranks as that which had the day before destroyed the Yankee army at Mansfield. Backward they surged, trampling down their

comrades as they went, and rolling like a sea of brown along the roads west and southwest. And Walker's division, which was a little late, as usual with that general, came in just at the right time to be caught in the same disaster, his right, Scurry's brigade, being swept away in the tide of retreat, while his left, more or less broken into fragments, had paused to contend with the 32d Iowa, for General Walker himself had been carried wounded from the field. At this critical moment, Colonel Terrell, of the 34th Texas Cavalry, appeared on the extreme Confederate right, having been called, at the last moment from the far left to serve as flankers on the Confederate right. He had brushed up against Scurry's men, and exchanged shots with them, as he came, and his guide had made the same mistake as Churchill's had, and delivered him into the very heart of the disaster at the worst possible crisis. Terrell was a brave officer and a good fighter, and halting his command in the woods far south of the old college, he advanced into the open as infantry, where his little command was instantly swallowed up in the grand charge, and when his men, in much confusion, sought their mounts, they found them missing, and the Colonel believed the Arkansas troops had taken them to accelerate their flight, but they were, really, safe in the hands of the Indiana boys led by our Colonel Lucas. It is said that Colonel Terrell got lost in the woods and as the regiment went far back toward Mansfield that night, he was not able to join his regiment until late the next day.

Out in the far front, alone and without orders, Col. John Scott with the 32d Iowa, still held their ground, firing sometimes into the thick smoke in their front, and sometimes to the right, from whence a galling cross-fire came incessantly. The Colonel was greatly disturbed, and knowing that escape by the right flank was impossible, he called to his command, "Follow me," and ran rapidly to the left and rear, directly toward the great mass of southern soldiers that General Smith was rolling westward past his left. In the confusion and noise, only about half the regiment heard the command, and companies B, D, F, G and H were left scattered in fragments along the line. Colonel Scott and his little band were just in time to shoot

like a rocket between the Confederate mass and their pursuers, and Smith's men, mistaking them for a rebel charge, dropped on their knees to receive them with a volley. Colonel Eberhart (then Major), noting this peril, sprang upon a log and cried out, "*Thirty-second Iowa: Don't fire for Heaven's sake.*" The color-bearer waved his flag, and the boys ran in by the colors, with the utmost speed, making their grandest leaps as they passed through the line.

The fragments of the 32d Iowa which were still scattered along the old firing line, continued to fight in squads, resisting as they could, the southern men of General Walker's division, who were also in more or less disorder, each side capturing prisoners, some of whom were led rearwards, some taken off north along the belt of woods, and others presently released by the sudden return of their comrades. And thus, with countless vicissitudes these fragments went piece-meal to the rear, and after darkness had silenced the tumult, they rejoined their command.

The dismounted cavalry on the Confederate left had made but sorry progress, and finally General Taylor ordered Polignac's reserves into the fight, and as they charged in where Shaw's line had been, they struck Lane's men, now uncovered by Shaw's withdrawal, and poured a few red hot volleys into those unfortunate men. And now, as darkness settled down over the great battle-field, General Taylor called off his left, and they followed the demoralized right, as it fled backward along the great stage road, toward Shreveport, from whence they had come.

They had been driven from the field on their right, and had now retired on their left, while 800 of their men were prisoners in the Federal camp, and their medical director estimated their loss in killed and wounded at 1,500 men. Notwithstanding their arduous morning's march, these tired southern soldiers fled all the way back to Mansfield, except a few who bivouacked at the little Brushy.

The great battle was now over, and a council of war was held at Banks' headquarters, in the Childers Mansion, at the east margin of the little town, at which conference it was de-

cided to continue the retreat to Grand Ecore, and so at the hour of midnight, the Union army began their march eastward, leaving, in their haste, four hundred of the most badly wounded, some in the several improvised hospitals, and others scattered over the great field uncared for. Thus all night, both armies fled backward from the red field of battle, while the wounded on both sides remained looking with amazement upon this double flight. The Union loss was estimated at 1,000 men in all, four hundred of whom were left to languish in and around that little hamlet, while the dead lay scattered over the field unburied. Five surgeons and a very few attendants remained to care for the wounded, and the public buildings, the great Childers Mansion, and some other buildings were transformed into temporary hospitals, and filled to overflowing with the wounded. A camp near a country house two miles east of town received "the overflow."

The night after the battle, the 32d Iowa spent the whole night on the field, being selected for rear guard. The regiment had a few prisoners, and the boys generously divided their blankets with the prisoners, but in the excitement of the hour, forgot to set a guard over them. But the southern men, believing themselves well guarded, slept soundly, and were on hand the next morning for breakfast.

Night on a great battle-field is a wonderful thing. It was my good or bad fortune to remain long after dark on the field of carnage. As soon as darkness settled over the field, thousands of little fires sprang up where the firing had been thickest. Fires that only became visible as the darkness deepened, kindled most likely by burning cartridges, and the curling, wriggling smoke of these fires, mingling with the great volume of battle smoke, rendered the whole scene extremely grand, and as no one knew where the enemy might be, these luminous districts were easily mistaken for great camps, either of friend or foe, while in fact they were but vestal fires keeping their silent vigils over the wounded and the dead. The excitement of a great conflict, and the suspense of issues unknown served to magnify the spectral wonders of the night.

Though severely wounded, I walked along the firing line,

in the dim, uncertain flicker of the distant lights, hearing occasionally a groan from some wounded comrade, or stumbling over the prostrate form of another, while one by one stragglers and wounded joined my company, till some six or seven of us together sought a way out of the forest to some place of rest and help.

At the crossing of the little creek that ran through our line, we met a little band of men rapidly approaching us carrying their arms at a right shoulder shift. Suddenly they halted and challenged us, "Halt! who comes there." Nobody knew to which army they belonged. They might be a night guard going to their post, about a dozen in number. And on our side, for a moment not a soul dared answer their challenge lest we should draw their fire, and they were but a few paces from us. Then I replied, "We are only wounded men. Who are you?" And the answer came instantly, "Company II, 32d Iowa, Captain Benson." One of our fragments, still wandering in the woods.

All night the surgeons labored with the wounded, and when the bright Sabbath sun rose on the morning of the 10th, the army had disappeared, and that little town of less than one hundred souls found itself oppressed with seven times its number of wounded men belonging to both armies. And in their haste the army had taken away everything needed for the comfort of the men. There were neither provisions nor medical supplies.

At the southwest suburb of the little town stood a beautiful park of grand, spreading oaks, and a little farther south was the campus of the unfinished brick college, consisting as yet of nothing but the two great wings, two stories high, with an open space between, in which, some day, was to be erected the more important central edifice, but which in fact was never built.

These two wings were about 40 by 80 feet in size, with rough floors laid both above and below, and after three or four days' delay, were utilized as a hospital for the Federal wounded, except those in the country camp, and the Childers Mansion was then given up to the Confederate wounded, in accordance with the desire of its proprietress, Mrs. Maria Childers.

Four days after the battle, they sent us two big army wagons loaded with medical supplies, in charge of Dr. Sanger, medical director of the 19th Army Corps. Among these supplies were a great number of empty ticks for cots, and these being filled with raw cotton, made the men much more comfortable than the hard floors had been. The great floors were covered with these cots, and a shed being built for the Irish cook, a degree of order prevailed, though the few attendants were greatly overworked and the conveniences were very inadequate. But the rations were simple and easily prepared, consisting mostly of corn meal and coffee.

At Mansfield the several churches, and some other buildings were transformed into hospitals, and the Baptist church was burned by the upsetting of a tallow candle which fired the raw cotton used for bedding, the struggles of a soldier undergoing an operation being the immediate cause of the conflagration. The fire spread so rapidly that the men were gotten out with difficulty, and the building was a total loss.

Only a few southern men remained in that part of the country, those not in the Confederate army having fled to Texas with their colored "chattels," and being known as "refugees." But the kind-hearted southern ladies, who remained at home with their little ones, were frequent visitors at the hospitals, and generously supplemented the bill of fare with such delicacies as their slender larders afforded, for they, too, had been plundered by both armies, and were almost constrained to part with the widow's last mite.

To the wounded soldiers, enduring both captivity and pain, the coming among them of these gentle messengers of sympathy and mercy, was especially beneficent; and all the more so when it is remembered that all of them were true southern people, and in full sympathy with the southern cause, while we were in their eyes, their "Yankee invaders."

They piously refused all remuneration for the help they rendered, desiring that no mercenary motive should taint their notable charity. A dying officer, in our hospital, tendered his gold watch to Mrs. William Hampton, as remuneration for her constant kindness, but the lady promptly declined his generous offer.

Among these noble ladies, were Mrs. Stephen Chapman and her daughter, Miss Sallie, Mrs. William Hampton and her two daughters, Misses Mary and Sarah, and last but not least of all, Mrs. Bullen, who will be remembered by many old soldiers because her visits were abruptly terminated by a fall from the mule which the good lady rode from her country home, in which fall she sustained a fractured limb, and was attended by our Dr. J. E. Armstrong, one of the hospital surgeons. And a very chief among them all, Mrs. Maria Childers, mistress of the Childers estate.

Miss Mary Hampton may be called the heroine of the battle-field. She went all over the field on the morning after the battle, while the dead were yet unburied, the wounded not all gathered in, and the debris of the great conflict scattered everywhere. Especially touching to the feminine heart were the boyish red uniforms of the Zouaves, 162d New York, whose dead, like sacred roses, dotted all the long slope from the great ditch where Benedict fell, up to the crest of the hill on which stood the village of Pleasant Hill.

Sarah was known as the "curly headed flower girl," usually bringing a bouquet when she came.

When the conflict was raging at its highest, Mrs. Hampton, noting the levity of the young folks, admonished them that in such an hour of suspense they should be praying instead of laughing, at which the little daughter, Emma, replied, "O Laudy, mamma! it's no use praying now, the Yankees have got us."

Mrs. Hampton is still living in the same little cottage which she occupied in war times, on her little farm about a mile south of the battle-field. But she is very old and infirm, totally blind and helpless.

Mrs. Childers, Mrs. Bullen, and Mrs. Chapman, have long since gone to their reward, but their children and grandchildren are scattered in that vicinity.

At the hospital in Pleasant Hill, I became acquainted with the Hon. Alonzo J. Barkley, now of Boone, Iowa, and Henry Nulton, Esq., now of Escondido, Cal. Both had, like myself, received severe wounds in the arm, near the

shoulder, the first necessitating an exsection of the bone, and the other an amputation.

Lieutenant John Devine, of the 32d Iowa, who with seventeen others had fought a lone battle with a fragment of General Walker's brigade, and lost a leg in the effort, was also there. It is his son, Dr. Edward Devine, who recently won such fame as to be appointed by President Roosevelt, to superintend the distribution of the Red Cross supplies in the ruined city of San Francisco.

The same Col. A. W. Terrell, who fought us there in command of the 34th Texas Cavalry, was made Minister to Turkey under Cleveland, and is now an honored member of the Texas legislature, and the author of several laws by which more than three millions of dollars have been appropriated for the education of the colored people of his state.

Of the four hundred wounded men whom Banks left at Pleasant Hill, more than half died in the several hospitals. Some five years after the battle the War Department made an attempt to gather the dead from all these battle-fields into the National Cemetery at Pineville, near Alexandria, La.

But the remains of only seventy could then be recovered, and none of them, so far as I have been able to learn, could then be identified.

The dead at Camp Ford, near Tyler, Texas, fared better in this respect, and it may be of interest to some friend, to know that the remains of Sergt. Joseph G. Miller, of Co. D, and private Nathan R. Modlin, of Co. F, both of the 32d Iowa, and who died at Camp Ford, are resting safely at Pineville.

Pleasant Hill is more of a plain than a hill. It was settled in the year 1844, by one John Jordan, and was called "Pleasant Hill" before any village was laid out, and because it was a pleasant looking place. This I learned from a son, John Tyler Jordan, who still lives in the vicinity, and who received his middle name because he happened to be born on President Tyler's inauguration day.

The old college, which in that day, served so beneficent a purpose, is long since gone, the east wing being burned

down, and the west being taken down brick by brick and sold. The village of Pleasant Hill went bodily to the railroad two miles southwest, and is now called by the road officials, Sodus, though retaining its old post-office name of Pleasant Hill. The forest has claimed much of the old abandoned battle-field, and rail fences traverse the old streets, while cotton and corn celebrate the "blood stained" fields.

The old Camp Meeting Ground, one and a quarter miles east of old Pleasant Hill, where the 16th Corps bivouacked the night before the battle, is now cultivated to corn and cotton to the very margin of the graves in its cemetery, while brambles, brush and tall trees dispute with marble shaft and slab the dwelling of the dead.

Everything is greatly changed, but the descendants of the former residents, who were mostly rich planters, are still living near by, and the little community is rich in treasured memories of 1864. And Mrs. Senator W. C. Davis, has one room in her beautiful home at Sodus, artistically garnished with relics from the battle-field of Pleasant Hill.

Memorial Day is celebrated every year at Mansfield on the anniversary of the battle of Mansfield, April 8th, and the event is emphasized by the long rows of buried dead from the battle-field, which their local cemetery contains.

REMINISCENCES OF THE BATTLE OF PLEASANT HILL.

BY HENRY H. CHILDERS.

After an absence of many years, I returned to the old scenes and associations of the battle-field of Pleasant Hill, Louisiana. It was in the month of May, 1895, and just in time to see the dismantled remains of the old mansion, known to history as the Childers House, which during the battle of Pleasant Hill, on the ninth day of April, 1864, was the headquarters of Gen. N. P. Banks, commanding the Union forces.

Mr. W. D. Gooch, who had married one of the Childers girls, had become the owner of the house and had decided to tear it down and remove such portions as were useful in the construction of a more modern home at the nearest railroad station, called by the Railroad Company, Sodus, and by the Post-office Department, Pleasant Hill. The owner, at first, resolved to leave the old home standing and would go to and fro from the railroad station, a distance of two and a half miles, every day to business. This became inconvenient and he left the old homestead to a care-taker and moved into a less pretentious cottage nearer his business. On this particular day in May, while I was standing looking at what remained of the home of my early childhood and cast down with sadness at the fate of this historic relic, I asked Mr. Gooch why he had not made a proposition to the United States Government to sell the homestead and the adjoining battle-field as a Government Reservation. It seems that he had this very thing in contemplation, but as the Government had moved slowly, as is usual in such cases, he got out of patience and decided to put the building to a practical use, but learned after demolition had begun that if he had waited a little longer, the Government would have taken action.

In giving my recollections of the battle of Pleasant Hill, I rely upon a fair memory of things seen myself and other things told me during and after the battle. I shall, also, attempt to add to the value of these reminiscences by appealing

to the official records compiled by the United States Government.

I distinctly remember, as a child, hearing my grandmother, Mrs. Maria Childers, the owner of the Childers homestead, speak of the war that was then going on and when the Red River Campaign began, we received reports at different times from passers-by of the progress of the Union army up the Red River valley. We either heard or thought we heard, cannonading just a few days before the battle of Mansfield which was fought on the 8th of April, 1864, and I remember going out into the back yard and putting my ear to the earth, as I was told in that way one could hear the cannon detonations from a long distance.

The first real demonstration which excited us, was the day before the battle of Mansfield when the picket lines of the Confederate army were driven past our house in the usual disorder of such skirmishes and pretty soon the blue uniforms of Yankee officers appeared in our little back yard under the China trees, on horseback. The exercise these officers had taken that morning had given them an appetite and they demanded victuals. My grandmother, at first, did not think that she could afford to furnish food energy to the enemy but a certain wise discretion accompanied with some premonition, persuaded her that she had better feed these men. After eating, they proceeded to inquire for money and valuables and received unsatisfactory answers. The silverware and other valuable articles were then in the bottom of a six-hundred barrel oblong cistern under the house. They searched all the rooms and in demeanor were not as polite and chivalrous to these frightened southern women and children as I fancy United States officers would be to-day under like circumstances. In their search, they found a rosewood box inlaid with pearl, which aroused considerable curiosity. It was locked and no one seemed to know where the key was. They thought that if the box contained a pistol, it must be a very fine one to be in keeping with the expensive character of the box itself. They rattled the box and finally broke the lock and found a very expensive old heirloom, a hunting

horn, for which they had no use. Soon after they had left the house, the soldiery began to pass on their way to Mansfield. Not having had a military training, either in school or in the National Guard, I cannot describe military movements as felicitously as I would like, but I will simply give my reflections as they occur to me.

The two armies met in the old Jordan field to the west of our house which had been for some years abandoned on account of the exhausted condition of the soil and the first I recall of the actual engagement was when I saw the soldiers marching in line westward, immediately in front of the yard which we always called the flower yard. Soon after, came the rapid firing of musketry and the less rapid cannon. Our family had been told by wiser ones that it would be safer in the cellar which was in the rear of the house and there, all the family and the slaves took refuge. For my part, I did not venture out of the cellar, but Henry Taylor, one of our negro boys, went to the front of the house where he could see the battle raging and soon returned with a report that a bomb-shell had hit the house. This caused great alarm, as we thought it meant an explosion and burning down of the house. When we heard no explosion, we were satisfied that Henry's imagination was alone responsible for the statement that the house had been struck. However, an examination after the battle, showed that a ten-pound round bomb had struck the house and passed through several walls, shattering several pieces of furniture and lodging itself between the ceiling, without the more serious damage of explosion. Numerous smaller balls struck the house but no member of the family was hurt. While the battle was in progress, Mrs. Childers took two of the servants and removed from one of the front rooms down stairs, a sick Confederate soldier. No sooner had this been done than a ball passed through the wall just over the place where the sick man had been.

Soon after the battle, the house began to fill up with the wounded and by night it was a veritable hospital, all the halls and rooms being utilized, except two bed-rooms, dining-room and kitchen. I remember one soldier who was brought

in shot through the head. He seemed to be aware that his end was near and begged that he be put out of his misery. He died very soon afterwards. A very amusing incident happened in the course of the afternoon: peeping out from the cellar, we could see soldiers fleeing through the fields in the rear, but in the nick of time, we happened to see old Aunt Sally, who was the cook at the tavern on the hill, making her way to the woods. Our boy Henry ran out and hailed her and brought her in and gave her refuge. She was very grateful but could not explain how she had covered the ground almost between the lines without being killed.

One of the strangest things about this battle was that neither Rebel nor Yankee knew which was "licked" and it was a case of both armies retreating and the confession of weakness on both sides, but the real vantage ground was held by the Rebels, as the Union army had intended to reach Shreveport and never did. On the contrary, the day after the battle found them twenty miles further from their destination. This battle marked the climax in the disastrous failure of the Red River Campaign where plans were carefully made but poorly executed, where man proposes and God disposes.

By some strange act of omission, little has been recorded, either in history or biography, and for that matter even in the official records, concerning this battle, though there were in the Red River Campaign approximately, fifty thousand men.

The most reliable information I have found in the Official Record of the Union and Confederate armies. Gen. Richard (Dick) Taylor, touches lightly upon this battle in his book "Destruction and Reconstruction," which has had but few readers above "Mason and Dixon's Line." The only way in which I can account for this omission is the remote distance of the battle from military centers. Books have been written upon Manassas, Bull Run, Gettysburg, Antietam, Richmond, Vicksburg and other battles. General Banks spoke of this in one of his reports, April 13, 1864, as "more sanguinary and desperate, for the brief period it con-

tinued than any engagement in which they (the soldiers) have ever participated."

Troops from Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas and Missouri on the Confederate side and from New York, Pennsylvania, Vermont, Maine, Illinois, Indiana and some other states, participated in this engagement, which was fought between the hours of four and seven P. M., April 9, 1864, Gen. N. P. Banks on the Union and Gen. Dick Taylor the Rebel side. General Banks was under orders from Lieut. Gen. U. S. Grant, and General Taylor was subordinate to Gen. E. Kirby Smith, commanding the trans-Mississippi Department of the Confederate service. This was one of a series of engagements including the battles of Mansfield and Wilson's Farm (three miles northwest of Pleasant Hill), which with other circumstances, decided the War Department at Washington to abandon this part of the field of operation and to concentrate the Government forces at points further east.

I have above spoken of the doubtful issue of this battle and the uncertainty in the minds of the commanding officers as to which army had been victorious, but even with this frank statement, I am convinced that the Union army was in a much more demoralized condition than the enemy. General Banks seemed to have been the victim of a profound quandary, vacillating and without resolution. His embarrassment was so apparent that he has confessed the same in a letter addressed to General Grant from Grand Ecore, La., April 13, 1864, in the following language:

At the close of the engagement, the victorious party found itself without rations and without water. To clear the field for the fight, the train had been sent to the rear upon the single line of communication, through the woods, and could not be brought to the front during the night. There was neither water for man nor beast, except such as the now exhausted wells had afforded during the day, for miles around.

* * * These considerations, the absolute deprivation of water for man or beast, the exhaustion of rations and the failure to effect the connection with the fleet on the river, made it necessary for the army, although victorious in the terrible struggle through which it had passed, to retreat to a point where it would be certain in communicating with the fleet and where it would have an opportunity of reorganization.

Another thing which added to General Banks' confusion was the limitation put upon the campaign by Gen. U. S. Grant which he thought could be successfully fought within thirty days. At the time of the retreat from Pleasant Hill, it was contemplated in the original plan that the Union army would be in Shreveport after a victorious march up the Red River valley. Touching this point, General Grant at the time gave the following instructions:

Should you find that the taking of Shreveport will occupy ten or fifteen days more (than the prescribed thirty days) time than Gen. Sherman gave his troops to be absent from their command, you will send them back at the time specified in his note of ——— March, *even if it should lead to the abandonment of the main object of the expedition.* Should it prove successful, hold Shreveport and Red River with such force as you deem necessary and return the balance of your troops to the neighborhood of New Orleans.*

It is not difficult to imagine the humiliation from which General Banks was suffering at the close of the battle when he was sure of defeat, which not only meant the loss of that particular battle but the miscarriage of his plans of reaching Shreveport within thirty days. Confronted by such conditions, he called a council of war in the evening which met in our house (the Childers house). As far as can be learned, this council was attended by Generals Banks, Emory, Dwight and Franklin. The result of this meeting was a decided vote to retreat, in which determination Gen. A. J. Smith of General Sherman's army, acquiesced. (General Smith and his troops had been loaned to the Dept. of the Gulf, temporarily, and for the purposes of this campaign.)

Another embarrassment which General Banks may have urged by way of excuse in the fortunes of war just at this time, was the tardy movements of the fleet commanded by Rear-Admiral Porter in its journey up Red River upon which General Banks seems to have relied for assistance. To use General Banks' own language:

The fleet was as necessary to the campaign as the army. Had it been left to my discretion, I should have reluctantly undertaken, in a campaign requiring but eight or ten light-draft gun-boats, to force

*Official Records, Vol., XXXIV, p. 203.

twenty heavy iron-clads, 490 miles on a river, proverbially as treacherous as the Rebels who defended it and which had given notice of its character by steadily falling, when, as the Admiral reports, "All other rivers were booming." There is a better reason for the disregard of the palpable difficulties of navigation than the over zealous council of officers in nautical affairs.

The attitude of these two commanders, naval and military, toward one another would be amusing, if not so tragic. We can at any rate, at this remote time, find comedy in the situation. General Banks was furious with General Porter's tardy movement of the fleet; General Porter was complacent and conciliatory.

Note General Banks' irritation in the following language:

In a subsequent despatch, Admiral Porter says that: "All my vessels navigated the river to Grand Ecore, with ease, and with some of them I reached Springfield Landing, the place designated for the gun-boats to meet the army. *My part was successfully accomplished.* The failure of the army to proceed and retreat to Grand Ecore, left me *almost* at the mercy of the enemy." The records of the campaign do not at all support the reckless and fiery ardour of this statement. The fleet did not reach the "place appointed," until two full days after the first decisive battle with the enemy. The Admiral occupied four days in moving 104 miles on what he called a "rising river" with "good water," to the place appointed.*

Admiral Porter seems to have been a trifle more amiable than his confrere General Banks. In his letter of May 16, 1864, addressed to Hon. Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy, he says:

To Gen. Banks, personally I am much indebted for the happy manner in which he followed this enterprise, giving it his whole attention night and day, scarcely sleeping while the work was going on, tending personally to see that all the requirements of Col. Bailey were complied with on the instant. I do not believe there was ever a case where such difficulties were overcome in such a short space of time and without any preparation.

This tribute to General Banks' military prowess is so fulsome and in such contrast with the opinions expressed by General Banks on Admiral Porter's naval movements, that accuracy is discounted.

*Official Records, Vol. XXXIV, p. 215.

While these commanders were expressing divergent views, all things were not harmonious between Generals E. Kirby Smith and Dick Taylor, of the Confederate army.

There is good reason to believe that General Taylor engaged the enemy at Mansfield on April 8, 1864, against the advice of his superior officer, General Smith, and the movements of General Taylor's army, immediately subsequent to the battle, were not in accord with General Smith's directions.

I find the following language in a letter dated Shreveport, La., June 27, 1864, from Lieut. Edward Cunningham, Aide-de-Camp and Chief of Artillery, which was intercepted *in transitu* and was forwarded to the United States War Department by General Canby:

I have given you as clearly as I am able the details of this campaign. I doubt if they will be interesting to you in view of the great event now transpiring in Virginia and Georgia; but as I have said, they are data from which you may judge the merits of the case, which I am sure will not long fail to be discussed in Richmond. Gen. Taylor has warm supporters there—men who will not be deterred from carrying their point by any scruples of honor or veracity. Gen. Smith's policy and motives, as well as many facts connected with his operations, will be misrepresented, etc.

I have wondered at a statement which General Banks made in a letter from Grand Ecore, La., dated April 13, 1864, to General Grant (Official Report, Vol XXXIV, p. 183) in which he says: "The battle lasted until nine o'clock in the evening." Everyone knows that it is dark at this season of the year at seven o'clock, and I remember that the firing ceased at dark. This mistake may be attributable to hallucinations growing out of great excitement and greater disappointment, tremendous losses of troops, the humiliation of defeat and responsibility to higher authority, thereby unbalancing his judgment.

There seems to have been considerable difference of opinion as to the number of troops on both sides in this engagement. The Federals claimed that the Confederates fought with something near twenty-five thousand troops, while the Federal estimate was twelve thousand. The Confederate estimate of the Union forces was twenty-five thousand men. Gen-

eral Banks said in a letter: "We have fought the battle of Pleasant Hill with about fifteen thousand against twenty-two thousand men and won a victory * * *," etc. Other evidence of hallucination.

It is interesting to recall, as one of the incidents of this battle, that the late U. S. Minister to Turkey, Judge Alexander Watkins Terrell, of Austin, Texas, got lost from his regiment in a little piece of woods not far from Pierce & Paine College, which is upon an elevation on the south side of the battlefield. Judge, who was then Colonel, Terrell had to meet this accusation when a candidate for the U. S. Senate, in Texas, some years ago. Judge John H. Reagan was the successful candidate. The charge against Judge Terrell was cowardice. I have talked with some Texans who were in the battle and among them, General Hardeman, Superintendent of the Confederate Home at Austin, and received some opinions that the charge was false. Judge Terrell, himself, admits that he became "separated" from his regiment and did not find his way back until some hours afterward, perhaps the next day.

There is no record, so far as I can learn, of any authorized reprimand of Judge Terrell.

Colonel Peek, of the Twenty-third New York Volunteers, did not fare so well; he was dishonorably dismissed under the charge made by Major-General Banks of leaving his regiment and going to the rear during the battle and "did not make proper attempts to rally his regiment while in confusion;" and "was not with his regimental colors or with those of his men who were rallied around them when they advanced upon the enemy," and that "at this time was going to the rear without permission or authority and alone and did not rejoin his command until 2 P. M., the 10th of April, 1864, being absent and from the colors of his regiment about twenty hours, without authority."

The battle was desperately fought and a great many lives sacrificed in a comparatively short time.

Two distinguished officers lost their lives, Col. Lewis Benedict of the New York troops and Col. A. Buchel of Louisiana cavalry. They were both soldiers of splendid courage and their many virtues endeared them to their comrades.

The Childers house, which was made a temporary hospital during the battle and for a few days afterward, for the use of Union soldiers, was relinquished upon request of the owner, to the wounded of the Confederate army, but for a time before the transfer was complete, it was both beautiful and sad to see the soldiers and nurses of the two contending armies in pleasant conversation together, exchanging ministrations and offering up prayers together.

One Confederate soldier who was brought to our house for treatment was Captain Petty of Bastrop, Texas. His case was hopeless and just before his death, upon being told that he could not live, he was raised in his bed and allowed to look out the window for the last time. His eyes fell upon a piece of green sward in the corner of the small yard around the house, near by which stood a large oak. He asked to be buried in that little corner, stating that he did not care to be buried with the other soldiers, as his identity might be lost in the confusion of indiscriminate burial. His request was granted, and to this day the dust of his bones is in that same spot, returned to its native element and now mingled with the soil that made the grass green for his fading vision. The last time I saw this grave, it was unmarked by stone or board, but the neighborhood knew that it was the last resting place of Captain Petty, the bravest of his regiment.*

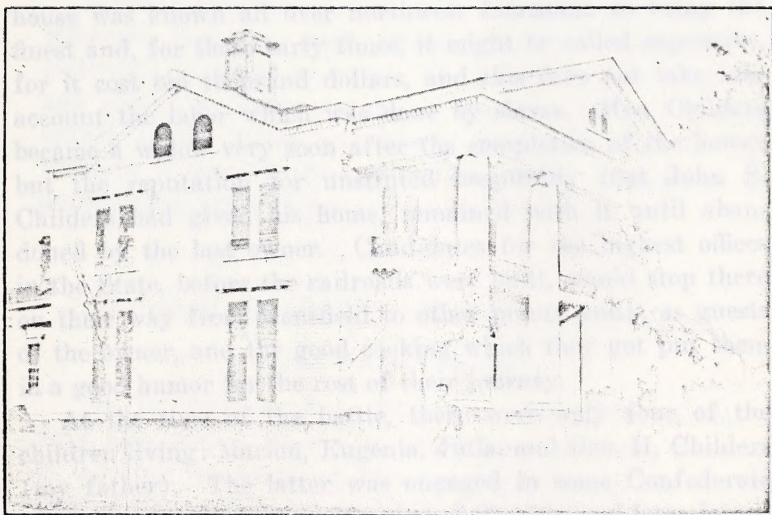
It takes years to remove the traces of a great battle. Shot and shell and broken bayonets, discarded scabbards, canteens and a thousand relics litter the field for months and years. I was hunting squirrels in the woods in 1871, a mile or more north of the village, and found an army musket in the hollow of a rotten log; the woodwork of the gun was badly worm-eaten and the steel badly corroded. It had no value to me, as a boy, so I left it where I found it.

I neglected to explain that my family felt very indignant that our own people would throw a bombshell into our home. We were told that the commander of the artillery gave the order so as to destroy what he heard was a hospital for

*It is now marked by an appropriate tomb-stone, the only one on all the battle-field.—S. F. B.

wounded Yankee soldiers. This may have appeared very costly to the cause, but it was not sufficient compensation for Mrs. Childers, whose humanity was greater than her possessions, and she pronounced it outrageous that the houses of war should justify the destruction of a house dedicated, at least temporarily, to humane purposes. The backwash and the place where it entered the plank ceiling are still preserved by the grandchildren who lived in the neighborhood.

The Childers homestead was built in the year 1825, by John S. Childers, my grandfather. For many years, the



THE CHILDERS HOUSE.

Pleasant Hill, La.

the army, hence the fact that she lived without a male protector. It is but simple for Mrs. Childers, the owner of this old landmark upon the battle field, to state that when the excitement incident to the battle subsided, with its dreadful carnage and its harrowing scenes of human suffering, was rife, her ministrations to all wounded soldiers, whether from North or South, were alike impartial. She knew no line dividing sections, in that dark hour. They were all, to her, God's creatures. This good woman lived in the old home until her death in 1885, all the while the acknowledged mentor of the religious community and the chief support of the village church. Her name is a household word,

wounded Yankee soldiers. This may have appeased our loyalty to the cause, but it was not sufficient explanation for Mrs. Childers, whose humanity was greater than her patriotism, and she pronounced it outrageous that the fortunes of war could justify the destruction of a house dedicated, though temporarily, to humane purposes. The bombshell and the place where it entered the plank ceiling, are still preserved by the grandchildren who lived in the neighborhood.

The Childers homestead was built in the year 1859, by John S. Childers, my grandfather. For many years, this house was known all over northwest Louisiana as being the finest and, for those early times, it might be called expensive, for it cost ten thousand dollars, and this does not take into account the labor which was done by slaves. Mrs. Childers became a widow very soon after the completion of the house, but the reputation for unstinted hospitality that John S. Childers had given his home, remained with it until abandoned by the last owner. Candidates for the highest offices in the State, before the railroads were built, would stop there on their way from Mansfield to other points south, as guests of the owner, and the good cooking which they got put them in a good humor for the rest of their journey.

At the time of the battle, there were only four of the children living: Marion, Eugenia, Julia, and Geo. H. Childers (my father). The latter was engaged in some Confederate government work in the early part of the war, and later joined the army, hence the family was left without a male protector.

It is but simple justice to this lady (Mrs. Childers), the owner of this old landmark upon the battle-field, to state that when the excitement, incident to the battle scene, with its dreadful carnage and its harrowing scenes of human suffering, was rife, her ministrations to all wounded soldiers, whether from North or South, were alike, impartial. She knew no line dividing sections, in that dark hour. They were all, to her, God's creatures. This good woman lived in the old home until her death in 1886, all the while the acknowledged mentor of the religious community and the chief support of the village church. Her name is a household word,

inspiring, even to this day, the noblest sentiments of Christian duty.

I am not able to learn how the village got its name of Pleasant Hill, but it became a village in the early fifties and was the center of refinement and education for miles around. The Childers and Jordans, the Chapmans, the Davises, the Harrells, and the Hamptons, were some of the leading, early settlers of the village. Most of these were wealthy before the war and became poor after the loss of their slaves. These families still live somewhere near the old village.

Nothing remains of the old Pleasant Hill, and I am informed that the main street now forms part of a field cultivated in cotton or corn. The buildings were torn down and moved to Sodus station on the New Orleans & Pacific branch of the Texas and Pacific Railroad, which is called Pleasant Hill by the Post-office Department, in response to a sentiment in favor of preserving the old name.

BATTLE OF PLEASANT HILL, LOUISIANA.

BY WM. H. HEATH.*

The 1st Division of the 16th Army Corps, commanded by Brig. Gen. Jos. A. Mower, to which has been given the credit of winning the battle of Pleasant Hill, was at the extreme rear of General Banks' army when it left Grand Ecore, La., to "go and take Shreveport."

Two divisions of the 13th Corps, under command of Brig. Gen. T. E. G. Ransom, were at the front. The center, composed of troops of the 9th and 19th Corps, moved one day's march behind Ransom's column, and the rear, under command of Brig. Gen. Andrew J. Smith, moved another day's march behind the 9th and 19th Corps, commanded by Generals W. B. Franklin and Emory.

General A. J. Smith's command consisted of two divisions of the 16th Army Corps, known as the left wing of that corps, the first commanded by General Mower, and the second com-

*Late Lieutenant-Colonel 33d Missouri Volunteer Infantry.

manded by Gen. Thos. Kilby Smith. In the movement against Shreveport, Kilby Smith's division was charged with the protection of the transports and gunboats from annoyance by land forces, and therefore it was with the fleet, which was expected to keep abreast of the land forces.

Both of A. J. Smith's divisions had been much depleted by veteran regiments going home on furlough.

The same thing was true of the two divisions of General Ransom, and that general was greatly concerned at being sent so far in advance with such an unsatisfactory command. He felt constantly that a mistake had been made in exposing his divisions to the danger of defeat before support could possibly reach him.

On the 8th of April his divisions were attacked in force by Kirby Smith's army and almost annihilated.

The rear division (Mower's) heard the firing in advance in the afternoon of the 8th and rushed forward in great haste to try and get into the fight, only to find themselves utterly exhausted at dark and still many miles short of the scene of battle.

They were ordered into camp about one mile east of the field upon which the most important and decisive battle of the campaign was to be fought.

During the night that followed news of the terrible disaster at Mansfield, or Sabine Cross-Roads as it was also called, came sifting through the camp, filling all with the most poignant regret that the miles had not been shorter, or our legs longer, on the previous day.

Having learned that General Ransom was in a house, wounded, a short distance west of our camp, I rode over to find him. I was directed to a large double frame house on the edge of the timber east of the plain since known as Pleasant Hill. This plain was apparently about a mile wide, with heavy timber east and west of it, and a ravine, then dry, running through it from the west to southeast.

In the parlor, which was a large double one with two fireplaces, I found General Ransom lying on a cot near the western window, suffering from a severe wound in the knee. I

sat down beside him, and from his own lips heard the first full and authentic news of the battle of Mansfield.

General Ransom said he was apprehensive of an attack by superior numbers from early in the morning, that he seemed to "feel it in the air." So impressed was he with the imprudence of advancing, without having adequate support near at hand, with his two small divisions, that he halted his column and asked General Banks for permission to await the arrival of the center within proper supporting distance, saying to him frankly that he felt he was then "in the presence of the enemy in superior force."

General Banks appealed to his chief of cavalry, whose duty it was to scout his front and flanks, to know what ground there was for the apprehensions of General Ransom. According to General Ransom's account that officer pooch-pooched the whole matter, asserting vehemently that there was "no organized enemy within 50 miles of Ransom's front." Thereupon General Banks ordered the march resumed. Early in the afternoon General Ransom's divisions were viciously attacked by a large force. He said they "came at him like the wings of a V, the open part covering his front and flanks, and that every time he attempted to form a line of battle the wings of the V enveloped his flanks and closed down on them like a nut-cracker."

His movements were very much hampered by the heavy trains, which filled the road and impeded any satisfactory movement of his artillery.

Before sundown he had lost nearly all of the train, and his best batteries of artillery had also been captured, as well as numbers of his men. With the defeated and disheartened remnants he drew off as best he could and reformed to the rear. Support failed utterly to reach him in time to strike an effective blow for his rescue, and in darkness and defeat he retired toward Pleasant Hill.

The parlors where General Ransom was lying swarmed with generals, of high and low degree, who all with one voice agreed that the expedition against Shreveport was a dismal failure and that nothing remained now but to get back with

as little further loss as possible "*to New Orleans and reorganize.*"

From the western window I could look out, as General Ransom talked, and see General Banks' fine and well equipped army, infantry, cavalry, artillery, and trains loaded with paper collars and other things, all rushing helter-skelter from the timber on the west side of the plain, as they emerged from it spreading out like the leaves of a fan, and rushing madly, frantically across the plain, each striving to be the first to get control of the single road that entered the screen of timber on the east side of it.

I had never before witnessed such an apparently needless rout, and as no enemy seemed to be pressing them from behind, I wondered much what made each so urgent and determined to get there first. I drew General Ransom's attention to the scene, and he drew the attention of others in the parlor, who rapidly gathered about the windows to view it. Rising on his elbow to get a better view, he denounced the fleeing army, in the terse language of which he was past master, as cowards and poltroons, sarcastically comparing them to the "wicked, who flee when no man pursueth."

Smarting under the universal verdict of failure, by the assembled generals, and the necessity of going back to New Orleans, "way back" he expressed it, he finally burst out with: "Oh, for heaven's sake get out of the way there, you cowards, and let Smith get his corps up. I know he'll fight."

Among those who were most insistent on failure and the necessity for reorganization were two men in slouch hats and rusty brown overcoats, who bore no sign of rank about them. From their frequent reference to the trains and anxiety for their safety, I had concluded they must be quartermasters. One was much larger than the other. When Ransom spoke about Smith's corps, the smaller of these two men asked petulantly: "Who is this Smith we hear so much about?"

Ransom tried to tell him who he was, but before he got half through A. J.'s pedigree, the man who had asked for it turned contemptuously on his heel and shrugging his shoulders in a

significant way, blurted out: "Oh, damn it, there are so many Smiths."

Really, there were a good many Smiths down there: Kirby, Thos. Kilby and A. J. But we of the 16th Corps always felt that our Smith was one of the few, the immortal, Smiths that were not born to be sneezed at by quartermasters, and I fairly snorted in derision of this man who dared to belittle him.

But new duties now began to claim the attention of the generals and one by one they drew away from Ransom's bedside. As they disappeared I ventured to ask him who the two big men in the brown overcoats were, who seemed to have so much to say.

The general apologized for not introducing me, but I begged him not to mention it. He said the big one was General Franklin and the other General Emory. In some confusion, I confessed to him that their solicitude about the trains had led me to believe them quartermasters. Ransom laughed, it was the only time I saw him laugh that morning, and I laughed with him, though I still bore a grudge against them, all on account of the Smiths.

The whole morning and part of the afternoon was spent in passing General Banks' army and trains as far east as possible. Notwithstanding the immense losses the day before, there were still enough of the trains left to cause great anxiety.

About 2 P. M., General Mower's 1st Division was brought up and placed in line near the edge of the timber on the east side of Pleasant Hill, and batteries posted at intervals between regiments or brigades. As the last wagons passed under shelter of the timber, General Banks came riding up with a staff and escort like a small army, to where Generals Smith and Mower were engaged in conversation, and gave orders to General Smith that all he was expected to do was to protect the rear and to hold that position only long enough to give the army and trains time to get away well on the road to Grand Ecore. He closed his instructions with the admonition to "not under any circumstances bring on a general engagement."

I had been talking with General Mower when General

Smith joined him, and still stood near, expecting special orders in regard to my line, and so heard most of the conversation.

As General Banks rode away General Smith turned to Mower and said: "Mower, as your division is the only one here, this will be your affair, and you have heard what the orders are." Then he in turn rode away, and as he did so General Mower turned to me, with that wonderful hair and beard sticking straight up in the air, and said: "By ——, if they try to come through here they will have some kind of an engagement."

He directed me to have my men lie down flat, so as not to be seen by the enemy until he could not save himself from a sudden onslaught.

Colonel Shaw, of the 14th Iowa, had been sent with his brigade to hold the woods on the west side of the plain until the enemy appeared in force. He was then to fall back to the left, uncovering our front and forming on our left.

He had not long to wait, and executed his orders with skill, and so much determination as to make the enemy believe he was the only one they had to reckon with. Prisoners said afterwards that when they reached the open ground and saw the batteries standing, apparently alone, they concluded Banks was trying to sacrifice his artillery to save his trains, as he had the day before at Mansfield.

They came on across the field and down into the dry ditch, yelling like wild Indians. As they rose to view again from the east side of the ditch, the batteries opened on them and the men, rising out of the ground, gave them a volley or two, then charged straight at them.

They stopped for a bare second and then turned and dropped hurriedly back into the dry ditch and up again to the west side of it and back without looking behind them, until they got under the shelter of the timber once more. There they rallied around their artillery, but our men got into the batteries almost with them, and after a brief struggle the enemy once more started westward, leaving their artillery, and kept on, with our men at their heels, for a mile or two.

As night fell the pursuit was checked and our troops drew back out of the timber and bivouacked on the open ground at the west side of the plain, well satisfied with having won the only pitched battle so far won in the campaign.

I met General Mower soon after the bivouac was established, and he remarked that he was in some doubt whether General Banks would consider that a "general engagement" or not.

Having received a slight wound, I went back to our previous camp to have it dressed. As I was riding back to our place of bivouac, I met what I supposed was a cavalry regiment. When I arrived at its front I was halted and questioned, and soon discovered that my questioner was no less a person than General Banks.

When he learned that I belonged to Mower's division, he praised us without stint, and when I thought of the orders about a general engagement, I could not but murmur to my inner self: "Blessed are the successful, for they shall know no blame!"

As the general seemed to be in great spirits, I ventured the remark that I supposed we would now go right on and take Shreveport. He answered: "We will know more about that in the morning," and bade me good-night.

In the morning at 3 o'clock the sullen and disappointed 16th Corps, with two as disgusted generals as I have ever seen, were marched back and made the rear guard of the Red River Expedition, as it made its precipitate and ignominious retreat through the state of Louisiana to Yellow Bayou and the Mississippi river.

St. Louis, Mo.

BEN VAN DYKE'S ESCAPE FROM THE HOSPITAL AT PLEASANT HILL, LOUISIANA.

HIS NARRATIVE, REVISED BY S. F. BENSON.

I was a member of Company D, 14th Iowa, W. T. Shaw, Colonel. Our brigade consisted of the 14th, 27th, and 32d Iowa and the 24th Missouri; it was the 3d Brigade, 2d Division, 16th Army Corps.

At the battle of Pleasant Hill, the enemy made a charge about four o'clock P. M. which we were unable to check, and we were ordered back, and on this retreat I fell nearly in the Mansfield road, shot through the right thigh above the knee.

The advancing rebel line ran over me, driving our line back to the reserves, where they were repulsed, and soon came back over me a second time, and then our army came charging over the dead and wounded. All this time the air was full of flying bullets, and we were in great danger of being killed.

Finally night put an end to the fighting, and we fondly hoped that now we should be gathered up and receive medical aid. But the Union army marched away, and there we lay all night among the dead and wounded, the latter calling piteously for water and help.

Near me lay a soldier of the 15th Maine (McMillan's brigade, 19th Army Corps), and he came to my relief. He gave me a drink from one of the two canteens he carried. (You old soldiers will understand why he carried two.) That draught gave me renewed strength, but it did not taste much like water. In fact, I have an idea that it came from the cellar of some old southern gentleman, and had been kept in a barrel.*

The long night after the battle finally wore away, and the

*Miss Sallie Chapman, daughter of Stephen Chapman, now Mrs. R. A. Rembert, who then lived in the middle of the little town, states that the Union soldiers robbed her mother of everything she had in the house to eat, except a barrel of molasses, which her mother sat down upon and forbade them to take, and that after wrangling a little over the matter, they granted her request, and to prevent other soldiers from taking the barrel, they rolled it into the house, and in so doing, they discovered her family wine, and had a fight over it. It is likely that this was where the spirits of Ben's narrative came from.

bright sun rose on the beautiful morning of Sunday, April 10th, with the dead and wounded yet uncared for.

About 10 o'clock A. M. the rebel army, discovering the retreat of the union army, came following them up. And these southern men gathered us up and conveyed us about two miles east of Pleasant Hill, to a country place where our people had established a hospital the previous day, and there we remained as prisoners of war.

At that place we found surgeons from both armies, and they were amputating arms and legs, almost by the wagon load. I remember, in particular, one, Henry Nulton, of my regiment, who had the misfortune to lose an arm near the shoulder. He begged me to stand by him and see him through the operation, and when the doctors were through with his arm, to bury it under a near-by tree, which I did.

Doctor Huston, of the 32d Iowa, made me steward of one ward, and cautioned me not to remove any of the bandages. But one day, a comrade came to me complaining that his wound was itching intolerably. I took off the bandage, and lo! the wound was literally alive with maggots, such as revel in putrid carcasses. I removed an immense quantity of them, and then thoroughly washed the wound. (This was a common experience in that hot country.)

A few days after the battle, I contrived a pair of crutches out of some fragments of an old wagon, and I was then able to move round with a degree of comfort.

The little supply of rations left us by our army was soon exhausted, and after that we got very little to eat, and we had so few cooking vessels that we were compelled to keep them going nearly all day and night.

No guards were kept round our hospital, and I meditated an escape from that unwelcome place. I reasoned that we could expect nothing better than to go from here to some military prison; and it subsequently developed that all the prisoners captured at this place were ultimately dragged away to that miserable den called "Camp Ford," near Tyler, Texas, where they remained fourteen months, until June, 1865.

And now, after more than forty years have passed, when I

reflect on all these matters, I regret nothing connected with my escape, unless it be the effect of the exposure and hardships I endured during three weeks' journey through storms and mud and scalding sun, without shelter or blankets, and much of the time without food.

Believing our army was still at Grand Ecore, I determined to go in that direction. Accordingly, on the 27th of April, nineteen days after the battle, I walked out on the road about a mile, and seeing no one in any direction, I took to the brush, and lay quietly hidden till long after dark, and then moved on.*

I had not traveled far on the road when I saw a light in a house, and determined to investigate. I found the place occupied by an old colored man and his wife. Going to the door, I spoke to them and walked right in. I told the old man that I was a Union soldier, and was hungry and wanted something to eat, and that I was in a hurry. He gave me a piece of corn bread and some buttermilk. While I was eating my supper, the thought struck me that possibly I might trade my blue uniform for a suit of this man's clothes, and I at once mentioned the matter, and got a coat, pair of pants, and an old white hat. The clothes were not an ideal fit, especially the hat, as the darky was a much larger man than I, but I looked and felt like quite a different man. I fear, however, that I should not have passed muster in my own regiment.

The old darky hid my blue uniform under the bed, and giving me a small piece of bread and some meat, said he knew where there was a boat, or skiff, which I might use to advantage, as I was quite lame yet, and he even offered to go with me to the boat, a distance of some four or five miles.

It proved to be on Bayou Pierre, and I was now able to glide down that water-course like a true sailor. This was quite a relief, as I had started with a crutch, though I was able, in a few days, to throw it away.

*Henry Nulton states that Ben came silently to him beforehand, and informed him of his intention to leave, and that he, Nulton, gave him what little money he had, and wishing him Godspeed, requested him, in case he was successful, to write his (Nulton's) father, in Bloomfield, Iowa, which Ben afterwards did, directing his letter to "The Father of Henry Nulton, Bloomfield, Iowa."

It was pretty dark that night, and before I had gone far my boat began to act very strangely, getting quite unmanageable. I could hear a great roaring like a mill dam, and I got considerably frightened, lost an oar, and as a last resort, clung to the rope. Finally the boat stopped short, and I discovered I had passed over the rapids. Pulling my boat to shore, I remained hidden all the next day, April 28th, and at night glided again down the stream.

That night I saw a light ahead of me, and apparently in the same stream I was on. Thinking it might be one of our government gunboats, I felt greatly elated, and steering my boat close to shore, I allowed it to drift noiselessly down toward the strange craft. As I neared the stranger, I saw a man on board, but he was not wearing the blue, and I drifted past him without being seen, and a little farther on, came to a place where there were a lot of tents. In only one tent could I discover any light. Tying up my boat, I slipped cautiously up and peering into the tent saw four or five rebel soldiers playing cards. Not being interested in the game I returned to my boat and floated silently down stream.

I found I was now in Red River, and I could see artillery on the bank, and at one place I saw a man standing on guard, but he was not a very vigilant watch, for he did not see my craft, or at least he paid no attention as I went on past him. A mile or two farther on I went into camp for another day.

Having now passed a rebel camp at the very place where I had hoped to find our army, you may imagine that I was much worried and depressed, thinking I must have made some serious mistake, and was now in a decidedly bad environment. I was, in fact, now between the two armies, Banks having moved down the river toward Alexandria and the enemy having occupied Grand Ecore.

April 29th, I lay hidden in the brush nearly all day. Saw a darky hoeing in a field, and crept along the fence till I came to a point where he would arrive when he hoed out his row. After joking with him a little I told him squarely that I was a Union soldier and had been captured and had escaped, and he then told me the rebels were camped five or six miles up

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the river, a fact I knew too well already. But he added that the "blue coats" had gone down the river only a day or two since. This was bad news for me, and I knew then that I had a long hard trip before me. I told the darky that I was hungry and wanted something to eat, and he said, "stay where you are till night, and I will bring you something." I remained there quietly, and about nine or ten o'clock at night he brought me some corn bread, meat and milk. Going back to my boat, I began again my journey down the river, this being the night of April 30th.

After a few hours I saw ahead of me a great light, and on getting nearer, thought best to tie up my craft and investigate the affair. I found a lot of rebels at work on a boat that had been sunk. I afterwards learned that it was a gunboat that our fleet had blown up because they were unable to get it down to Alexandria.

At this point I was obliged to leave my boat and proceed on foot. I lay in hiding during the day, and traveled by night. I built no fires, having no matches.

About noon, on May 2d, while I was hiding as usual, I noticed a woman at a little log house on a hill side, distant about sixty or eighty rods. I observed her passing into and out of the house, being apparently the only person about the premises. Presently she built a fire in the great fireplace, and I conjectured that she was about to prepare dinner. After a little she went out into the forest in a westerly direction, I being south of the house. I thought this was my opportunity to secure a free dinner, so I approached the house and found near the fire a "Dutch oven" or skillet, with a lid on it, having coals on the lid. On removing the lid, I found three corn biscuits in the oven. Turning the bread into my hat, I replaced the lid, and as I left the house I took along with me a small ham from the near-by smokehouse, and retired unseen to my hiding place, much pleased that I had now plenty of provisions for the immediate future. The corn bread was somewhat raw, and I had no knife with which to cut the meat, and was obliged to use my teeth, but I did not mind these small inconveniences.

While I was enjoying my dinner the woman returned, and I suppose her first care was to see how her meal was coming along. In a moment she rushed out in great excitement, ran two or three times round the house, after which she returned, and I saw smoke again issue from the chimney, so I presume she prepared dinner for two that day. The distance was so great that I was not able to discover whether she was a white woman or colored.

By this time, as I had now worn citizens' clothes for some time, I began to think it safe to travel in daylight. So I walked along both day and night, resting whenever, and wherever I got tired. The nights were quite cold, and having no blankets, I found it comfortable to sleep part of the time by day.

On May 4th, I met an old man and his son. I had a long talk with them: asked them to what command they belonged, and when they named a Louisiana regiment, I decided that I would be much safer as a member of a southern regiment, so I told them my regiment was the 13th Texas.

This old man said they had been paroled at Vicksburg, and had not been exchanged yet, and were hiding out to avoid reporting to Gen. Dick Taylor until they were exchanged. I am of the opinion they were Union soldiers in disguise like myself, and had we all dared to tell the plain truth, we might have traveled together. But were I again a prisoner, seeking escape, I would deem it the safer way to go alone as I did then.

On May 5th, while I was sitting on a log over a small creek, towards evening, washing my wound, I heard a noise a short distance up the creek, and glancing in that direction, I saw two young ladies, and they observed me about the same time. One of them said to the other: "Why! There is a soldier." To which the other replied: "Yes, and he is wounded, too."

Then they came down where I was, and one of them assisted me in washing the wound. And to these ladies, also, I belonged to the 13th Texas, and said the "Feds" had captured me at Pleasant Hill, and I had escaped.

Nothing would do but I must go home with them. They

said they were after their cows, but I noticed they did not look further for the cows.

I went to their home, and their mother, after examining my wound, said she could make a salve that would cure it in a few days. She prepared the salve, and then urged me to feel just as if I were at home with my own mother and sisters, for they would do for me everything that my own people could.

Long after dark the old lady bethought herself that I might be hungry, and said, if they had anything about the house which I especially liked, to name it and I should have it. I replied that a soldier's life was a hard one, and that I had become accustomed to eat everything, and whatever they could get easiest and quickest would be good enough for me. I had eaten nothing all that day, and the ladies, probably had little conception of the full meaning of the terms, "easiest and quickest."

But the good lady called up the colored cook, and soon had a splendid supper ready—ham and eggs, hot biscuits, sweet potatoes, and good coffee. And I want to assure the reader that I did full justice to the bill of fare.

After supper the old lady dressed my wound, and showed me into the parlor bed-room, and when I was snugly in bed, the old lady and the girls came in and remained till morning. We had then another good meal, and as I prepared to go, they urged me to remain till I got well, but I pleaded that I feared the "Federals" would find me there, and re-take me prisoner of war, but they said they would keep me hid.

The time wore away, and about 11 o'clock four rebel cavalymen rode up and wanted their dinners and their horses fed. They were told to get right off and come in. When they had cared for their horses, I inquired to what regiment they belonged, and when they named a Louisiana regiment and inquired mine, I said "Thirteenth Texas."

One of these men who seemed to do most of the talking, remarked that I appeared to have my hair cut just like a *Federal soldier*; and said that he had seen a few Federal soldiers. This put me in rather a tight corner, and I explained

that I had been in a federal hospital after being wounded, and that the boys had laughed at my long hair, and wanted to cut it off, and I had permitted them to do so. Nothing more was said on that subject, and we all five sat down to dinner together. After dinner, one of them inquired what their bill was, and when the lady replied that she had never charged a soldier for a meal, and never would, he threw down a twenty dollar bill (Confederate money), and they rode away.

When they were gone, I thought it high time that I too was moving on, though both the old lady and the daughters begged me to stay. But I told them I was "awfully afraid of the Yankees." So in the evening of May 6th I said goodby to my kind hostess, and resumed my journey.

At first I went south about a mile, and then turned west into a body of timber. By the next day I began to get very hungry, and looking about for another meal, I observed a small house about a half mile from my course.

On approaching the place, I discovered that in order to reach the house I must cross a public road, and I had formed a sort of dislike for all public highways. But I ventured across, and found only an old lady at the house, to whom I communicated my desire for food, and at that very moment I discerned a solitary footman approaching, and so near that any attempt to escape would be impossible.

When he arrived I found he belonged to a Mississippi regiment, and I, of course, was again a 13th Texas boy.

When we had both informed the old lady that we were in need of something to eat, she said she would get us a bite, "But," she added, "you young men ought to be ashamed, fighting against the best government the sun ever shone on." I was sorely tempted to grasp the old lady by the hand, and divulge my identity, but the Reb gave me a timely warning by calling to the old lady, to get that meal ready, and do it quick, or we would come in and get it ourselves.

While the old lady was preparing our meal, the Johnny pulled a navy revolver from his belt, and passing it over to me, said, "I took that one from a Yankee soldier with this one," drawing another from his belt, "and," said he, "mine

was not loaded either." When I took the revolver, I was strongly inclined to capture the other one, and eat my meal without his company. But I reflected that if I should kill him, I would get the old lady into trouble, and perhaps myself also, so I returned the weapon with the remark, "It takes a Confed. to disarm a Fed. every time." At which he laughed and began boasting that he would never surrender to a d——d Yankee, nor would he ever take the trouble to capture one. I set him down for a coward, which was very likely the reason why he was not then at the front.

Thanking the old lady for my breakfast, I took the road running westward and soon met a darky who told me he was from Alexandria, and had seen several blue clad men along the road, and that they were all lying down except one, who was standing by a tree. I decided that this must be one of our Union picket posts, and I determined to visit it. I had gone but a short distance when I saw a whole regiment coming my way, and I could see no way of escape, so I bravely walked up to the advance guard, and asked who they were. They said, "Quantrell's men," and that made me again a 13th Texas man.

In conversing with the Colonel, he said it would be impossible for me to reach the 13th Texas as the Federals would get me sure.

Then I inquired if I could not reach my command by going down the Washita River with his men, to the mouth of Red River. He thought the plan feasible and by his consent I turned back and joined his command on their march. May 8th, marched all day without any guard, and at night, for the first time in my life, I drew rations as a rebel soldier. May 9th and 10th, rode part of the time, and even carried a gun.

On May 11th I thought I would play them a Yankee trick. So I lay down, and when one of the guards rode up, I told him I was too tired to go a step farther. He simply drew a bead on me with his carbine, and commanded me to move on, and I moved. He remarked, "I don't like the looks of you, anyway," and I know I did not like his talk. After that I

found it unnecessary to get tired any more, though I remained with the rear guard all the time.

That night they took alarm at something, and removed their horses to a place some distance from their own camp. An officer came to me and said they would be able to land me in my regiment the next day. I said I was awfully glad of it, but I mentally resolved never to be landed in the 13th Texas.

We were encamped on the bank of the Washita River, and had been burning rails to cook with. After supper I lay down, and near me was still the same man who did not like my looks. Along in the night I got cold and asked him to fix the fire, but he only cursed me, and directed me to fix it myself. This was his mistake, and my opportunity, for in replenishing the fire I got hold of a solid piece of rail, and being very close to him, I said, "What is that coming out there?" and when he turned in the direction indicated, his head came into violent contact with the rail, and I ran quickly into the Washita River, and have never seen anything of Quantrell's men since.

On May 18th, I walked into my old regiment, 14th Iowa, and was able to give Gen. A. J. Smith valuable information about the enemy. Our men were then near Yellow Bayou.

I was nineteen days a prisoner at the hospital, and twenty-one days making my escape, in all just forty days.

ORIGIN OF THE MAINE LAW.—Congress in 1836 passed an act prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors among the Indian tribes. This is said to be the first prohibiting act of the kind, and is attributed to the recommendation of Gen. Jackson, who was president of the United States at that time. It may turn out yet that the Maine Law will be claimed as a plank of the Democratic platform.—*Dubuque Herald*, Jan. 6, 1854.

CLARA BELKNAP WOLCOTT.

BY DR. J. M. CHAFFIN.

Mrs. Clara Belknap Wolcott, daughter of Brigadier General William Goldsmith Belknap, U. S. A., died January 27, 1906, after a week's illness. Her death was the closing chapter in the life of one of the best women of Keosauqua.

With a long line of good Americans, Mrs. Wolcott was an interesting woman. Her father was the late Gen. William W. Belknap, Secretary of War under President Grant, and a native of Keosauqua. She came to Keosauqua in the early fifties to reside in New York, and made it her continuous home. Her marriage to Arthur Wolcott occurred in 1854. He died in 1870.

Being brought up in a family of good education, and with her remarkable ability, study and business a woman of unusual attainments. Her many years did not affect her clearness of thought, and she continued a bright and entertaining person until the last day of her life. She possessed a refinement, a gentleness, a sweetness of character that endeared her to all. In her Christian work she was active; was one of the oldest members of the Methodist Episcopal church, and took an active interest in its affairs. Her only daughter, Miss Bertha Wolcott, of this city, survives.

Clara Belknap Wolcott was born in Newburgh on the Hudson, New York, and when a few months old was taken to that wild western country, when there were but few white inhabitants, to establish the Post

of Fort Leavenworth. After a few years, she was removed to Beebe's Island, which was then a garrison, where her father was in command, and one of her earliest recollections was that of crossing to New York every day, with her sister, in a boat rowed by soldiers, to attend school. She was then sent to a Young Ladies' Seminary in Newburgh, where she was one of the best students, and was especially proficient in music and French. Her father had already gone to Florida during the Seminole war, and was stationed at Fort Brooke.

MRS. CLARA BELKNAP WOLCOTT.

CLARA BELKNAP WOLCOTT.

BY DR. J. M. SHAFFER.

Mrs. Clara Belknap Wolcott, daughter of Brigadier General William Goldsmith Belknap, U. S. A., died January 24, 1906, after a week's illness, and her death was the closing chapter in the life of one of the brightest women of Keokuk.

With a long line of good inheritance, Mrs. Wolcott was an interesting woman. She was a sister of the late Gen. William Worth Belknap, who was Secretary of War under President Grant, and a resident of Keokuk. She came to Keokuk in the early fifties from New York, and made it her continuous home. Her marriage to Arthur Wolcott occurred in 1854. He died here many years ago.

During her early life she received an excellent education, and by her ready application to study she became a woman of unusual intelligence. Increasing years did not affect her clearness of thought and she remained a bright and entertaining person until the last moments. She possessed a refinement, a gentleness, a loveliness of character that endeared her to all. In her Christian work she was sincere; was one of the oldest members of Westminster Presbyterian church, and took an active interest in its affairs. An only daughter, Miss Bertha Wolcott of this city, survives.

Clara Belknap Wolcott was born in Newburgh on the Hudson, New York, and when but a few months old was taken to that wild western country, when there were but few white inhabitants, and where her father was to establish the Post of Fort Leavenworth. After a few years, she was removed to Bedloe's Island, which was then a garrison, where her father was in command, and one of her earliest recollections was that of crossing to New York every day, with her sister, in a boat rowed by soldiers, to attend school. She was then sent to a Young Ladies' Seminary in Newburgh, where she was one of the best students, and was especially proficient in music and French. Her father had already gone to Florida, during the Seminole war, and was stationed at Fort Brooke,

Tampa. He decided to have his family with him, so they left New York on a sailing vessel, but on the way were shipwrecked, and were tossed on shore at Key West. From there, they managed to reach Tampa. Here they were in constant expectation of an uprising of the Indians, but most of the Indians liked General Belknap and had dubbed him "The Alligator Chief," as he walked through the Everglades with no fear of the alligators; and one of her most cherished relics is a pipe in the shape of an alligator, carved by the Indian chief, Wild Cat.

The Mexican War at this time, 1846, called for the "bravest of the brave," and her father went with the army into Mexico, and became Inspector General on General Taylor's staff.

Her brother, William Worth Belknap, now being ready for college, she, with her mother and sister, went to live at Princeton, N. J., and stayed there until his graduation.

Her next move was to Forts Smith and Gibson, in the Cherokee Nation, inhabited by the rich and powerful tribe of Cherokees. From here her father was sent to Texas to locate posts, and while there, although very ill, refused to leave his post of duty, and there died in 1851. The family then went to visit relatives in Ohio, and subsequently removed to Keokuk, where W. W. Belknap, who had been studying law, was located. Here she married Arthur Wolcott, of an old New England family; she had three children, a daughter Anne, buried in Saratoga, N. Y., a son Arthur Ellsworth, buried at Keokuk, and a daughter Bertha.

During the Grant administration she was with her brother in Washington part of one year, while he was Secretary of War. She lived several years in Boston, while she was educating her daughter; later she returned to Keokuk, where she spent her remaining days.

She had a remarkable mind, and just before her death held long conversations in French. Towards the end she suffered greatly, but would not utter a groan, saying that she came from a long line of warriors, of military stock, and she must not show pain. She often spoke of liking the quotation from Shakespeare which is on her brother's monument at

Arlington, and in the words of which she so firmly believed—"So part we sadly, in this troublous world, to meet with joy in sweet Jerusalem."

The following biographical sketch of the mother of the deceased is from the pen of Gen. Ver Planck Van Antwerp and is copied from the *Keokuk Daily Gate City* of December 22, 1858:

Mrs. Anne Clark Belknap was no ordinary person, her character approached as near perhaps to perfection as any that one ever meets with, and her life was one of vicissitudes such as but few women encounter. With advantages of early education and association among the most intelligent and accomplished society, she possessed in a marked degree that delicate refinement of women which ever characterizes the well bred lady. As such, she was at once recognized whether at the capitol of our country or on the most remote western wilds.

There was about her at all times and under all circumstances that rare blending of perfect sweetness of temper and pleasing dignity of deportment that immediately won the respect and esteem of all who came within her influence; sentiments which grew daily in strength upon a continued acquaintance.

Ever cheerful, yet not frivolous, it was at all times a real pleasure to meet Mrs. Belknap, especially when welcomed at her own door or under her most hospitable roof. Who that was often favored with that privilege can forget the kindly greeting with which they were ever met? And yet how utterly free from the slightest tinge of ostentatious display were the receptions under that roof.

The wife of a gallant and distinguished soldier, the late Brigadier General William G. Belknap, with whom she united her fortunes ere her husband yet attained high rank and distinction, Mrs. Belknap came with her husband to the then far West, more than a third of a century ago, to lead a frontier life, at what were, at that time, the outposts of our battle array. Crossing from Green Bay, one of the outposts to the Mississippi, and proceeding down the latter to St. Louis, she passed this point over thirty years ago, when there was not yet a human habitation here, save perhaps the wigwams of the Saes and Foxes, old Black Hawk, Keokuk and their associates; long, in fact, ere even the Territory of Iowa was ushered into existence, and while it still formed a part—not of Wisconsin, but of Michigan.

Of what now constitutes the Territory of Kansas, Mrs. Belknap was perhaps the first white woman that ever became an inhabitant. Her husband, then Captain Belknap, was ordered to establish a military post on the Missouri, which he did accordingly, probably in 1827 or '28, with the name of Ft. Leavenworth, near where the present city of the same name stands. While the buildings for this post were being

erected, Mrs. Belknap, like a true soldier's wife, ate and slept under a tent, until they were ready to be occupied.

Subsequently she followed her husband to Florida, where he had been ordered during the campaign with the Seminoles; and, later still, she accompanied him to the posts on the Arkansas, Forts Smith and Gibson, where this devoted and noble wife, always of a frail constitution and never of robust health, spent several years more, far removed from those thousand comforts and refinements to which she had been accustomed in early life. Did she complain of this? Never! but remained always the same true Christian woman, and devoted wife and mother.

The gallant part acted by Gen. Belknap during the war of 1846 with Mexico, in which he again distinguished himself at Palo Alto, Resaca, and other fields, is doubtless familiar to the reader. After his death, which occurred in 1851, in Texas, where he was on duty with his troops, Mrs. Belknap, accompanied by her estimable and highly intelligent daughters, came here to join her only son and make this her home.

Reference has been made above to her cheerful and happy temperament and to the fact that it was under her own hospitable roof that these beautiful traits were most strikingly developed. It was there that she ever appeared a true model for her sex, not only in her domestic relations, but in its avocations as well. With what admirable system were all of the latter performed; and what scrupulous neatness and order reigned ever, over the entire premises—indoor and out; and this without the least apparent bustle, confusion, or inconvenience to either visitors or the household; perfection of housekeeping—not the least difficult of arts!—HOME—that home where so much of the last few years of her life were spent—was to her evidently one of calm and true rational enjoyment; while to her friends one of never-failing attractions.

But it was as a sincere and genuine, though wholly unpretentious, Christian that the character of Mrs. Belknap shone forth in its greatest beauty and loveliness. That she was a true Christian, if one ever lived, nobody for a moment doubted who knew her well. It was clearly mirrored upon her ever calm and serene countenance and evidenced in the daily acts of her life; yet she never obtruded her religion upon others, nor made a public display of it, to attract the world's gaze—if not to enlist its praise! Nor does the writer remember to have ever once heard her condemn, by a single harsh or unkind word, any human being whose opinions or creed, be they what they might, were not in accord with her own. If, as she thought, wrong, it ever seemed with her a source of real, unfeigned regret, rather than a different feeling, so commonly evinced. Oh! what a reformation will that be, if it ever occurs, when all professing Christians shall act thus. How infinitely greater the influence they will then exercise.

Charity, no less than faith and hope, was a cardinal and a practical principle in the Christianity of Mrs. Belknap; charity which, if not, as claimed by one of the master spirits of the world, "the essence of Christianity," is at least one of its essential elements—without which it can have no existence.

But enough; it is most gratifying to know that the subject of this imperfect sketch was one whose practice in life, no more than her avowed principles, were never called in question.

Truly it may be said, she probably had not an enemy on earth; and that,

"None knew her but to love her,
None named her but to praise."

KEOKUK, Dec. 20, 1858.

THE BACKWOODSMAN has many substantial enjoyments. After the fatigue of his journey, and a short season of privation and danger, he finds himself surrounded with plenty. His cattle, hogs and poultry supply his table with meat; the forest abounds in game, the fertile soil yields abundant crops; he has, of course, bread, milk and butter; the rivers furnish fish, and the woods honey. For these various articles there is at first no market, and the farmer acquires the generous habit of spreading them profusely on his table, and giving them freely to a hungry traveler and an indigent neighbor. Hospitality and kindness are among the virtues of the first settlers. Exposed to common dangers and toils, they become united by the closest ties of social intercourse. Accustomed to arm in each other's defence, to aid in each other's labor, to assist in the affectionate duty of nursing the sick, and the mournful office of burying the dead, the best affections of the heart are kept in constant exercise; and there is, perhaps, no class of men in our country who obey the calls of friendship, or the claims of benevolence with such cheerful promptness, or with so liberal a sacrifice of personal convenience.—*Judge Hall's Sketches of the West.*

DID PRIMITIVE MAN OF IOWA HAVE MANUFACTURING PLANTS ?

BY HON. CHARLES H. ROBINSON.

Among animals, man alone uses weapons. His earliest, aside from hands and teeth, were doubtless clubs and stones. Later he learned to combine the two by fastening a stone to the end of his club. In the process of time, this stone, at first a ragged flint or a smooth pebble, came to be elaborately finished and have conventional form as an elegant axe or tomahawk.

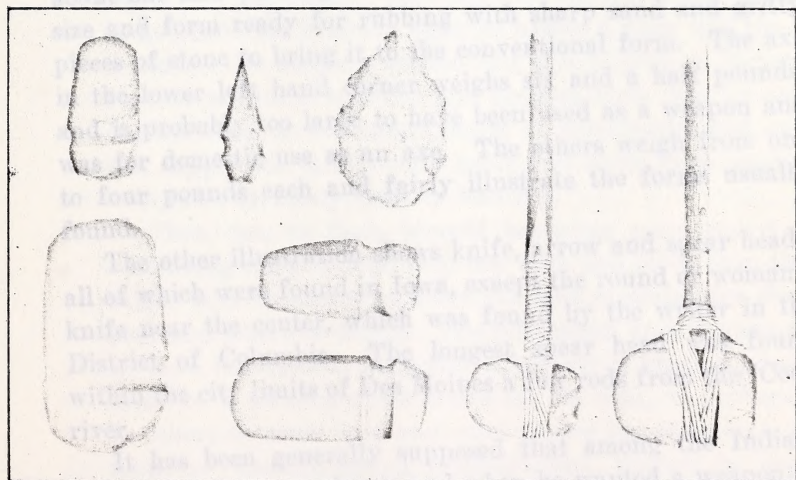
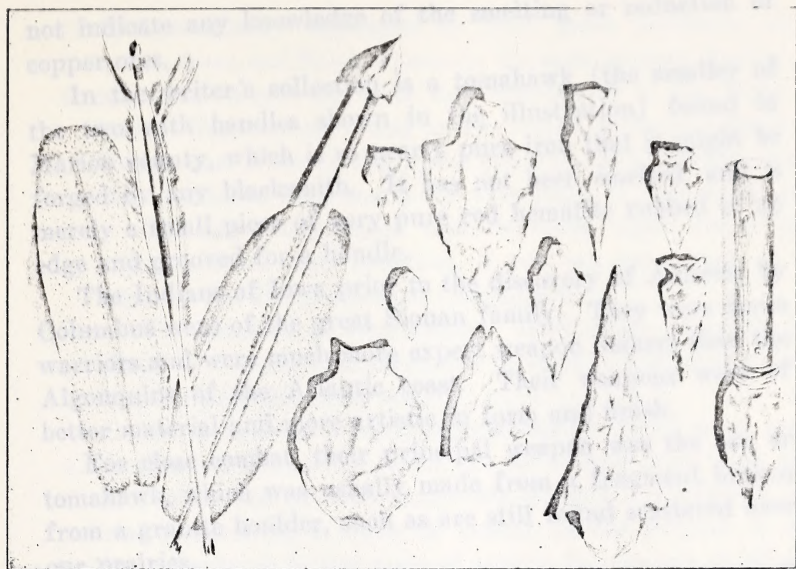
Improving upon the idea of a stone at the end of a club, he tied a sharp fragment of flint on the end of a long stick and had a spear with which to stab his enemy, man or beast, before coming to close quarters, or it might be thrown a short distance. The bow, with which small spears might be thrown with greater force and to a further distance, was a later development.

In all countries which have come under the observation of ethnologists, it has been found that the primitive weapons were made of stone; and, very strangely, there is a marked similarity both as to material and shape, in ancient weapons found in countries the most remote from each other.

In some of the countries of the Eastern Hemisphere, researches have shown a regular gradation upward from weapons of roughly chipped flints to those perfect in outline and highly polished, these gradually merging into weapons of bronze and iron, as the knowledge and use of metals progressed.

To primitive man of Iowa, the use of metals was practically unknown. True, a number of ornaments and a few spear or knife heads of copper have been found, but these were probably hammered and rubbed into shape from small masses of native copper such as are still found in glacial debris; or may have been obtained by barter from tribes near the copper mines of Lake Superior; but this use does

PRIMITIVE MANUFACTURING PLANTS



SEE OPPOSITE PAGE FOR EXPLANATION OF THESE CUTS.

not indicate any knowledge of the smelting or reduction of copper ores.

In the writer's collection is a tomahawk (the smaller of the two with handles shown in the illustration) found in Marion county, which is so nearly pure iron that it might be forged by any blacksmith. It has not been smelted, and is merely a small piece of very pure red hematite rubbed to an edge and grooved for a handle.

The Indians of Iowa prior to the discovery of America by Columbus were of the great Siouan family. They were fierce warriors and were much more expert weapon makers than the Algonquins of the Atlantic coast. Their weapons were of better material and more artistic in form and finish.

For close combat, their principal weapon was the axe or tomahawk, which was usually made from a fragment broken from a granite boulder, such as are still found scattered over our prairies.

The axes and tomahawks shown in the illustration are all from the writer's collection and found in Marion county. The rough fragment shown is a piece of granite weighing about one and a half pounds which had been battered into a size and form ready for rubbing with sharp sand and gritty pieces of stone to bring it to the conventional form. The axe in the lower left hand corner weighs six and a half pounds, and is probably too large to have been used as a weapon and was for domestic use as an axe. The others weigh from one to four pounds each and fairly illustrate the forms usually found.

The other illustration shows knife, arrow and spear heads, all of which were found in Iowa, except the round or woman's knife near the center, which was found by the writer in the District of Columbia. The longest spear head was found within the city limits of Des Moines a few rods from the 'Coon river.

It has been generally supposed that among the Indians each was his own mechanic and when he wanted a weapon he made it; but if one has an opportunity to examine a large number of weapons found in the same general locality, he will

be immediately impressed by their great similarity in material, form and finish, almost to the most minute details. For instance, inspect the axes and tomahawks in the State Historical Department found in the region including Boone, Ft. Dodge and Webster City, and you will involuntarily come to the conclusion that nearly all were made by the same person.

The same impression will be made upon inspection of weapons from other localities, if you can see enough of them together for the purpose of comparison.

The question at once arises: Were there primitive workshops or weapon manufactories in Iowa? The answer is: It is quite probable there were.

Some Indians would unquestionably have more natural mechanical skill and a better eye for artistic form than others, and when one of these made for himself a tomahawk which was pronounced a thing of beauty by his fellows, it would be but natural in any state of society for the less skillful man to desire it. He would say to the owner: "I wish I could make such an elegant tomahawk; but mine are nearly failures. How many buffalo hides and haunches of venison will you take for it?" The owner, knowing that he can easily make one as good or even improve upon it, names a price and the trade is made. He makes a second and this in turn is bartered to another unskilled warrior, and he soon finds that by employing his time in the manufacture of tomahawks and axes he can supply his family with meat and hides more easily and with more certainty than by hunting.

Then, too, he finds himself becoming more expert; each succeeding weapon requiring less time and labor than the one before and he learns to select the best material for the purpose and where to find it. His reputation as a weapon-maker spreads, the demand increases; a locality is selected where the material is abundant; he trains up his sons, or perhaps calls in others to assist him and work under his directions, and a plant or manufacturing establishment, limited in capacity only by the constantly increasing demand for its output, is in operation.

The same is equally true in regard to the manufacture of

bows, knives, arrow and spear heads, and it is not improbable that the women who became expert potters established similar co-operative manufactories.

Where the material used is imperishable, such as stone and flint, the debris found in heaps and quantities in many ancient workshop quarries, as they are called by the ethnologists, indicates that many workmen were engaged in the manufacture.

Within the city limits of Washington, D. C., are at least two of these ancient manufactories. One is an ancient soap-stone quarry of several acres, on which may still be found hundreds of fragments of vessels, large and small, broken at various stages of their manufacture and discarded by the workmen.

The other has car loads of chips broken from quartzite pebbles in the manufacture of knives, arrow and spear heads, besides thousands of these broken at various stages of completion from the rounded pebble with but one chip taken off to the weapon broken at the last stroke before completion.

Strangely, however, the debris in both these ancient manufactories indicates that no finished or completed work was made in this workshop. At the first all fragments found are of rough, incomplete vessels with thick walls covered with marks of the flint chisels, while fragments of such vessels found on village sites in the locality and quite a number of perfect ones which have been dug up, show that they were rubbed perfectly smooth and the walls reduced to a thickness of from one-half to three-quarters of an inch.

Most of the fragments at the arrow factory are merely unshaped chips, but there are many thin leaf-shaped rejects, some of which are so nearly perfect that they might be completed to any one of the usual forms in use for knives, arrows or spears. No completed ones are found, however.

It is conjectured that in both these manufactories the product was in the rough and when bartered the purchaser completed it at his leisure, as the finishing would require, perhaps, less mechanical skill.

The writer has no knowledge of any such workshops having

been found in Iowa, but he has no doubt they may be located if careful search should be made in the mound regions of the State for such an accumulation of debris as should be found on the sites of such manufactories.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

ACTUAL SETTLERS.—The next session of Congress is now near at hand, and we would urge upon the farmers of the interior the importance of taking immediate measures for making an early and strong representation of their interests and wants at the seat of Government. Let petitions be circulated and signed by every settler in the west, urging upon Congress the necessity of immediate action on the subject of pre-emption. Let the voice of the west go forth as one voice, demanding that prompt justice be done to the settler, and his dearly bought rights effectually secured to him by the laws. They are in this Territory the earliest occupants of the country. They have left homes endeared to them by the pleasures of cultivated society, by the graves of their fathers, and as the dwelling places of relatives and friends. They have encountered the privations and sufferings incident to the early settlement of a country. And all this they have suffered and done to better their condition, under the hope and expectation of receiving from the Government the same immunities hitherto granted to actual settlers on its lands. Most of them are resident on their claims—and all of them have expended more or less labor and money on them in the erection of buildings, planting crops, and making other valuable improvements. It is now for Congress to decide whether these improvements shall be secured to the hardy pioneer of the woods who made them, or shall fall a prey to the greediness of the bloated speculator in public lands. We deem it the interest as well as the duty of Government to encourage the settlement of its rich and unappropriated lands by holding out to the emigrant the inducement of perfect security in his possessions and improvements. In most cases their all is invested, and if Government will not protect them they deem it right to protect themselves. They must either stand firmly side by side to maintain their rights peaceably if they can—at any rate to maintain them, or must throw themselves into the arms of the enemy and rely upon the tender mercies of the devouring speculator. The latter they will not do!—*Iowa News (Du Buque)*, Sept. 2, 1837.

A GOOD IOWA WOMAN.

Mrs. Florence Miller, president of the Iowa Woman's Christian Temperance Union, died at Des Moines last Saturday. For more than twenty years she was a familiar figure about the halls of legislation, and never in the way. As the legislative procession moves, members and senators are met at every turn by lady lobbyists. Some of these are ambitious to be in the public eye; others are working for the recognition of fads and foibles, and most of them have little consideration for the personal comfort of legislators or the necessary course of legislation. Mrs. Miller belonged to none of these. She seemed to have as much right there as anybody. She was earnest, but never irritating; persistent but never obtrusive, and in all her work so gracious and true as to win the regard of all men of character. Where women and children were concerned, and where the interests of common morality were involved, there Mrs. Miller would appear to plead with all the force of gracious Christian womanhood, and while she no doubt saw many hours of discouragement, it is hardly possible she ever wrought in vain, for such work as hers is never lost.

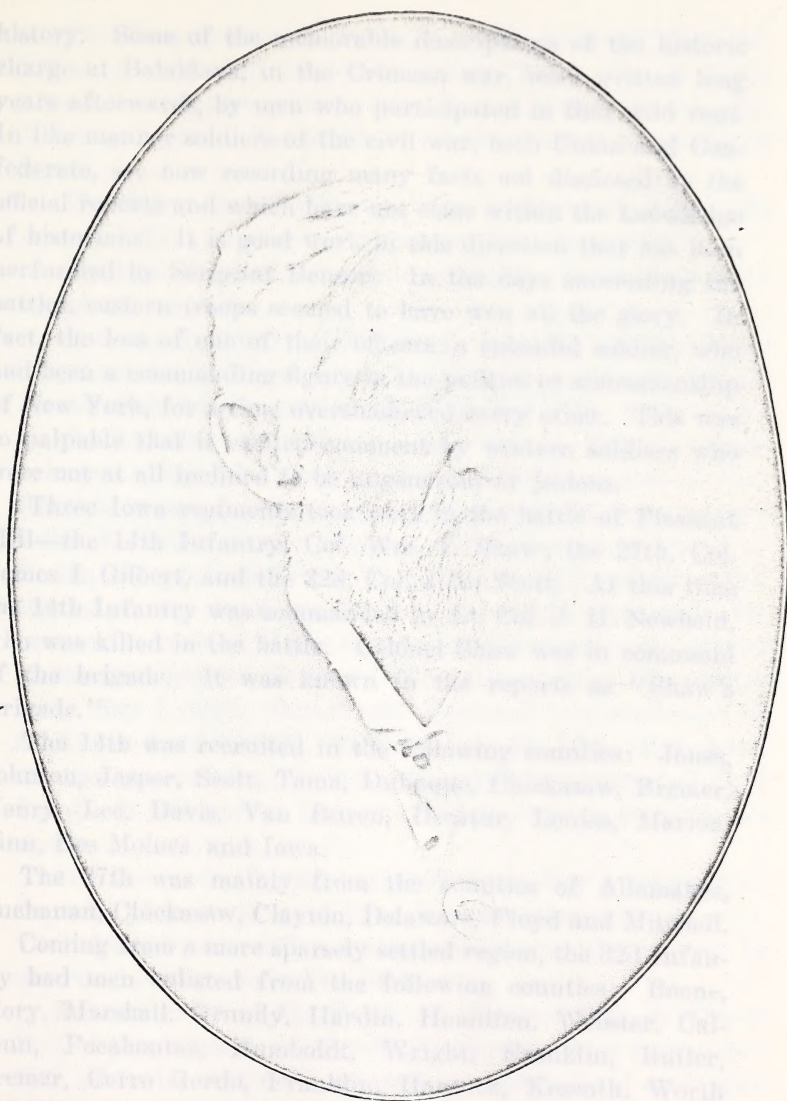
It is unfortunate that temperance and other moral reforms are not more generally sustained in the spirit manifest in the work of Florence Miller. While others scolded and threatened and waxed bitter she persuaded and plead and prayed. So many reformers seem to want to hurt somebody more than to help somebody else. Mrs. Miller was never that way. The "soft answer" was ever on her lips. The one idea of help, help, help was ever uppermost in her purpose and she had no time to plan revenges for those who offended against her dearest purposes. Even those who steeled their minds and hearts against her pleading could not fail to be impressed by her native dignity, her sweet spirit and her loving kindness toward all mankind. The world sometimes seems crowded with reformers, but there is always plenty of room for gentle, helpful women such as Florence Miller.—*Senator A. B. Funk in Spirit Lake Beacon, Aug. 24, 1906.*

ANNALS OF IOWA.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

THE BATTLE OF PLEASANT HILL.

While we have had in previous numbers partial accounts of that disastrous affair, it has still seemed desirable that these pages should contain further details—a more minute survey of the field of battle, its incidents and its surroundings. This we have at last secured in our leading article. It is from the pen of Mr. Solon F. Benson, a man who left an arm to be buried from the field hospital. He is now, after all these years, a well-known, prosperous banker, in the town of Pier-son, Woodbury Co., Iowa. He was mustered into the U. S. service at Camp Franklin, Dubuque, on the 30th day of August, 1862, as First Corporal of Co. F, 32d Iowa Infantry, and afterwards promoted to Fourth Sergeant. He was badly wounded at the battle of Pleasant Hill, La., April 9, 1864, and was captured by the Confederates, remaining a prisoner of war several months. With others he was finally exchanged and mustered out of the service for disability, at Davenport, Iowa, October 8, 1864. He therefore saw hard service, becoming intimately acquainted with the destitution and suffering of hospital life within the enemy's lines. Mr. Benson's thrilling experiences enable him to write from full knowledge. More than this, he has devoted years to a study of the Red River Campaign and the fields of battle in which it culminated on the 8th and 9th days of April, 1864. He has spent some time at Pleasant Hill, and in its vicinity, interviewing old settlers who were there during the clash of arms, meeting also many southern soldiers who were in the desperate battle. He found them not unfriendly, and willing to aid him in his quest for information. He has, therefore, been able to include many details, personal and otherwise, which had escaped observation. Such articles are by far the best materials for



OLON F. BENSON.

First Corporal, and later, 4th Sergeant Company F, Thirty-second Iowa Infantry.
Wounded at the battle of Pleasant Hill, La., April 9, 1864.

The companies in the Iowa regiments are given in Fox's "Regimental Losses in the American Civil War," as follows:

The Fourteenth Infantry (Col. William T. Shaw), killed, 13; wounded, 53; missing and prisoners, 14. Total, 80.

history. Some of the memorable descriptions of the historic charge at Balaklava, in the Crimean war, were written long years afterwards, by men who participated in that wild rout. In like manner soldiers of the civil war, both Union and Confederate, are now recording many facts not disclosed by the official reports and which have not come within the knowledge of historians. It is good work in this direction that has been performed by Sergeant Benson. In the days succeeding the battles, eastern troops seemed to have won all the glory. In fact, the loss of one of their officers, a splendid soldier, who had been a commanding figure in the politics or statesmanship of New York, for a time overshadowed every other. This was so palpable that it excited comment by western soldiers who were not at all inclined to be ungenerous or jealous.

Three Iowa regiments took part in the battle of Pleasant Hill—the 14th Infantry, Col. Wm. T. Shaw; the 27th, Col. James I. Gilbert, and the 32d, Col. John Scott. At this time the 14th Infantry was commanded by Lt. Col. J. H. Newbold, who was killed in the battle. Colonel Shaw was in command of the brigade. It was known in the reports as "Shaw's Brigade."

The 14th was recruited in the following counties: Jones, Johnson, Jasper, Scott, Tama, Dubuque, Chickasaw, Bremer, Henry, Lee, Davis, Van Buren, Decatur, Louisa, Marion, Linn, Des Moines and Iowa.

The 27th was mainly from the counties of Allamakee, Buchanan, Chickasaw, Clayton, Delaware, Floyd and Mitchell.

Coming from a more sparsely settled region, the 32d Infantry had men enlisted from the following counties: Boone, Story, Marshall, Grundy, Hardin, Hamilton, Webster, Calhoun, Pocahontas, Humboldt, Wright, Franklin, Butler, Bremer, Cerro Gordo, Franklin, Hancock, Kossuth, Worth and Winnebago.

More than forty Iowa counties were represented in these three regiments at Pleasant Hill.

The casualties in the Iowa regiments are given in Fox's "Regimental Losses in the American Civil War," as follows:

The Fourteenth Infantry (Col. William T. Shaw), killed, 13; wounded, 55; missing and prisoners, 14. Total, 82.

The Twenty-seventh Infantry (Col. James I. Gilbert), killed, 4; wounded, 70; missing, 14. Total, 88. It seems almost a discrepancy that only 4 were killed in the 27th Infantry against a list of 70 wounded—but that is the official report.

The Thirty-second Infantry (Col. John Scott), killed, 33; wounded, 117; missing and prisoners, 56. Total, 206.

The total of killed, wounded and missing in the three Iowa regiments was 380.

Gen. A. J. Smith—"Old A. J.," as he was familiarly called by the Iowa men whom he led on many bloody fields—commanded detachments of the 16th and 17th Army Corps on the Red River Expedition. Col. Wm. T. Shaw's brigade belonged to the 16th Corps, and was therefore a part of Gen. Smith's command. To no commander have the Iowa soldiers looked back with greater affection and pride than to Gen. A. J. Smith. He graduated from West Point in 1838 and saw active service on our frontiers, in Mexico and the civil war. He rose to the rank of Major General of Volunteers and Colonel of the 7th Regular Cavalry. He resigned from the regular army May 6, 1869. Gen. Grant appointed him postmaster of St. Louis, April 3, 1869. He died June 30, 1897. His record fills two pages of Gen. Cullum's Biographical Register of West Point. It has seldom been equalled in the annals of active service.

Mr. Benson has kindly procured three other articles which we take pleasure in publishing in connection with his own. They form a very fitting addition to his work, and may be described or summarized as follows:

Reminiscences of the Battle of Pleasant Hill, by Henry H. Childers, a lawyer of New York, who then lived in Pleasant Hill, and who writes a very readable article from a citizen's standpoint, and being of the south, it is quite valuable on account of the opposite views it reflects. Mr. Childers is a facile and pleasing writer and the last of the Childers name now living.

The next is that of Col. Wm. H. Heath, of the 33d Mo. Infantry, which was brigaded with the 35th Iowa and fought

in the reserves with Gen. J. A. Mower. Mr. Heath's article lets some light into the inner military circles of that place and time which will be of interest to many readers. It does not cover much of the history, but is quite lucid as to his little corner of the field.

Another article is the narrative of the escape of Private Ben Van Dyke, of the 14th Iowa, which is quite romantic and interesting. This old soldier is now living in Oklahoma.

NOTE.—Articles on the Battle of Pleasant Hill, by Col. William T. Shaw, ex-Judge Charles T. Granger, and Capt. Thomas C. McCall, may be found in Vol. III, 3d series, of *THE ANNALS OF IOWA*, pp. 401-423. See also pp. 465-468 of the same volume for references to Col. Shaw. An article by Hon. A. J. Barkley, in the same volume, pp. 23-81, should also be read in this connection.

THE LETTERS AND PAPERS OF ROBERT LUCAS.

For many years the lack of original source material bearing upon the life and political activities of the first Governor of the Territory of Iowa has been the despair of collectors and students of Iowa history. Indeed, after many futile efforts to discover the precious manuscripts, the story that the letters and papers of Robert Lucas had long ago been accidentally destroyed by fire had come to be accepted as fact. This was the situation when in October, 1905, Mr. John C. Parish, a graduate student at the State University of Iowa, elected to write a thesis on "Robert Lucas, Governor of the Territory of Iowa."

Mr. Parish, of course, soon found himself embarrassed by the lack of source material. However, after conference with Prof. Benj. F. Shambaugh (under whose direction the thesis was being prepared) it was decided to make a thorough search for the missing letters and papers. Sometime in November, 1905, Professor Shambaugh called upon Robert Lucas, a grandson of Governor Lucas, and enlisted his interest in the renewed effort to bring to light the material that was supposed to be lost or destroyed. The first document discovered through co-operation with the grandson was the manuscript copy of the *Executive Journal of Iowa* for 1838-1841, which contains

a complete record of the official executive acts of Governor Lucas during his term of nearly three years.

After the discovery of the *Executive Journal*, Mr. Parish made several visits to the home of the grandson, Robert Lucas. With renewed zeal the search was carried into the attic of the old home of Col. Edward Lucas, a son of the Governor who had lived near Iowa City. There *The Robert Lucas Journal of the War of 1812* was found along with two boxes containing hundreds of manuscript letters and papers written by or addressed to Robert Lucas and covering a period of nearly fifty years. The entire collection, which has been carefully examined by Mr. Parish, is perhaps the richest and most extensive body of historical material that has thus far come to light in this State. With the discovery of the Lucas letters and papers comes the hope that the letters and papers of his successor, Governor John Chambers, are still in existence and will some day be accessible to students of Iowa history.

DEATH OF AN IOWA AUTHOR.

The poem, "There is no Death," has been made familiar to most readers by the fact that it has been reprinted hundreds of times, and copied in whole or in part in numberless obituary articles or addresses, since it was written by an Iowa journalist in 1863. The author was J. L. McCreery, who published a weekly paper at Delhi, Delaware county, Iowa, about fifty years ago, and was later employed on other Iowa papers. After his journalistic career in Iowa, he was appointed to a clerkship in the General Land Office at Washington, D. C., which he doubtless held up to the time of his last illness. He passed away at Duluth, Minn., after a surgical operation, Sept. 7, 1906. For some years after he wrote this poem there was a dispute concerning its authorship, as there was in relation to that of "The Burial of Sir John Moore" and "Ben Bolt." Mr. McCreery's right to it was made a matter of doubt by the fact that it was so often attributed to Sir Edward

Bulwer-Lytton. The difficulty of getting the question settled had vexed and made him somewhat indifferent on the subject. Two versions had appeared, creating still further confusion. Knowing him intimately and well the editor of *THE ANNALS* invited him to give its history in these pages. We also urged him to tell our readers how there came to be two versions of the poem. He fully complied with our requests, though in a half jocular manner, and his interesting article may be found in Vol. I, 3d series, pp. 196-209. A fairly good half-tone portrait of Mr. McCreery accompanies the article. The publication of his own clear and explicit statement has settled the question of authorship for all time. It may be found in most of our Iowa libraries and will always be read with interest.

THE RECORDS OF THE IOWA SOLDIERS.

During the past three or four years there has been considerable agitation in this State on the subject of republishing the records of the soldiers of the civil war. The rosters of the different commands were published by the Adjutant General during the war period, but the work was done in haste and there were many errors and omissions which may be corrected at this time. This work properly belongs to the office of the Adjutant General of the State, and if legislation is secured for that purpose there will be no question as to who shall superintend the work. It will, of course, emanate from that office. Scarcely a day passes in which a revised edition of the Reports of Adjutant General N. B. Baker is not needed in the Historical Department. This is not only a final measure of justice to the men who stood behind the guns in 1861-65, but a matter of the greatest public convenience. This work should be undertaken under the editorship of the finest military scholar in the State and no pains spared to secure completeness and accuracy. The States of Vermont, New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, and we presume still others, have published what are models in their way. All the States, north as well as south, will sooner or later provide for

the republication of their war records. In this patriotic work Iowa should be a leader, not a follower at the end of the procession.

Not only should the editing be done by the most capable man in Iowa, but the books should be brought out in the best style of the art of printing at this time. When the volumes appear they should be such that every Iowan will be proud of them. Aside from the records of the civil war, the volumes should contain the rosters of all the smaller commands that were raised in Iowa in territorial times, to hold the Indians in check, or to protect the frontier settlers. There were several such commands of which no record exists in the State of Iowa, except that compiled by Harvey Reid of Maquoketa from the recollections of a participant in the command which removed the Winnebago Indians from Iowa to Minnesota. It is not practicable to secure within the State of Iowa any record of the names of the men who volunteered for the Mexican war. The information required is in the War Department at Washington, and nowhere else. It should be faithfully copied and printed here. The volumes should include the officers and men of the Spirit Lake Expedition, the Northern Border Brigade, and the soldiers who served in the Spanish and Philippine wars. The memory of every man who shouldered a musket or drew a sword in the Territory or State of Iowa in response to any of these patriotic calls, should be perpetuated through the publication of these precious records.

EARTHQUAKES IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.

Few residents of Iowa, perhaps none, who read the dispatches relating to the terrible wreckage of life and property following the recent earthquakes in California and Chili considered the possibility of such a convulsion here in this region of long rolling prairies and low, far-reaching valleys. No more doubtless did they regard such a calamity as even a remote possibility within the reaches of the Mississippi valley. Ordinarily there is no wit or wisdom in borrowing trouble. On

the other hand, it is just as well to realize that the inhabitants of this mid-continental region have in not remote times suffered severely from seismic shocks. It may not be generally known that in one instance the series of shocks is pronounced by the scientific authorities of our National Geological Survey to have been "the greatest earthquake our country has experienced since its settlement," not even excepting the destructive shock at Charlestown, in 1886, or the recent terrifying manifestation at San Francisco. Moreover, the center of that shock was not far removed from the borders of Iowa and our own area probably came within the circumference of the disturbance.

Readers of the annals of the early settlement of the West, especially of Illinois and Missouri, frequently come upon references to or descriptions of a terrible commotion of the earth that culminated in the neighborhood of New Madrid in southeastern Missouri, a few miles below the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. All contemporary accounts concur in ascribing extraordinary violence to its manifestations and vast area to the region affected. The chroniclers are not in agreement as to the precise time of its occurrence. Governor John Reynolds of Illinois had personal experience of the shocks and in his autobiography states that they began about 2 o'clock in the morning of Nov. 11, 1811. Audubon, the naturalist, says that he was traveling across the "Barrens" of Kentucky in November, and "one afternoon" suddenly became aware that some disturbance was imminent and almost immediately witnessed fearful earth waves that utterly bewildered him. The English geologist and traveler Featherstonehaugh, who visited the region around about New Madrid in 1834, says in his *Travels* that the earthquake took place in December, and Mr. Fuller of our National Geological Survey gives December 16 as the date. "The vibrations," says the latter, "did not cease for over a year. * * * During the succeeding three months 1,874 shocks were recorded, of which eight were violently destructive, ten very severe, and thirty-five generally alarming. In fact, this earthquake is famous all over the world as one of the few instances of almost

incessant shaking for a period of many months in a region remote from the seat of any volcanic action."

Featherstonehaugh describes the region about New Madrid as a "flat alluvial area without a vestige of rocky strata, many parts generally well wooded, but containing two or three prairies of about five miles square where cotton and Indian corn are cultivated." Such a region does not suggest seismic or volcanic disturbances, nevertheless the pioneers witnessed some terrific events. Their ears were deafened by loud crashing reports that resembled heavy cannonading. Sulphurous vapors rolled over the land. Besides the horrible earth waves that must have almost shattered the nervous systems of man and beast alike—immense chasms opened in the earth whence issued dense vapors and torrents of water. The beds of lakes and swamps were upheaved and fertile fields of large area sunk and became lakes, varying in depth from four to 100 feet. In the Mississippi, islands sank out of sight, and the upheaval and subsidence of the waters of the river produced a fearful surge that was like the fateful return of the ruthless ocean tides that follow earthquakes along the seaboard.

Governor Reynolds tells us that shocks continued to be experienced for years after throughout southern Illinois; he records one in 1855 at the time he was writing. Writing in response to our inquiry, Mr. H. C. Rizer, of the National Geological Survey informs the writer that "slight shocks originating in the New Madrid region occur several times annually, and could be detected by instruments in Illinois and probably even in Iowa. You may possibly recall that quite a severe shock occurred last summer in this region." Our sympathy with the sufferers in San Francisco may well be tinged with prudent considerations for contingencies in our own habitat.

H.

RIFLE AND TELEPHONE.

A most interesting object lesson may be seen in the hospitable home of Mr. George C. Duffield, a pioneer farmer and octogenarian who comes down from the days of Black Hawk and Keokuk, and who resides on the right bank of the Des

Mr. Duffield, a settler of miles above the town of Keosauqua. Still, mounted from the wall hangs his old muzzle-loading rifle, which was made by an Iowa gunsmith some time in the thirties or forties. In those days the hunter had never heard of breech-loading or metallic cartridges. Mr. Duffield was an expert hunter, killing elk, deer and bear, and his gun was an important adjunct in the early days in securing meat for the table. The gunsmiths made several rifles for him which he promptly discarded as unfit for his purposes. At last the one we have under consideration met his requirements and was in frequent use until game disappeared. While these old rifles were crude in most respects as compared with those of the present day, many of them were fired with great precision and carried long distances. When used in battle they became very effective weapons. This was especially shown at the battle of New Orleans, Jan. 8, 1814, when the British under Gen. Sir E. M. Pakenham were so unfortunately and unmercifully slaughtered. Each owner of one of these old muzzle-loading rifles provided himself with a pair of iron bullet-moulds in which he cast his round bullets, sometimes from a wooden ladle and sometimes from an iron spoon. Each one had a powder-horn from which he poured his powder into a "charger," which was used to measure the quantity required. In the lower end of the breech was a small box in which the hunter carried his "patches," which were bits of greased cotton cloth in which the bullets were wrapped to separate them from the powder. This old gun is always kept in good repair, and hangs in the leather slings which were provided for it long ago. Altogether, it has a primitive look when compared with modern arms. Immediately under it has been placed one of the latest improved telephones, which enables Mr. Duffield freely to communicate not only with the people of his own county, but it reaches throughout the State and beyond. These two objects bring the present and the past into close contrast, and they show probably as distinctly as anything else the wonderful progress which has been made during the past sixty years.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

McCarver and Tacoma, by Thomas W. Prosch. Lowman & Hanford, Seattle, 1906, pp. 198.

The history of that part of the United States which lies west of the Mississippi river, if not of equal, is of common importance with that which lies east. It is the history of a larger area, with a greater diversity of soil, climate, and resources, and a larger population eventually. It shows a march of civilization unprecedented in any former age. In this progress, it is a notable fact that pioneers of Iowa were also pioneers in Oregon and California and in the intervening States.

This book records the life of one of the founders of a city upon the Mississippi river, Burlington, Iowa, who was also one of the founders of a city upon Puget Sound, Tacoma, State of Washington.

Morton Matthew McCarver was born on a farm near Lexington, Ky., Jan. 14, 1807. After adventures in his youth down the Ohio and the Mississippi on a flatboat to New Orleans, and tramps in Texas, he came to Illinois in 1829. Upon the opening of Iowa to settlement, June 1, 1833, he made a claim with his brothers-in-law, Simpson S. White and Amzi Doolittle, to the site of Flint Hills, an old Indian trading post, and laid out a town. He engaged in business there, and was one of the Commissioners under the acts of Congress, 1836-7, for laying out Burlington and other towns on the Mississippi river. In 1839, Governor Lucas appointed him Commissary General of the Territorial militia. In 1842 he went overland to Oregon, and the following year with Peter H. Burnett laid out Linnton, on the Willamette, which he named for Lewis F. Linn, half-brother of Henry Dodge, and which he expected would be a capital city; but the fates carried that fortune ten miles up the river to Portland. He was an enterprising citizen in Oregon, developing its capacity for grain and fruit culture by experiments on his farm, and publishing the results in newspapers of a wide circulation. In 1844, under the first popular government in Oregon, he was a member of the Legislative Committee of Nine, and was elected Speaker. He gave his influence for the prohibition of slavery and of the liquor-traffic.

This volume, pp. 32-'3, contains a letter written soon after his arrival in Oregon to A. C. Dodge. Among the papers preserved by the latter is another of his letters, which shows the sympathy that existed between them.

OREGON CITY, April 25, 1847.

MY DEAR FRIEND: For I shall still call you so, although I have not received the first scratch of a pen from you since my arrival in Oregon, but I do not expect communications from active politicians; you have your hands full, no doubt, with your immediate constituents, but permit an old friend who can never forget you to trouble you for your personal influence in his behalf.

You recollect I received a recommendation for the office of Indian Agency by a majority of the members of the Iowa Legislature, and

since then by a majority of the Oregon Legislature and by the principal officers of this Government; the latter was forwarded to you. It strikes me that these are claims, together with those which may be urged by my friends in Iowa, that the President would not willingly disregard. Let me then bespeak your kind influence in this matter. If there is any opposition to the appointment I am not aware of it, although I have taken a warm part in politics, measuring arms, as will be perceived from a perusal of the *Oregon Spectator*, with the champions of the Hudson Bay Company; yet if there has been opposition, it must come from this source, and is done in a clandestine manner. I suppose that most of the appointments have already been made, as we learn that a treaty has been concluded in relation to the boundary question, and cannot think that the claims of your old friend have been neglected. I am not tenacious about having the Indian Agency; the Marshal's place, or that of Commissioner for settling land claims, or Register or Receiver in the Land Office, would be equally acceptable. As you are personally acquainted with all the members of the new State of Iowa, be pleased to give me your kind assistance in this matter. I have not succeeded in my town operations at Linnton as I expected. Mrs. McCarver died last fall with the consumption; my little ones are in fine health.

I am very respectfully your obedient servant,

M. M. MCCARVER.

Hon. A. C. Dodge, Burlington, Iowa.

In further illustration of the connection between Iowa and Oregon pioneers, it is worthy of remembrance that W. W. Chapman, a law-partner of James W. Grimes, and the first delegate to Congress from Iowa, and Berryman Jennings, a brother of Mrs. McCarver, and teacher of the first school in Iowa, were Oregon pioneers; and also that Samuel R. Thurston, a Burlington attorney, and editor of the *Burlington Gazette*, became the first delegate to Congress from Oregon (ANNALS OF IOWA, iv., 624-'5).

Upon the discovery of gold in California, 1848, General McCarver joined in the rush thither, going over the Cascade Mountains, with pack-horses. After working a mining claim on Feather river, he associated with the Sutters in laying out the town of Sacramento and went into business there. He was a member of the Convention which formed the Constitution of California, and supported the prohibition of slavery and of lotteries, the disfranchisement of any person who engaged in a duel, a liberal provision for public schools, biennial sessions of the legislature, and economy in public affairs. After a few stirring years in California, having both seasons of great gains and reverses of fortune, he returned to Oregon, and continued to employ his energies in many enterprises to the end of his days in 1875. As the founder of the beautiful city of Tacoma, laying out its lots and streets and parks with fine taste and skill, his name is assured of a lasting memory. This volume is written by his son-in-law, and contains many interesting personal details that give a graphic view of a unique period in American history.

W. S.

NOTABLE DEATHS

JOHNSON PIERSON, born in Ohio county, Virginia, died in St. Louis, Missouri, Aug. 18, 1906, was a pioneer of Iowa, having come to Flint Hills (now Burlington), Sept. 18, 1833. He brought a compass with him, and surveyed the lot on which Rorer built the first brick house in the Territory. A graduate of Kendree College, Ill., he was professor of ancient languages in Mt. Pleasant Collegiate Institute (1845-'8), now the Iowa Wesleyan University. In 1853-'5, he was editor of *The Burlington Hawk-Eye* and upheld the policy of the "Old Line Whigs." On one occasion William H. Seward called at his office, accompanied by James W. Grimes, and recommended to him more liberal views, which he did not embrace then, but did later. His health failing in newspaper work, he took a contract, upon the recommendation of A. C. Dodge, to divide sixteen townships in Fremont county into sections. Lyman Cook and John G. Foote went as bondsmen on the contract. During the work, at the request of a young lawyer at Sidney, James G. Day, afterwards a Judge of the Supreme Court, in the absence of other legal authorities, being a sworn officer of the Government, he acted as justice of the peace in a criminal suit in which Mr. Day was attorney. In his absence from Burlington, he employed George F. Magoun, afterwards President of Iowa College at Grinnell, as sub-editor. Mr. Pierson was the senior Iowa poet. He published "The Judiad" in 1840. At the festival of the Hawkeye Pioneer Association, June 2, 1858, in commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the opening of Iowa to settlement by the white people, after an eloquent address by Charles Mason, he delivered a poem of 280 lines, recounting the changes that a quarter of a century had brought, and looking into the future with prophetic vision.

"Thus we have marked this infant's birth,
A prattler round our federal hearth;
And soon we'll see this Child confest
The fairest one in all the west."

The poem describes the legal lights of those days:

"First, Rorer came, the lawyer pioneer,
In stature low, but at the bar a peer;
Close in pursuit came he they call "Old Grimes"
That man so well proportioned to the times,
Who rode by rapid marches to the throne,
And made ambition's airy realms his own.
Then Mason, Browning, Starr—"hale fellows all"—
And last, but not the least among them, Hall."

In the civil war he was appointed commissioner of the draft in the First Congressional District, and was subsequently employed in the postal service. He preserved his faculties to the last, with his love of literature, and the year before his death wrote "Reminiscences of Seventy Years Ago." His remains were interred in Aspen Grove Cemetery, Burlington.

W. S.

HARVEY NELSON BROCKWAY was born in Mottville, Mich., Dec. 26, 1836; he died at Garner, Iowa, June 7, 1906. He attended the common schools as boys in his walk of life are wont to do, but his real

education was no doubt due to his habit of omnivorous reading and to his own untiring industry and perseverance. He was living in Webster City in 1857, remaining there and in that vicinity, studying law, in the meantime, with Granville Berkley, the pioneer lawyer of old Webster county, until 1862, when he enlisted in Co. B, 32d Iowa Infantry, of which he became orderly sergeant, and later captain. During the years he spent at Webster City the people of northwestern Iowa saw their hardest times. The panic of 1857 left business of all kinds at its lowest ebb. Little was raised on the farms in 1857, and 1858 was an unproductive, wet year. The three following seasons crops were better, but there were no markets, no prices for anything. Corn was burned for fuel, and more money came into the northwestern quarter of our State for mink skins than for all that grew from the soil. It was hard work for even such a self-reliant law student as Harvey Brockway to live. But he struggled on till he entered the military service. His first real battle was that of Pleasant Hill, La., April 9, 1864. The end of the fight found him with two painful wounds—the ranking officer of his company, his Captain having fallen and the two lieutenantancies vacant, either by death or resignation. He was promoted to the Captaincy of Co. B, in which rank he was mustered out at the end of his service. He came home, was happily married to Miss Sarah Mitchell, of Washington, Iowa, and settled in Hancock county. He engaged in buying and selling real estate, in which he accumulated a handsome fortune. The year of his marriage he was elected treasurer of his county, and re-elected at the end of his term. He was elected circuit judge in 1868, serving four years most creditably, declining a re-election. His remaining years were spent in private life, honored as a man who had “done the State some service.” He was a member of the Grand Army of the Republic, and of the Iowa Commandery of the Loyal Legion. He was beloved and honored in his own town and county, where his memory will long abide.

SUMNER B. HEWETT was born in Northbridge, Mass., June 22, 1833; he died at Los Angeles, Cal., June 12, 1906. He was educated at the High School in East Douglas. At the age of 17 he taught a common school, and a year or two later became a clerk in one of the large furniture establishments of the city of Boston. In October, 1854, he was married to Miss Abbie S. Parker, of Blue Hill, Maine, and soon thereafter migrated to Iowa, in company with his father and mother and settled upon a farm just west of the present city of Eagle Grove. His wife became the Eagle Grove postmistress as soon as they could get an office opened, and held the place until the city was established and incorporated. During all of the pioneer years, before the advent of the railroad, no home in northwestern Iowa was better known than that of the Hewetts. Generous hospitality awaited all who journeyed that way. Blizzards or high water often delayed those who came for their mails, but they always found “rest and shelter, food and fire,” in the great two-story log house which was long the most imposing edifice in Wright county. Mr. Hewett served as a member of the Iowa House of Representatives in 1872, and had served several years as a collector of internal revenue. He received this appointment from Abraham Lincoln, mainly through the influence of U. S. Senator James Harlan. His commission with the signature of the great martyr President now belongs to the State Historical Department. He was elected county judge some time later than 1860, but this was after the office was shorn of most of its powers and duties by the advent of the supervisor system. Mr. Hewett

was a most useful citizen, intelligent, public-spirited, exemplary in all the relations of life, charitable, just in his dealings, a man of mark in the communities where he resided, and one whose influence was ever on the side of education, temperance and good morals. The writer knew him for nearly fifty years as an abiding friend, concerning whom he is glad to place these words of appreciation on record. Mr. Hewett was the real founder of the city of Eagle Grove, where his name will long be held in grateful remembrance.

OBED CASWELL was born October 29, 1835, near Watkins, N. Y.; he died at Marshalltown, Iowa, July 7, 1906. While still a boy his parents removed to near Sandusky, Ohio. He was educated at Oberlin and Antioch Colleges. At the outbreak of the war he enlisted in an Ohio regiment with which he served three months. After his discharge he settled in Marshalltown, where he enlisted in Co. D, 5th Iowa Infantry, and was promoted to a second lieutenancy. Before his discharge Lieut. Caswell became captain of the company. After the war he attended the law class of the State University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, and the law school at Albany, N. Y., from the last of which he graduated and was admitted to the Supreme Court of the State of New York. In 1864 he entered into the practice of his profession with J. H. Bradley, who later became circuit judge. Mr. Caswell was afterward associated with J. F. Meeker in the practice of the law which he continued for several years. He went to California on account of his health in 1888. Upon his return he resumed his law practice which he continued until 1896. When the 17th Judicial District was taken from the 11th District, he was appointed by Gov. Drake to fill the vacancy. He was afterwards elected and re-elected for two full terms, and nominated for a third. He became one of the well known Iowa judges. The decision which he made in the case of the soldiers' preference law, which he held to be unconstitutional, as class legislation and against public policy, attracted state-wide attention. It was carried to the Supreme Court, where his decision was reversed.

GEORGE SCHRAMM was born in Plech, Germany, Feb. 12, 1816; he died in his summer cottage at Lake Okoboji, Iowa, July 26, 1906. In 1836 he came to America and settled in Ohio; in 1845 he removed to Farmington, Iowa, remaining there until 1867, when he located in Des Moines, which place had since been his home. "Father" Schramm was a member of the Polk County Octogenarian Society, and its president at the time of his death. He also held membership in the Tippecanoe Club, the Old Settlers' Association and the Pioneer Law Makers' Association. He was a member of the Senate in the 4th and 5th, and a member of the House in the 9th General Assemblies, from Van Buren county. While exceedingly quiet and unobtrusive, Mr. Schramm was much more than an average legislator. His services are recalled as those of a man who was always clear in his convictions, whose habit it was to be found on the right side of questions which challenged public attention. His record is one from which nothing need be expunged. Though living to an advanced age, he was blessed not only with health and strength, but with a most happy temperament, which always made him a pleasant man to meet. His smile of cordial greeting was never absent. There are always men in the ranks of a regiment in active service whom their associates will not forget to the last day of their lives. So it is in a legislative body. After forty years the majority of faces will fade from the brightest memory; but those who were associated with Mr. Schramm in those far-off days have ever borne him in kindly remembrance.

COLE NOEL was born in Monroe county, Ind., Oct. 4, 1818; he died in Adel, Iowa, July 26, 1906. He came to Des Moines, Iowa, with his parents in 1852. In December, of 1853, he settled in Adel, where he lived continuously until the end of his life. He was elected clerk of the courts of Dallas county in 1856, holding the office by successive elections during the next ten years. He was chosen to represent his county in the Iowa House of representatives of the 13th General Assembly. He took an active part in the work of securing the erection of the New Capitol. He appreciated the need of a commodious edifice in place of the old tumble-down affair which had but poorly sufficed up to that time. During his after life in Adel he held many positions of honor and trust in all of which his record is without flaw. He was one of the abiding, life-long friends of Hon. John A. Kasson. The latter never failed, when visiting Des Moines, during the past thirty years, to go to Adel and spend a day or two at the home of Cole Noel. Mr. Noel was for many years an exemplary member of the Christian church. He possessed the confidence of the people of Dallas county during all the years of his residence among them, and died as he had lived, enjoying the highest respect of all who knew him.

THE death of Charles Weare on June 19, 1906, at his home in Cedar Rapids, removes the last member of the family of that name, which family have been prominently connected with our business enterprises since this city was a mere village. Charles Weare was born in Derby Line, Orleans county, Vermont, Jan. 29, 1828, and came to Cedar Rapids in 1848. Deceased was respectively marshal, alderman and mayor of Cedar Rapids, was a member of the legislature for one term, 1864, was postmaster for eight years. During the Harrison administration he was consul at Aix-la-Chapelle, Germany, for one year. Mr. Weare was originally a democrat and became a republican when that party was organized. He had attended more county and state conventions than any other person perhaps in Iowa up to the time of his death, and for more than fifty years was personally acquainted with all the public men of the State.

B. L. W.

CHAPMAN A. MARSHALL was born in Dublin, Ireland, Jan. 11, 1838; he died in Cresco, Iowa, June 27, 1906. His father was a lieutenant-general in the English army. After receiving his education, he was apprenticed in the Merchant Marine service of England, and spent four years on a sailing vessel, sailing three times around the world. In 1857 he came to the United States and in 1858 settled in Howard county, Iowa. He engaged in the mercantile business in Vernon Springs and later in Cresco. In 1871 he was ordained to the ministry of the Congregational church. He held pastorates in Burr Oak, Postville, New Hampton, Nashua, Clinton, and McGregor. In 1900 he retired from the active ministry and returned to Cresco. He represented the 44th senatorial district, consisting of Bremer, Chickasaw and Howard counties, in the 19th and 20th General Assemblies.

LAWSON DANIELS died in Cedar Rapids, June 17, 1906, at the age of seventy-nine years. Deceased was born in North Brookfield, Mass., and came to Marion in the fall of 1848, to which place the older brothers had removed a few years earlier. The firm of Lawson Daniels & Co. did the largest business in this part of the country for many years. Mr. Daniels married his brother's widow in 1883, who survives him. For many years prior to his death, Mr. Daniels was one of the

officers of the Cedar Rapids Savings Bank, an institution to which he devoted much of his time and attention. By the death of Mr. Daniel, the last member of a family which began business in Marion and Cedar Rapids in the early forties has been removed.

B. L. W.

GEORGE WELLS was born in Newington, Conn., May 14, 1821; he died at his home near Wellsburg, Grundy county, Iowa, Aug. 2, 1906. He came to Iowa in 1855 and invested heavily in lands, realizing his values would increase. At one time he owned about 9,000 acres Grundy county, and he left an immense fortune at the time of death. He took an active interest in the first railroad built in that county and the village of Wellsburg was named for him. He represented Grundy county in the 17th General Assembly.

E. G. PERROTT was born in Northport, N. Y., Sep. 4, 1832; he died in Emergency Hospital, Los Angeles, Cal., April 17, 1906. He received his schooling in New York City. At the age of 11 he went to sea and remained for three years. From 15 until the age of 40 he was engaged in ship-building, helping to build the boat "America" that won the first cup in the International Yacht Race. After locating in Iowa he engaged for a time in farming. He was a member of the 26th General Assembly and was re-elected to the 27th.

WILLIAM D. MILLS was born in Medina county, Ohio, in 1838; he died in Chicago in July, 1906. Throughout the civil war he served in Company I, 12th Illinois Infantry; in 1862 he was promoted to the captaincy. From 1865 to 1897 he resided in Marshall county, Iowa. He served one term as sheriff. He represented Marshall county in the 16th General Assembly, and was a member of the senate in the 22d and 23d General Assemblies.

WILLIAM F. POWELL was born in Kent county, Delaware, in 1849; his lifeless body was found near Panora, Kansas, June 24, 1906. More than thirty years of his life were spent in Indianola, Iowa, where he settled in 1871. In 1873 he graduated from Simpson College; he was admitted to the bar in 1875, and elected mayor in 1876. He represented Warren county in the 19th General Assembly.

JOHN CLARK was born in Oxford, Mass., Dec. 9, 1817; he died in Albia, Iowa, Aug. 2, 1906. In 1841 he removed to Iowa, and in 1843 settled in Kishkekosch, now Monroe county, where he afterward resided. He was elected the first sheriff of the county in 1845, and for many years filled the office of county supervisor. He represented Monroe county in the 10th General Assembly.

ANNALS OF IOWA

Vol. VII, No. 1, January, 1901.

A REPORT TO THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES

BY THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

It is a well-known fact that England and the European governments have given far more attention to the care and preservation of their records and expended much larger sums for this than the historical purposes than have the National and State Governments of the United States. Indeed, the management of the public records of the National and State governments of the United States has been with some few exceptions, not one of care, but rather of neglect and disorder rather than of care and arrangement. Even Canada has taken more care of her records than the United States. Fortunately, however, in the past decade there has been evidenced a marked improvement in the Public Archives, which is considerable credit has been gained by and through the American Historical Association.

At a Washington meeting of the American Historical Association (1891) that Prof. J. Franklin Jameson read a paper on *The Neediness of Foreign Governments*

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ANNALS OF IOWA.

VOL. VII, No. 8. DES MOINES, IOWA, JANUARY, 1907.

3D SERIES.

A REPORT ON THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES.¹

BY BENJAMIN F. SHAMBAUGH.

I.

GENERAL INFORMATION.

It is a notorious fact that England and the European governments have given far more attention to the care and preservation of Public Archives and expended much larger sums for this and other historical purposes than have the National and State governments of the United States.² Indeed, the condition of the Public Archives of the National and State governments of the United States has been (with some few exceptions) one of neglect rather than of care, of disorder rather than of systematic arrangement. Even Canada has taken steps in advance of the United States. Fortunately, however, within the last decade there has been evidenced a larger interest in American Public Archives, which in considerable measure has been inspired by and through the American Historical Association.

It was at the Washington meeting of the American Historical Association (in 1891) that Prof. J. Franklin Jameson read a paper on *The Expenditures of Foreign Governments*

¹ Iowa City, Iowa, September 18, 1906.

To the Trustees of the State Library and Historical Department of Iowa.

Gentlemen: Complying with your request for information and suggestions relative to the care and preservation of Public Archives and, more specifically, for recommendations relative to the installation of a Hall of Public Archives in Iowa under the provisions of "An Act providing for the care and permanent preservation of the public archives, and making an appropriation therefor," enacted by the Thirty-first General Assembly and approved April 10, 1906, I have the honor to submit herewith a report with recommendations.

Very respectfully,

BENJ. F. SHAMBAUGH.

² The Expenditures of Foreign Governments in Behalf of History, in the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1891, p. 33.

in Behalf of History in which the attention of students and the government was called to what was not being done in the United States by a discussion of what was being accomplished elsewhere. At a meeting of this same Association, which was held at Chicago in December, 1893, Mrs. Ellen Hardin Walworth's paper on *The Value of National Archives* (which, after referring to the attitude of other Nations, deplored the neglect of Archives in America) provoked a general discussion which led to the appointment of a committee of nine to memorialize Congress on the establishment of a Department of Archives.¹

In reporting the discussion of Mrs. Walworth's paper, Dr. W. F. Poole said in *The Independent*: "The historical papers in the State Department are not accessible to the historical student except as a special favor, and they are not arranged, classified, and calendared. The State Department has no space for historical archives and no archivist who understands their management or has time to give to the needs of historical investigators. Indeed, these are not the functions of the State Department. At Ottawa, however, Canada has a department of archives; it is an excellent one, and under the charge of a most competent archivist. American historians, when they need to consult the original documents relating to our own history, often go to Ottawa to see papers which should be in Washington."

It was to correct such popular misapprehensions as those entertained by Dr. Poole that Mr. Andrew Hussey Allen, Chief of the Bureau of Rolls and Library (Department of State, Washington, D. C.), presented, at the meeting of the American Historical Association in 1894, a paper on *The Historical Archives of the Department of State*.²

These papers and the discussions which they provoked bore fruit when on December 27, 1895, the American Historical Association established an Historical Manuscripts Commission "charged to collect information regarding manuscript materials relating to American history, especially those which

¹ Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1893, pp. 4, 27.

² Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1894, p. 231.

Executive Department Iowa Territory
Curtinville October 2^d 1839

Sir,

I herewith enclose a Certificate
of your election, as delegate to Congress
from the Territory of Iowa - issued in pursuance
of the 14th Section of the Election Law of this
Territory - The Ordinance as required
by said Section, prepared by a correct copy
of the first, and twentieth, Sections of the
Election Law - approved the 25th of January
1839, will appear in this week's
Gazette to which I solicit your
particular attention -

Very respectfully

I am Sir

your Obedt Servt

Robert Lucas

are in the hands of private persons or institutions, to report . . . to the Association respecting the same, and in general to perform, *mutatis mutandis*, such services with respect to American history as have been performed with respect to British history by the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts first appointed by the Queen of Great Britain in 1869.”¹

The plans and the accomplishments, as well as the valuable and useful data collected by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, are found in its *Reports* as published in the *Annual Reports of the American Historical Association*. These reports, which contain many valuable side lights on Public Archives, or on materials closely related thereto, are as follows:

First Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission of the American Historical Association: Contains “A list of printed guides to and descriptions of Archives and other repositories of historical manuscripts.”²

Second Annual Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission of the American Historical Association: Contains a calendar of “The Colonial Assemblies and their legislative journals.”³

Third Annual Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission: Contains “Items respecting historical manuscripts in libraries and archives”; also a “Guide to the items relating to American history in the reports of the English Historical Manuscripts Commission and their appendixes.”⁴

Fourth Annual Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission: Contains the “Correspondence of John C. Calhoun.”⁵

Fifth Annual Report of the Historical Manuscripts Com-

¹ Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1896, Vol. I, p. 467.

² Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1896, Vol. I, p. 467.

³ Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1897, p. 399.

⁴ Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1898, p. 567.

⁵ Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1899, Vol. II, p. 3.

mission: Contains "Additional items respecting historical manuscripts."¹

Sixth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission: Contains the "Diary and correspondence of Salmon P. Chase."²

But of more importance than the establishment of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, and bearing more directly on the problems of the care, preservation, and publication of Public Archives, was the provision made in December, 1899, at the Boston meeting of the American Historical Association, for a Public Archives Commission which was "charged to investigate and report, from the point of view of historical study, upon the character, contents and functions of our public repositories of manuscript records, and having power to appoint local agents in each State, through whom their inquiries may be in part conducted." It was further understood at the outset that, in view of the existence of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, "the Public Archives Commission was to limit itself to an examination of documentary material of a public or governmental nature, such as is usually classed under the head of archives, public records, or state papers."³

Soon after its establishment agents or representatives of the Public Archives Commission were appointed in a number of the states as "Adjunct Members of the Commission." The undersigned has served as the Adjunct Member from Iowa since the first appointments were made in 1900.

The first work of this Public Archives Commission was a preliminary investigation of State records, the nature of which is best set forth in the following circular which was addressed to Adjunct Members as a general guide:

The Public Archives Commission was appointed at the meeting of the American Historical Association at Boston, December 27-29, 1899. The purpose of the commission is to examine into the condition and

¹ Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1900, Vol. I, p. 587.

² Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1902, Vol. II, p. 5.

³ Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1900, Vol. II, p. 5.

The first of these is the fact that the
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character of the public records of the United States, of the several States, and of important local communities, with a view to obtaining and publishing such information concerning them as will make the records more generally known and more easily available for students. The commission is not intended to be a medium for the publication of archives, nor does it aim to supplant the various State record commissions, and other similar agencies, already existing. Its objects are, rather, the compilation of information, as full and detailed as possible, regarding the particular class of American historical material generally known as archives or public records, the preparation of such catalogues or finding lists as may be deemed useful, and the unification and improvement, so far as its influence as an advisory body can be made effective, of methods of publishing, arranging, and preserving official documentary material.

It is proposed to begin the work of the commission with a preliminary examination of State records and of the records of a few local communities of especial importance. The substance of the information gathered by means of this preliminary survey will be laid before the association in the form of a printed report. It is the intention to carry on this work in such a way as to make it harmonize with such future work, of a more extended character, as the commission expects to do.

It has seemed best, in organizing so large an undertaking, to appoint in each State and Territory an adjunct member. The adjunct member is the accredited representative of the commission, and the person primarily responsible for the conduct of the preliminary investigation referred to above, and for other related work of the commission within the jurisdiction assigned to him. The appointment of adjunct members is for one year, subject to renewal where mutually satisfactory.

In States whose archives are of great extent or especial importance, or in which the records of local communities have marked general interest, it is desirable to designate one or more associate members to cooperate with the adjunct member. Such associate members will be appointed by the commission, in general upon the advice of the adjunct member for the State concerned, and will be primarily responsible to the adjunct member in the prosecution of their work. Adjunct members are urged to inform themselves as early as possible of the need of such additional assistance, and of the work of associate members as it proceeds.

In order that the work of investigation and report may be systematically carried on and the time and effort of those engaged in it utilized to the best advantage, the following suggestions have been drawn up as indicating the method of procedure which it is deemed best to follow. These suggestions are, of course, subject to modification to meet special conditions in particular States; and the commission will welcome suggestions from adjunct members regarding such modification. It is

very desirable, however, that the suggestions be followed as closely as possible, and that no radical change of procedure be made without previous consultation with the commission.

The following points will indicate the general nature of the work contemplated:

1. As an indispensable preliminary to their work, adjunct members should make themselves acquainted at the outset with the statutory provisions in their respective States regarding the reports required to be submitted by public officers, the documents required to be printed, and the preservation, custody, and examination of records. Where record commissions or archivists have been appointed, or special provision has been made for the publication of any particular portion of the records, the powers and duties of the various officials concerned should be carefully ascertained. A summary of the information gathered under this head should be included in the formal report.

2. By the term "public archives" is to be understood all documentary material of a governmental or official character, excluding all matter of a strictly personal or private sort. Under the head of archives come the journals and proceedings of legislative assemblies, all papers known in general as "public documents," reports of State officials, reports of legislative committees, reports of State commissions, statutes or session laws, and occasional publications such as census reports, topographical surveys, etc., published by State authority. Reports and publications emanating from or relating to the executive and judicial departments, as well as those primarily legislative in their origin, are included in this classification. Personal journals and private correspondence do not fall within the scope of the commission's work, but official correspondence and letter books are included in it.

3. As the present examination is a preliminary one, it is not expected that anything like a complete catalogue of these archives will be attempted. The report of the adjunct member, however, should give, with as much precision as possible—

- (1) The number of volumes or parcels of each of the various classes of records found, with the dates which each includes. The classification must depend upon the practice of each State, and no rule of uniformity can be laid down; but such indications as session laws, senate journals, house journals, committee reports, treasurers' reports, land-office papers, school reports, letter books, miscellaneous documents, etc., will indicate the kind of subdivision to be followed.

- (2) An indication of what parts of the records in each of these divisions are in print and what parts are in manuscript.

- (3) A general statement of the chief contents of miscellaneous collections.

- (4) An indication of such records, other than purely formal ones, as appear to have especial historical value.

(5) An indication of such records as are wanting in the official collection, together with information as to whether such records have been lost or destroyed or are to be found elsewhere.

4. A general statement, as detailed as circumstances may dictate, should be made with regard to the condition of the records; in particular, whether they are securely housed and protected, whether bound or unbound, whether conveniently arranged for consultation, or the contrary.

5. In the case of States which have been either colonies or Territories, the examination should extend to the earlier as well as the later period. In case it is found impracticable, for any reason, to carry the examination at present over the whole period, the commission will be glad to have the advice of the adjunct member as to the period to which attention should first be paid.

6. In case catalogues or finding lists for any portion of the State or local archives are available, every advantage should be taken of their assistance. It is especially requested that copies of such printed guides, or of any other similar matter relating to the records, be transmitted to the commission with the formal report.

7. It will be a convenience if reports can be made on paper not exceeding 8 by 10 inches in measurement, and written upon one side of the sheet only.

8. The association has been able to place at the disposal of the commission, as yet, only a small sum of money, barely sufficient to cover the necessary expenses of printing, postage, and clerical service; and the work must be, for all connected with it, mainly a labor of love. Adjunct members, therefore, should not incur expenses on behalf of the commission without previous authorization. It is hoped that the necessary expenses of postage and stationery may be reimbursed. In case it is deemed advisable to incorporate with the report catalogues or documents only to be obtained by purchase, the commission should first be consulted before the purchase is made.

9. It is hardly necessary to say that, in approaching public officials and custodians of archives, the utmost care should be taken to secure at the outset their cordial cooperation. The commission is entirely dependent upon the good will of such persons in carrying on its work; and it hopes to place at their disposal the information at its command, and the published results of its investigations, as rapidly as the same can be made available. In case the custodian of the records to be examined is not personally known to the adjunct or associate member, it is suggested that a letter of introduction be obtained, where practicable. In any case, there is usually much to be gained by a frank statement of the purposes of the commission, and of the intention to make its work generally useful.¹

¹ Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1900, Vol. II, p. 9.

In accordance with the spirit and general principles of this circular separate reports were made in 1900 on the Public Archives of the following States: Connecticut, Indiana, Iowa, Massachusetts, Michigan, Nebraska, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. In 1901 similar reports were made for the City and County of Philadelphia, North Carolina, and Texas. In 1902 a report was submitted from Oregon, and also a description of the Bexar Archives (in Texas). The next year the report of the Commission contained special reports on the Public Archives of Colorado, Georgia, New Jersey, Rhode Island, and Virginia. While in 1904 there were added to the list reports from Alabama, Georgia, Kansas, North Carolina, and Pennsylvania.

These reports on State Archives vary in thoroughness. Some are simply brief preliminary outlines, while others are quite exhaustive statements. Among the more complete are the reports on New York, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, City and County of Philadelphia, Alabama, and Georgia.

Moreover the activities of the Public Archives Commission have not been limited merely to investigations and reports. Encouragement has been given to efforts to secure legislation providing for the better care and preservation of the Public Archives of both the National and the State governments. Bearing upon this problem and throwing some light upon conditions as they exist is the following House Report No. 1767 (Fifty-sixth Congress, 1st Session) on the *Perpetuation and Preservation of the Archives and Public Records of the Several States and Territories, and of the United States* which was based upon memoranda furnished by the Commission:

The Committee on the Library, to whom was referred House bill 11429, respectfully report:

This bill (H. R. 11429) calls upon the American Historical Association to investigate the character and condition of the archives and public records of the several States and Territories, and of the United States, and to report to Congress the results of such investigation, together with the recommendation of such legislation as may seem appropriate in the premises. For defraying the necessary expenses involved in such investigation the bill appropriates the sum of \$5,000. It is

further provided that no member of the American Historical Association shall receive any compensation for his services in connection with the said investigation and report other than the reimbursement of necessary expenses, including clerical assistance, actually incurred.

The subject to which the bill before the committee relates is not now for the first time brought to the attention of Congress. The necessity of making adequate provision for the preservation of the public records, not only of the United States, but also of the several States, has been more than once emphasized and the action of Congress solicited in that behalf. Thus far, however, Congress has not taken the affirmative action necessary to bring about the result desired.

In 1887 a commission, composed of the Secretary of State, the Librarian of Congress, and the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, and their successors in office, was appointed (sundry civil act, approved March 3, 1887) and directed to report to Congress the character of the historical and other manuscripts belonging to the National Government, and the method and policy to be pursued in editing and publishing the same, or any of them. It does not appear, however, that this commission ever met, and the report contemplated by Congress was, in consequence, never submitted.

In 1894 the military records in the various Executive Departments relating to the field operations during the Revolutionary war and the war of 1812 were ordered to be transferred to the custody of the Secretary of War, and the indexing of these invaluable papers has since been successfully carried through. By the same act the Secretary of State was directed (sundry civil act, approved August 18, 1894), to cause the Revolutionary archives in his department to be examined, and to report to Congress what portions of them were worthy of publication, the number of printed volumes they would make, and the estimated cost of editing and publishing the same. In response to this direction the Secretary of State recommended that the documents in question be printed in 50 volumes and estimated the cost at \$100,750. This important work has not yet received the favorable consideration of Congress.

A cursory examination of the condition of the national archives at Washington, the investigation of which is contemplated by the bill before us, has convinced your committee that the improvement of the conditions which have for a long time prevailed ought no longer to be delayed. Documents of the utmost legal importance affecting personal and governmental interests of great magnitude, are scattered about among the different Executive Departments and bureaus, and are often stored under conditions which not only make access to them difficult, but also open the way to the mutilation or loss of the documents themselves. With the exception of military and naval records, no sufficient provision has yet been made by law for preserving this material or

for making it available to those having a right to use it. Moreover, records relating to the same general subject are in some cases divided between two or more custodians, while important portions of valuable papers are not infrequently found to have disappeared altogether or to be in the possession of some individual or society in another part of the country. Where one would naturally expect system and unity there too often prevails, as there has long prevailed, much diversity.

Your committee feel that they do not state the case too strongly in saying that at present no lawyer or historical student desiring to consult the archives of the National Government can feel in advance any assurance that the papers to which he wishes access are to be found in the place in Washington where they would naturally be supposed to be, or even that they are actually in the possession of the United States at all. Only by long and detailed correspondence, or by coming to the national capital and making the rounds of the different departments and depositories, can the material in question commonly be got at; and even after this expenditure of time and money and labor the documents sought may turn out to have been lost or the custody of them have become vested in somebody else.

There are not lacking illustrations of the impairment, loss, or dispersion of national records which have resulted from the lack of suitable provision for their arrangement and safe-keeping. Until very lately great quantities of manuscripts have been stored in various parts of the Capitol building without order or system, exposed to the ravages of mice, dirt, and dampness, and subject to mutilation or even theft by interested persons. Fortunately for the interests of the Government, these important papers have now been committed to the custody of the Library of Congress, where they will in the course of time be cleaned, catalogued, and suitably preserved; but there appears to be good reason for thinking that an examination of the papers will show that the files are now far from complete.

It is a matter of common observation, also, that manuscripts of official documents, especially those of the years prior to 1861, are constantly appearing at auction sales in the large cities, and are being bought by libraries, historical societies, and individuals, and scattered in this way about the country. The United States has itself bought, at a cost of many thousands of dollars, various collections of papers, many of which were of an official and public character.

The committee are clear that such conditions are discreditable, and ought no longer to exist. No country in the world has, relatively, such extensive documentary material for its history as is possessed by the United States. In no country can the lawyer or the historian feel so sure that the data which he desires is actually in existence, if only he can find where it is now kept.

There can be no need of argument to show that the legal and his-

torical papers of the United States should no longer be scattered about among a number of bureaus which, for the time being, happen to have the custody of them, or held under conditions which made possible impairment or loss, and made available for use only to such extent as the courtesy and devotion of the custodians, unaided by suitable appropriations, succeed in achieving. There should certainly be some place at the national capital where the records of the National Government can assuredly be found, where they can be dealt with in a manner befitting their inestimable importance, and where those persons who have occasion to consult them can be provided with suitable facilities and be assured that they have before them all the material that there is on the particular subject in hand.

The conditions which prevail in the several States are, as a whole, even more unsatisfactory than those which characterize the archives of the United States. With a few exceptions the disadvantages which exist in the one field exist also in the other. Hardly any State possesses at present complete files, either in manuscript or in print, of its own records. Some of the records appear never to have been systematically preserved. Some have been lost. Some are in the possession of other States or of the National Government. Large portions still exist in manuscript only, while others, the originals of which have disappeared, are in printed volumes now scarce and virtually impossible of replacement.

Many New Hampshire documents, noted as lacking in the official edition of the State Papers, are in the Library of Congress, having been acquired when the library of Peter Force was purchased, in 1867.

Many early Maryland documents seem to have disappeared in connection with the researches of Scharf, the historian of the State. The notable collections of Peter Force and Joseph Sparks appear, however, to have been enriched in the same way. Many of the Maryland papers are now in the Library of Congress.

The vicissitudes which the archives of Virginia have undergone illustrate the way in which State archives disappear, afterwards coming to light in another jurisdiction. Jefferson, appreciating their value to the State and to the United States, collected all the early legal and other documents that he could find. These formed the basis of the first and part of the second volume of Hening's Statutes at Large. When Jefferson sold his library to Congress, in 1815, many of his manuscripts came along with the other books; but he retained some of them, and when, in 1829, his second library was sold at auction in Washington, these invaluable manuscripts were also disposed of. By good fortune they eventually found their way to the Library of Congress. Among these papers were the records of the Virginia Company of London, 1619-1624, and the minutes of the proceedings of the Virginia council from 1622 to 1627.

Many of the early official records of North Carolina, South Carolina,

and Georgia are in the English Public Records Office, London. Those of Georgia have not yet been transcribed or calendared.

The archives of Ohio are in a very confused condition, with many gaps in the files, due in part to the burning of the old statehouse in the early part of the century.

A typical case of the loss of important records through ignorance and carelessness is found in Nebraska. Some time since the janitors at the capitol, in the course of their cleaning, found a box of manuscripts, and concluding that they were of no value, burned them. As near as can be made out, the entire records of the constitutional convention of 1875 went up in smoke.

The Spanish records of the Southwest, while largely collected at Santa Fe, are still, in many cases, scattered among the towns of New Mexico and Arizona, while many have passed into private hands. The importance of these papers will readily occur to anyone who remembers the millions of dollars involved in land-grant suits before the United States courts, the decision of which has turned upon the possession of documentary evidence of the kind we are considering.

The archives of California are scattered throughout the State, important portions of them being in the charge of local custodians.

The commissioners' court of Bexar County, Tex., recently acquired a great mass of records, many of them in French and Spanish, and aggregating between 300,000 and 400,000 pages. These papers, which are now in the custody of the University of Texas, are of great importance for the early history of the State, and its relations to Louisiana while that region was under French control, and later to the United States.

The public records in the possession of the State of Louisiana are very defective, fire having destroyed the State capitol building at least once since 1847. Many of the most important printed papers are now to be found in the State and Howard libraries at New Orleans.

The records of Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas contain large quantities of French and Spanish papers, few of which have yet been translated, and most of which exist only in manuscript. These papers are of special importance in cases involving title to land.

Taking the States as a whole, the original thirteen States have been most active in collecting and preserving their early records; but, as has been shown, the results are still very far from complete. The Southern States have done relatively much less than the others in this direction, while the Central and Western States, with some exceptions, seem not always to have realized the importance of their documentary material, and, in consequence, not to have taken sufficient pains to preserve it and make it available for future needs.

In the matter of publishing State records, particularly those of earlier date, the committee find that, while praiseworthy efforts have been made in this direction and considerable sums of money have been expended,

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the results have not always been all that could be desired. A cursory examination is sufficient to show that the work has been carried on under the most diverse theories as to the way in which legal and historical papers ought to be edited. Some important early records, for example, have been published in summary or extract only, although it is obvious that no editor, however learned, can forecast the future sufficiently to tell what documents or parts of documents later investigators will need to use. The records of North Carolina, now in course of publication, and likely to extend to nearly 20 volumes, are thus far without either table of contents or index, and, although a comprehensive index to the series is promised, the volumes thus far published are practically useless until the index volume shall appear.

Some editors have assumed to modernize the older documents, or to correct what they assumed to be errors in the text; others have printed the documents verbatim, even to the extent of reproducing the archaic typography. Some have equipped their editions with valuable notes, thus greatly facilitating their use; others have provided no helps of any kind, but have left the reader to work his way through the difficulties as best he could. Records in languages other than English have sometimes been reprinted in translation, unaccompanied by a reprint of the original by which the accuracy of the translation could be tested. In numerous cases reprints, otherwise of the utmost usefulness, have been issued without the seal of official authentication, and, consequently, are not free from question when introduced in court proceedings.

What has been said regarding the desirability of access to the records of the National Government in Washington seems to your committee to apply with almost equal force to the records of the States. It does not appear that sets of the published records of the several States are now available in Washington or can be consulted here by members of Congress and others having occasion to make use of them. While partial sets of more recent State documents are to be found in the Library of Congress, and statutes and judicial decisions commonly find place in various law libraries, anything like a file of printed State or Territorial archives is not, so far as we know, to be had. Hardly a day passes in which some member of Congress has not need of examining material of this character, but he can not be sure of finding it in Washington, and must spend time and money in obtaining it from a distance, if, indeed, he is so fortunate as to be able to obtain it at all.

Your committee think that there should be at the capital of the United States, either in the Library of Congress or in some other depository, copies of the official publications of the States and Territories as well as of the United States. Every member of Congress, every head of a department or bureau, every lawyer, and every historical investigator ought to be assured that at the capital of the nation he can find either the originals or authenticated copies of such documentary ma-

terial relating to the history of the United States as he may wish to use, and that it is no longer necessary for him to write to official after official, and take long and expensive journeys from State to State, in an uncertain search for the particular archives he may need to consult.

The committee do not, of course, assume that the United States can exercise any direct authority over the custody or publication of State records, nor do they feel that any wholesale publication of State records by the United States would be advisable. Neither of these points is contemplated in the bill before us. The committee are confident, however, that to give national sanction to such an undertaking as is here proposed would be the surest way to secure the cooperation of custodians and archivists in every State, and that it would contribute powerfully to substitute order and system for the confusion and lack of unity which now prevail.

The committee feel, further, that while the importance of having both State and national records easily accessible in Washington is very great, and the matter one to which Congress should give immediate attention, definite action in that direction would be inadvisable without a preliminary examination of the material to be dealt with, and an indication, based upon the results of such examination, of the course of procedure proper to be taken. What the situation needs is not spasmodic or irregular treatment, but adherence to a comprehensive and well-ordered plan based upon a detailed exhibit of the conditions to be dealt with. The committee think, therefore, that a preliminary investigation such as is here contemplated is the proper step first to be taken.

The bill designates the American Historical Association as the agency through which this preliminary investigation shall be conducted. The American Historical Association was incorporated by an act of Congress approved January 4, 1889, has its principal office at Washington, and transmits an annual report to Congress, through the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. It seems to your committee appropriate that an undertaking of this character, demanding as it does expert legal and historical knowledge and familiarity with the use of manuscripts and documents, should be intrusted to such a body. While, however, the committee have official assurance that the American Historical Association is prepared to undertake the work in case Congress sees fit to devolve the work upon it, they think it proper to state that the bill now in question did not originate with the association.

The association is not approaching Congress with a request for a grant of public money to aid in carrying on some work of its own more or less closely related to the public welfare. On the contrary, the only connection of the association with the measure is that of a great national learned society which is willing to place its resources at the disposal of the National Government for the performance of an important service, if Congress will reimburse its necessary expenses to the small amount stated in the bill.

For the various reasons herein stated your committee are of the opinion that the work contemplated by this bill is one which it is the duty of Congress to take up; and they accordingly report the bill with the recommendation that it do pass.¹

The bill referred to in this report did not become a law; but steps have been taken in the direction of the establishment of a department, bureau, or division of Public Archives at Washington and a site for a depository of public records has already been secured.

It would, of course, be difficult to measure the influence or trace the results of the work of the Public Archives Commission of the American Historical Association since its establishment in December, 1899. Through its Reports the Commission has certainly revealed the almost universal neglect of archives in the United States, made plain the "imperative necessity of a more rational and scientific treatment of documentary material," and aroused an intelligent interest in the care and use of Public Archives. As published in the *Annual Reports* of the American Historical Association the printed *Reports* of the Commission are as follows:

[*First*] *Report of the Public Archives Commission.*²

[*Second*] *Report of the Public Archives Commission.*³

[*Third*] *Report of the Public Archives Commission.*⁴

[*Fourth*] *Report of the Public Archives Commission.*⁵

[*Fifth*] *Report of the Public Archives Commission.*⁶

As a natural result of a more general appreciation of the real value and vital historical importance of the Public Archives a number of the States have in recent years taken steps looking toward the better care and preservation of their public records. But this number is still small; and in most cases the records and official documents still simply accumu-

¹ Taken from Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1900, Vol. II, p. 16.

² Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1900, Vol. II, p. 5.

³ Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1901, Vol. II, p. 227.

⁴ Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1902, Vol. I, p. 331.

⁵ Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1903, Vol. I, p. 409.

⁶ Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1904, p. 481.

late in the offices to which they pertain. Here they are too often regarded as so much useless material to be stored or dumped into dark rooms or corners where they are left to the destructive agencies of dust and mould. A comparative view of the States in which special provision has been made for the care and preservation of the Public Archives reveals three general plans or methods of solving the problem.

First. The plan of making the office of the Secretary of State the principal repository of the important state papers and records. Massachusetts, perhaps, affords the best illustration of this plan. Here a Division of Archives has been established in the office of the Secretary of State where the records are systematically arranged and carefully preserved in steel cases specially constructed for the purpose.¹ Furthermore, Massachusetts has taken up the problem of the care and preservation of the local archives, and to that end has provided for a Commission of Public Records.²

Second. The plan of giving the State Library the custody of important collections of state papers and manuscripts. Pennsylvania and Virginia are illustrative of this method of handling the problem.³

Third. The plan of establishing a separate and independent Department of Archives and History. In the adoption of this plan Alabama was the pioneer. Mississippi, however, soon followed in the steps of Alabama.⁴

¹ Report on the Public Archives of Massachusetts in the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1900, Vol. II, p. 47.

² Eighteen Reports on the Custody and Condition of the Public Records of the Parishes, Towns, and Counties; also The Massachusetts Public Record Commission and its work, by Robert T. Swan, in the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1901, Vol. I, p. 97.

³ Report of State Librarian of Pennsylvania for 1903, pp. 14, 18, 91; Report of the State Librarian of Pennsylvania for 1904, p. 10; Report on the Public Archives of Pennsylvania in the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1900, Vol. II, p. 280, 1903, Vol. I, p. 411; The Virginia Archives in the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1903, Vol. I, p. 645; also Calendar of Transcripts and the Annual Report of the Department of Archives and History of Virginia for 1905.

⁴ The Establishment, Organization, Activities, and Aspiration of the Department of Archives and History of the State of Alabama; State Departments of Archives and History in the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1904, p. 237; The Department of Archives and History of the State of Mississippi in the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1903, Vol. I, p. 475.

Of these three plans or methods of caring for the Public Archives it is the opinion of the undersigned that the special department plan is the one to be preferred.

II.

THE ARCHIVES IN IOWA.

When the original Territory of Wisconsin was divided and the new Territory of Iowa established in 1838, the Public Archives for the period from 1838 to 1845 were taken from Burlington and retained in the possession of the government of the Territory of Wisconsin. To-day these records are preserved in a vault in the basement of the Capitol at Madison, Wisconsin. The Public Archives as preserved in the State are, therefore, found to begin with the establishment of the Territory of Iowa in July, 1838.

In a preliminary Report on the Public Archives made by the undersigned and published as a part of the Report of the Public Archives Commission in the Report of the American Historical Association for 1900, it was pointed out that "the public archives are not complete for any period of the history of Iowa. While in some cases the papers or files have been destroyed, in other cases no attempt seems to have been made to keep satisfactory records. The neglect, loss, and destruction of documentary material may be accounted for (at least) by the frequent transfers of the Archives from place to place. The seat of government was first located at Burlington in 1838. It was removed to Iowa City in 1841. Iowa City remained the seat of government until 1857, when the Public Archives were removed to the new capital, Des Moines. But changes in the seat of government were not the only occasion for transferring the Archives from place to place. They were only were the papers removed from capital to capital—from Burlington to Iowa City, and from Iowa City to Des Moines. Four times, however, were they carried from capital to capital—from Old Zion Church, Burlington, to Butler's Capitol, Iowa City; from Butler's Capitol, Iowa City, to

THE EXECUTIVE JOURNAL OF IOWA, 1838-1841
THE FIRST OF THE SERIES OF EXECUTIVE JOURNALS CONTAINING
OFFICIAL RECORDS OF THE GOVERNORS OF IOWA

Of these three plans or methods of caring for the Public Archives it is the opinion of the undersigned that the special department plan is the one to be preferred.

II.

THE SITUATION IN IOWA.

When the original Territory of Wisconsin was divided and the new Territory of Iowa established in 1838, the Public Archives for the period from 1836 to 1838 were taken from Burlington and retained in the possession of the government of the Territory of Wisconsin. To-day these records are preserved in a vault in the basement of the Capitol at Madison, Wisconsin. The Public Archives as preserved in this State are, therefore, found to begin with the establishment of the Territory of Iowa in July, 1838.

In a preliminary *Report on the Public Archives of Iowa*, made by the undersigned and published as a part of the first *Report of the Public Archives Commission* in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for the year 1900, it was pointed out that "the public archives of Iowa are not complete for any period of the history of the State. While in some cases the papers or files have been lost or destroyed, in other cases no attempt seems to have been made to keep satisfactory records. The neglect, loss, and destruction of documentary material may be accounted for (in part at least) by the frequent transfers of the Archives from place to place. The seat of government was first temporarily located at Burlington in 1838. It was removed to Iowa City in 1841. Iowa City remained the seat of government until 1857, when the Public Archives were removed to the new capital, Des Moines. But changes in the seat of government were not the only occasions for transferring the Archives from place to place. Twice only were the papers removed from capital to capital—from Burlington to Iowa City, and from Iowa City to Des Moines. Four times, however, were they carried from capitol to capitol—from Old Zion Church, Burlington, to Butler's Capitol, Iowa City; from Butler's Capitol, Iowa City, to

the Old Stone Capitol, Iowa City (1842); from the Old Stone Capitol, Iowa City, to the Old Capitol, Des Moines; and from the Old Capitol, Des Moines, to the present New Capitol, Des Moines (1883-1885). It is hardly surprising that, with such frequent removals, much valuable historical material should have disappeared."¹

Public attention seems to have been first consciously directed to the problem of the better care and preservation of the Public Archives of Iowa in a *Report* made by the Commissioners who had been appointed to investigate the several State offices in 1858. The act under which the three Commissioners were appointed provided "that the Governor of said State [Iowa] be and he is hereby authorized and empowered and it is hereby made his duty to appoint a commission of three competent and safe accountants who shall examine the books, papers, vouchers, moneys, securities and other documents in the hands or possession or under the control of each and every executive officer of said State, to make out a full, complete and specific statement of the transactions of each of said officers with, for, or on behalf of the State showing the true balance or balances in each and every case and report the same to the Governor with such suggestions as they may deem proper on or before the first day of June, 1858."²

Although the act of the General Assembly contemplated a report of the Commissioners by June 1, 1858, they found that "the work was much more extended and laborious than had been anticipated" and so did not complete their investigations until later, when they submitted a report "for the years 1858 and 1859."³ This document, which fills 147 pages, contains reports on the following State offices:

Office of the Governor.

Office of the Secretary of State.

¹ Report on the Public Archives of Iowa, by Benjamin F. Shambaugh, in the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1900, Vol. II, p. 39.

² Laws of Iowa, 1858, p. 410.

³ Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Investigate the Several State Offices for the years 1858 and 1859 in the Legislative Documents for 1859-1860.

Office of the Auditor of State.

Office of the Treasurer of State.

Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction.

Office of the Register of State Lands.

The reports on these offices show that the Commissioners paid considerable attention to the scope and condition of the public records which had been and were being preserved. Lists are given of the principal records, and mention is made of missing documents. To be sure the lists as given in the reports are not exhaustive enumerations of the papers and documents constituting the Public Archives, but they are, nevertheless, helpful to any one desiring information concerning the extent and condition of the early records.

On February 9, 1860, a resolution was passed by the House of Representatives instructing the Committee on Public Buildings "to enquire whether the papers, books, and records in the different offices in the Capitol building are safe from destruction by means of fire; and if not secure, to report to this House the best means of securing the same."¹ The resolution was introduced by Representative D. D. Sabin; but the author and prime mover was none other than Mr. Charles Aldrich (at that time Chief Clerk of the House), who thus became the father of a movement which has eventually resulted in the establishment of a Hall of Public Archives.

The Committee on Public Buildings reported through its Chairman, Mr. S. B. Rosenkrans, the following resolution on February 18, 1860:

Resolved, That the committee on public buildings instructed to inquire whether the papers, books and records in the different offices in the Capitol Building are secure from destruction from fire; and if not secure, to report to this House the best means of securing the same;

Beg leave to make the following report: That they have examined the various offices in the Capitol Building, and that most of the papers, books and records are not secure from destruction by means of fire.

That in the office of Secretary of State, the original laws of the State, and the records, both State and Territorial, (all of which are of the greatest importance,) are entirely unprotected in case of fire.

In the State Land Office, the large number of books, papers and

¹ House Journal, 1860, p. 221.

records, which are entirely unprotected from fire, imperatively demand some other safety than is now afforded.

In all of the offices, there are many books, papers and records which cannot be put into the iron safes now in those offices. These affording but a limited protection, the present means are, therefore, entirely inadequate to protect them properly.

Your committee, therefore, have come to the conclusion that some further protection is imperatively demanded; and they are unable to devise any suitable way or means of protecting said property in the present building used as a Capitol building; and would recommend the erection of a suitable building, in Capitol Square, to cost..... dollars; said building to be built of brick or stone, and two stories in height; one room, or rooms, to be made fire-proof, for the reception of such books, papers and records as shall be deemed necessary to place there for security.

They would further recommend that a room in said building be fitted up for the use of the State Land Office, for the reason that a great share of the books and papers of the Land Office have to be in daily use; therefore requiring them to be near at hand; and by vacating the present room, it will give additional committee room.

Your committee would recommend the using the upper story of said building as a paper and book warehouse, as the State has no place now for the storage of paper and books, except a small room in this building, and are now renting a warehouse, at a rent of fifteen dollars per month, besides the extra expense of drayage.

Your committee would therefore recommend the building of such a building as would answer the purposes above enumerated, and that a suitable amount of money be appropriated for the purpose. All of which is respectfully submitted.

S. B. ROSENKRANS,
Chairman.¹

This resolution was immediately recommitted to the same committee with instructions to report a bill. As a result the following act "providing greater safety for books, papers and records belonging to the State" was approved April 3, 1860:

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Iowa*, That the sum of three thousand five hundred dollars be and is hereby appropriated for the purpose of erecting a building on Capitol Square, with fire proof vaults, for the reception of important books, papers and records belonging to the State, for the use of the State Land Office, and also for a paper warehouse, to be built under the direction of the Secretary of State, with the advice and consent of the Census Board.

¹ House Journal, 1860, p. 262.

SEC. 2. In no case shall the cost of said building exceed the sum of three thousand five hundred dollars.

SEC. 3. This act to be in force from and after its publication in the *Iowa State Register*, and *Iowa State Journal*.¹

The building with "fire proof vaults," costing \$3,500, which was erected in accordance with this act can not, of course, be regarded seriously as an adequate or safe repository of public records. On the night of November 7, 1884, it was destroyed by fire. Indeed, it was not until the erection of the present State Capitol (completed about 1884) that the Archives of Iowa were placed in fire proof quarters. In this building vaults were constructed in connection with the principal offices for the accommodation of the manuscript Archives. But these vaults were not well lighted, and were without ventilation. They were soon filled with the rapidly increasing records of the State government. Furthermore, dust and the bad air of the closed vaults wrought destruction among the older state papers. To all cognizant of the conditions the necessity of a more rational system of caring for the Archives had been apparent for some time.

In the April, 1901, number of the *ANNALS OF IOWA*, Mr. Charles Aldrich wrote the following with reference to "An Iowa Hall of Archives":

It is a most regrettable fact that so little care has been taken of the original copies of Iowa official papers after their use for the immediate purposes which called them into existence. This is an evil which seems to appertain to every administration since the old romantic days of Gen. Robert Lucas, our first Territorial Governor. The habit started in his time and has continued until now. In fact, these documents have been considered "dead papers" and almost worthless. In the majority of cases they have been doomed to immediate destruction. It is difficult for the public official, in the haste with which his duties are performed, to imagine for a moment that the paper which originates in his office can have any real permanent value. They are, therefore, quickly put out of sight, and after that time are generally out of mind. It is true that very limited receptacles exist in connection with our present State offices for the preservation of important papers, but these are wholly inadequate to any general and systematic care of these documents. A document may have become a "dead paper" for any present official

¹ Laws of Iowa, 1860, p. 118.

use or value and still for historical purposes may possess the highest value. Not long ago some copies of official papers from the British Museum came into our possession, which illustrate the point we are seeking to set forth. They were simply household expenses of one of the Henrys; mere lists of articles with their prices; not much different from a bill of goods from an old-fashioned general variety store. There were several points, however, upon which they threw considerable light. They showed to some extent the habits of their purchasers in the matters of food and clothing, the prices of many articles at that time, and the value of the money of that period as compared with our own. These papers had been used by one of the great English historians, and came into the possession of the writer for whatever value they might possess as out-of-the-way autographs.

Some months ago Prof. Shambaugh of the Iowa State University called at the Historical Rooms after he had been making researches in our Capitol building for original documents running back to Territorial times. His "finds" were quite interesting and valuable, though his opportunities for search had been quite limited. He said: "The time has come when we must have an Iowa Hall of Archives. Is there room for it in this building?" He was informed that the space in the present Historical Building was wholly pre-empted, and that there could be no accommodations for a Hall of Archives until the building was completed in accordance with the original plans. He then went on to mention briefly some of his important "finds" in the document room adjoining the Governor's office. There are letters by Governor Lucas, with the original copies of a few of the Governors' messages from early times until now. But these papers are packed in such close quarters that they can only be found after a great deal of patient labor. The professor was emphatic in his declaration that a "Hall of Archives" had become a public necessity, and that as a matter of course, it should be located at the capital. Since that date this project has been discussed by many leading men throughout the State and has everywhere met with great favor. In fact, we have not heard a single word of opposition. The realization of this idea can hardly come except through the completion of the Historical Building in which the requisite space can be provided. That department should be presided over by an expert, and as public State documents are brought into existence the original copies should be carefully preserved, filed and catalogued, so as to be available at a moment's notice. It is a fact which will create surprise when we state it, that not one of the Iowa executive departments has a complete file of its own reports, nor do they possess the original copies. These reports are made to the Governor and, in accordance with the statute, are sent to the State printer. When the document is put into type and the proofs read and compared, the original copy goes into the waste basket and that is the end of it. In a few years the last printed copy is dis-

tributed, or borrowed and never returned, and so the continuity of the history of a department is interrupted and lost, often beyond recovery. When the old Capitol was burned a few years ago hundreds if not thousands of precious historical papers went up in the flames. We cannot recover what has been lost, but we may gather up what remains, make adequate provision for accruing archives, and preserve them with jealous care. To effect these high purposes an "Iowa Hall of Archives" is an absolute necessity.¹

In the same year (1901) Mr. Aldrich inserted this paragraph on "A Hall of Archives" in his biennial report as Curator of the Historical Department of Iowa:

In addition to the requirements of the State Library, there is an acknowledged need of a Hall of Archives in which to properly catalogue, index, and systematically preserve original state documents and papers, for which up to this time no provision has ever been made. Very few papers of this class can be found today, and they are among the most valuable materials of history. They have simply been wiped out of existence. Then, it would seem that the printed state documents which remain after the distribution fixed by law should come under some systematic care in the Historical Building. These suggestions carried out in the completed edifice will of themselves justify the expenditure required. They are in exact accord with what is being done in several of the states distinguished by the high character of their historical work.²

Again in 1905 Mr. Aldrich reinforced his former suggestions with these remarks which appear in the printed report of the Historical Department:

In THE ANNALS OF IOWA and elsewhere the writer has for some years advocated the establishment of a bureau or department for the preservation of papers and documents which originate in the various executive offices in the capitol, but for the adequate care of which our statutes contain no provision. Our State officers have in recent years made the best possible use of the meager facilities at their command; but the small rooms adjoining the executive offices which were provided when the capitol was built, are not only ill-contrived for this important purpose, but long since were filled to overflowing. No one who will step into these mere "cubby-holes" will need any argument to convince him of their inadequacy. For business purposes the documents which occupy the shelves and pigeon-holes have for the most part become "dead papers," but as the data for State history they possess a value which

¹ Annals of Iowa (3d Series), Vol. V, p. 66.

² Fifth Biennial Report of the Historical Department of Iowa, November 1, 1901, p. 14.

is inestimable. These, so far as they go, are by far the most valuable sources of our State history, for the facts which they contain are based upon, or are themselves, the records of official transactions. We may therefore place the fullest confidence upon what they set forth. How very important then their careful and conscientious preservation! Instead of the waste of these precious materials, they should have been from the organization of Iowa territory, until the present time the objects of unceasing watchfulness and solicitude. Now that the State Historical Building is nearing completion, it is most earnestly to be hoped that the legislature will take the subject into consideration and pass a law which will initiate this needed reform.

The State of Kansas at the recent session of the legislature created a department of archives. It went even further than the preservation of such "books, records, documents, original papers, or manuscripts, newspaper files and printed books," as accrue about the State House, but wisely provided for extending the same provision to the counties. It applies to these materials "three years after the current use of the same, or sooner in the discretion of the head of the department." It is difficult to imagine how opposition could arise to such a necessary and just law.

Efforts in this direction have made good progress in the states of New York, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, Vermont, West Virginia, Mississippi, Alabama, Wisconsin and Kansas. In fact, deep and widespread interest in this subject has been developed to a greater or less extent throughout the country. A movement has also been initiated at the national capitol for the better care of public records. . . .

There is a vast amount of material about the State House which should be carefully preserved, aside from the copies of original documents and papers to which reference has been made. While engaged in writing these lines my attention has been called to the original reports of the census made in 1850, 1856, 1860, 1885, 1895 and 1905. Some of the reports unfortunately were not preserved, but simply wasted or carelessly destroyed. It is estimated that those still in existence will make from 400 to 500 octavo and folio volumes—an addition of great value to our growing collections in biography and genealogy, aside from the light they throw upon the history and marvelous growth of the State.¹

It was in accordance with these suggestions that the Thirty-first General Assembly passed "An Act providing for the care and permanent preservation of the public archives, and making an appropriation therefor," which reads as follows:

¹ Seventh Biennial Report of the Historical Department of Iowa, October 31, 1905, p. 11.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Iowa:

SECTION 1. That for the care and preservation of the public archives the state library and historical department of Iowa are hereby given the custody of all the original public documents, papers, letters, records and other official manuscripts of the state executive and administrative departments, offices or officers, boards, boards, boards and boards, and, two years after the date of removal of such public documents, reports, letters, records or other official manuscripts. Provided that the executive council shall have the power and authority to order the transfer of such records or any part thereof at any time prior to the expiration of the limit of two years hereinafter provided or to extend the same in the respective offices beyond such limit according as in the judgment of the council the public interest or convenience may require.

SEC. 2. That the several state executive and administrative departments, offices or officers, boards, boards, boards and boards, are hereby authorized and directed to transfer such records to the state library and historical department of Iowa as are designated in section one (1) of this act and to be deposited in the custody of the executive council, should be deposited in the respective offices.

SEC. 3. That the state library and historical department of Iowa is hereby authorized and directed to receive such records and to deposit the same as are designated in section one (1) of this act and to be deposited in the custody of the executive council, should be deposited in the respective offices.

SEC. 4. That for the care and preservation of the public archives the state library and historical department of Iowa are hereby given the custody of all the original public documents, papers, letters, records and other official manuscripts of the state executive and administrative departments, offices or officers, boards, boards, boards and boards, and, two years after the date of removal of such public documents, reports, letters, records or other official manuscripts. Provided that the executive council shall have the power and authority to order the transfer of such records or any part thereof at any time prior to the expiration of the limit of two years hereinafter provided or to extend the same in the respective offices beyond such limit according as in the judgment of the council the public interest or convenience may require.

SEC. 5. That for carrying out the purposes of this act there is hereby appropriated out of the treasury of the state the sum of one thousand dollars per annum for three years to be expended under the direction of the board of trustees of the state library and historical department.

Approved April 10, A. D. 1863.

A GOVERNOR'S LETTER BOOK OF 1864

PROBLEMS RELATIVE TO THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES IN IOWA.

The leading problems connected with the care and preservation of the Public Archives in Iowa may be summarized under the following general heads:

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Iowa:

SECTION 1. That for the care and preservation of the public archives the state library and historical department of Iowa are hereby given the custody of all the original public documents, papers, letters, records and other official manuscripts of the state executive and administrative departments, offices or officers, councils, boards, bureaus and commissions, ten years after the date or current use of such public documents, papers, letters, records or other official manuscripts. Provided, that the executive council shall have the power and authority to order the transfer of such records or any part thereof at any time prior to the expiration of the limit of ten years hereinbefore provided or to retain the same in the respective offices beyond such limit according as in the judgment of the council the public interest or convenience may require.

SEC. 2. That the several state executive and administrative departments, officers or offices, councils, boards, bureaus and commissioners, are hereby authorized and directed to transfer and deliver to the state library and historical department such of the public archives as are designated in section one (1) of this act, except such as in the judgment of the executive council should be longer retained in the respective offices.

SEC. 3. That the state library and historical department is hereby authorized and directed to receive such of the public archives and records as are designated in section one (1) of this act and provide that the same be properly arranged, classified, labeled, filed and calendared.

SEC. 4. That for the care and permanent preservation by the state library and historical department of the public archives hereinbefore designated, the executive council is hereby authorized and directed to provide, furnish and equip such room or rooms in the historical memorial and art building (now in process of erection) as may be deemed necessary for the purposes of this act, and the room or rooms thus provided for shall be known as the hall of public archives.

SEC. 5. That for carrying out the purposes of this act there is hereby appropriated out of any moneys in the state treasury not otherwise appropriated the sum of two thousand dollars (\$2,000) per annum for three years to be expended under the direction of the board of trustees of the state library and historical department.

Approved April 10, A. D. 1906.¹

III.

PROBLEMS RELATIVE TO THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES IN IOWA.

The leading problems connected with the care and preservation of the Public Archives in Iowa may be summarized under the following general heads:

¹ Laws of Iowa, 1906, p. 104.

The Problem of Legislation.

The Problem of Installation—Rooms, Cases, etc.

The Problem of Classification.

The Problem of Arrangement.

The Problem of Calendaring or Listing.

The Problem of Restoring, Mounting, Binding.

The Problem of Cataloguing and Indexing.

The Problem of Completing the Files and Filling in the Gaps.

The Problem of Transcribing Documentary Material Located Outside the State.

The Problem of Legislation: The problem of legislation has already been largely solved by the act of the Thirty-first General Assembly as above quoted. However, supplemental legislation relative to the better care and preservation of the Local Archives will become evident upon an investigation of the condition and methods of preserving public records in the counties and towns of the State. When the time comes to enact legislation relative to the Local Archives, Iowa may profit by the example and experience of Massachusetts. It is hardly necessary to add that the present annual appropriation of \$2,000 is altogether inadequate and should be increased without delay if satisfactory results are to be obtained.

The Problem of Installation: The act of April 10, 1906, authorizes and directs the Executive Council "to provide, furnish and equip such room or rooms in the Historical Memorial and Art Building (now in process of erection) as may be deemed necessary. . . . and the room or rooms thus provided for shall be known as the hall of public archives." It is evident, however, from an examination of the plans of the building referred to and a consideration of the needs of the Historical Department, the State Library, and the Iowa Library Commission, that it will be difficult if not altogether impossible for the Executive Council to provide *permanent* quarters in this building for a Hall of Public Archives. However, a temporary assignment of space can be made until such time as the conditions will warrant the General Assembly in providing for the erection of an addition to the present

building to be constructed and used especially as a Hall of Public Archives. Furthermore the papers and documents constituting the Public Archives should be placed in steel cases especially constructed for the purpose.

The Problem of Classification: Classification is perhaps the most important as it is the most difficult problem in connection with the Public Archives. Thus far nothing deserving the name of a comprehensive system of classifying and cataloguing State Archives has been devised anywhere in the United States. As leading up to a proper system of classification attention is directed to the following general outlines:

Outlines of a General Classification of the Public Archives in America:

I. PRIMARY CLASSIFICATION FOR AMERICA:

Public Archives { National
State
Local

II. FORMAL CLASSIFICATION FOR AMERICA:

Public Archives { Printed
Manuscript

Outlines of a General Classification of the Public Archives of Iowa:

I. PRIMARY CLASSIFICATION FOR IOWA:

Public Archives { State
Local

II. FORMAL CLASSIFICATION FOR IOWA:

Public Archives { Printed
Manuscript

III. HISTORICAL CLASSIFICATION FOR IOWA:

Public Archives { Period of the Territory
Period of the First Constitution
Period of the Second Constitution

IV. ADMINISTRATIVE CLASSIFICATION FOR IOWA:

			Commissions	1838
				1839
				1840
				1841
				1842
				1843
		Office of the Governor	Journals	
			Letters	
			Pardons	
			Proclamations	
			Requisitions	
			etc.	
			etc.	
	State	Office of the Secretary of State		
		Office of the Auditor		
		Office of the Treasurer		
		Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction		
		etc.		
		etc.		
		etc.		
Public Archives	Local	County		
		Township		
		City		

It is evident that an administrative classification combined with an historical classification as above outlined would meet the needs and convenience of both administrative officials and students of history. This scheme of classifying the Archives of Iowa is, therefore, recommended.

Any thorough and complete classification of the Archives would, of course, imply a system of notation. And so the following tentative notation has been devised for the administrative classification as herein recommended:

S	=	State Archives
SA	=	" " Office of Governor
SAC	=	" " " " Commissions
SAC1	=	" " " " " Justice of Peace
SAC2	=	" " " " " Notary Public
SAJ	=	" " " " Journals
SAL	=	" " " " Letters
SAP	=	" " " " Pardons
SAPr	=	" " " " Proclamations
SAR	=	" " " " Requisitions
SB	=	" " " " Secretary of State
SC	=	" " " " Auditor
SD	=	" " " " Treasurer
SE	=	" " " " Attorney General
SF	=	" " " " Sup't of Public Instruction
SG	=	" " " " Commissioner of Labor

etc., etc.

The Problem of Arrangement: The arrangement of the Public Archives should, of course, be in accord with their classification. Thus following the outlines above recommended a proper arrangement of the Archives of Iowa would be both historical and administrative. The records should, in the first place, be installed in three grand divisions corresponding to the leading historical periods, namely:

The Period of the Territory, 1838-1846.

The Period of the First Constitution, 1846-1857.

The Period of the Second Constitution, 1857-1896.

Within each of these historical divisions the papers and documents should be arranged according to the scheme of the administrative classification as suggested in the outlines above. Furthermore the papers and documents within the several ultimate classes should be arranged in chronological order.

The Problem of Calendaring: As the papers and documents of an administrative department or office are classified and arranged they should be carefully listed or calendared. Such calendars should show the nature or content of the document, along with its date, size, number of pages, classification,

etc. When printed the calendars of the several departments or offices would serve temporarily as reference lists or indexes.

The Problem of Restoring, Mounting, and Binding: Much of the archive material consists of unbound manuscripts. These are sometimes mutilated, crushed, or torn. The torn and mutilated documents should be carefully restored and mounted; and many of the manuscripts after being restored and mounted should be bound in volumes of convenient size. The binding of the Archives need not necessarily be done at once, but may be postponed until such time as the appropriations will warrant the expenditure.

The Problem of Cataloguing and Indexing: Ultimately a complete card catalogue or index should be made for all the material in the Hall of Public Archives; but this task may very properly be delayed until after the papers and documents have been classified, arranged, calendared, and bound.

The Problem of Completing the Files: There are many gaps in the files of state papers as preserved in the several administrative departments or offices. The calendars when published will show the omissions. Efforts should be made to locate the missing papers and restore them to their proper place in the Hall of Public Archives.

The Problem of Transcribing Documentary Material Located Outside the State: There are many papers and documents located outside of Iowa which either belong to or are closely related to the Public Archives of the State. These form so valuable a part of the documentary history of the State that in due time steps should be taken to have them transcribed for the Hall of Public Archives in Iowa.

IV.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

As a program for immediate action the undersigned submits for consideration the following recommendations:

First. That in accordance with Section 4, Chapter 142, of the Laws of the 31st General Assembly the Executive Council be requested "to provide, furnish, and equip" as soon as

practicable a room or rooms in the Historical Memorial and Art Building to be used *temporarily* as a Hall of Public Archives.

Second. That steps be taken to examine, classify, and remove to the Hall of Public Archives (1) the papers and documents now in the Office of the Governor and (2) the papers and documents now in the Office of the Secretary of State.

Third. That the publication of a guide to the several administrative departments, offices, boards, commissions, etc. of the Territory and State of Iowa from 1838 to 1896 (now in preparation) be authorized.

Fourth. That a report on the Public Archives embodying such information and recommendations as the circumstances may suggest be submitted by the Trustees of the State Library and Historical Department to the Thirty-second General Assembly.

Fifth. That the Thirty-second General Assembly be asked to increase the appropriation for the care and preservation of the Public Archives from \$2,000 annually to \$6,000 annually for the biennial period ending June 31, 1909.

Sixth. That plans for the more permanent organization and administration of the Hall of Public Archives be considered and adopted at such time as in the judgment of the Trustees the financial support of the Hall of Archives will make possible an adequate permanent organization.

BENJ. F. SHAMBAUGH.

THE COUNTY of Iowa will, no doubt, at a period not far distant, be created into a State. Should its seat of government be located on the Mississippi, the town of Iowa is a central position for that purpose, if, in the interior, it will be in the immediate vicinity of the Iowa river, in which event, the Town of Iowa will be the nearest deposit on the Mississippi for the capital of the State.—*The Western Adventurer, Montrose, Wisconsin Territory, Oct. 21, 1837.*

JOURNAL OF A MISSIONARY IN JACKSON COUNTY, IOWA TERRITORY, 1843-'6.

BY WILLIAM SALTER.

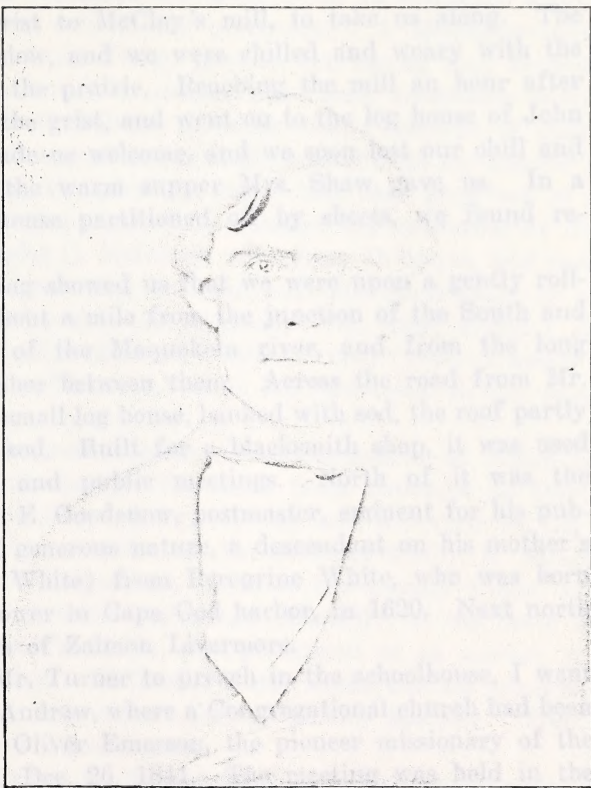
Under a commission from the American Home Missionary Society "to preach the Gospel in Iowa Territory," I left my father's house in New York City, October 4, 1843, and arrived at Maquoketa (then Springfield P. O.) on the 10th of November. In my journey I visited Niagara Falls; spent a Sunday in Buffalo, at the home of the Rev. Asa T. Hopkins, pastor of the First Presbyterian church of that city; the next Sunday I was at Milwaukee in the hospitable home of the Rev. Stephen Peet, agent of the A. H. M. S. for Wisconsin Territory, who discouraged my going to Iowa, saying that Iowa would not amount to much, as it had only a narrow strip of good land on the Mississippi river, and the Great American Desert was west of it, whereas Wisconsin had Lake Michigan on one side and the Mississippi on the other, and would make a prosperous State. The next Sunday I was at Galesburg, Illinois, having rode over the prairies from Chicago to that place in an open wagon. The following Monday, at sundown, I reached the Mississippi and felt the thrill and exhilaration the sight of the great river and of Iowa awakened in my mind. On landing in Burlington the next morning, James G. Edwards, editor of the *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, met me and took me to his home. The next Sunday I spent at Keosauqua, on the Des Moines river, and preached in a blacksmith shop, the Rev. L. G. Bell, a pioneer preacher of the "Old School," preaching the same day in the same place; thence I visited Agency, and was kindly entertained by the widow of the Indian Agent of the Sacs and Foxes, General Joseph M. Street, and stood over his grave, and that of the Indian chief Wapello, which were side by side. The next Sunday, Nov. 5th, I received ordination at Denmark, at the hands of Asa Turner (Yale, 1827), Julius A. Reed (Yale, 1829), Reuben Gaylord (Yale, 1834), and Charles Burnham (Dartmouth, 1836).

I came up the Mississippi with Alden B. Robbins, who then

began his life-long ministry at Blountingon (afterwards Muscotah), and with Edwin H. Turner, who was assigned to Jones county, and to Cascade, in Dubuque county, then the farthest missionary post in the Northwest. Proceeding from Daycamp, Turner and myself spent a night with Oliver Emerson in his cabin near De Witt. We found him shaking with the ague. He asked a neighbor who was coming the next day with a party to assist a man, in fact, as the journey was long, and we were chilled and weary with the raw winds of the prairie. Reaching the mill an hour after dark, we left the mill, and went on to the log house of John Shaw, who met us welcome, and we soon lost our chill and weariness in the warm supper Mr. Shaw gave us. In a part of the house partitioned off by boards, we found refreshing sleep.

The morning showed us that we were upon a gently rolling prairie, about a mile from the junction of the South and North Forks of the Maquoketa river, and from the long stretch of timber between them. Across the road from Mr. Shaw's was a small log house, hauled with ax, the roof partly covered with sod. Built by a blacksmith shop, it was used for a school, and under the steps of which of it was the cabin of John H. Goodson, postmaster, famous for his public spirit and generous nature, a descendant on his mother's side (Honey White) from Peregrine White, who was born on the Mayflower in Cape Cod harbor in 1620. Next north was the cabin of Zebulon Libbey.

Leaving Mr. Turner to preach in the schoolhouse, I went horseback to Andrew, where a Christian church had been organized by Oliver Emerson, the pioneer missionary of the whole region. The 2d of 1846, the wedding was held on the



REV. WILLIAM SALTER

FROM A DAGUERRETYPE TAKEN IN 1846.

upper story of the log cabin. Deacon Samuel Cotton and family were there, and a large gathering. He was a descendant of John Cotton, the first minister of Boston, Mass., and possessed the sterling qualities of his Puritan ancestry; Mrs. Cotton was of the Bemis family, from "Bemis Heights," Saratoga, N. Y., where Burgoyne's army was defeated in 1777. Their home was six miles north of Andrew, but the distance did not prevent their regular at-
Vol. VII.—2

began his life-long ministry at Bloomington (afterwards Muscatine), and with Edwin B. Turner, who was assigned to Jones county, and to Cascade, in Dubuque county, then the farthest missionary post in the Northwest. Proceeding from Davenport, Turner and myself spent a night with Oliver Emerson in his cabin near De Witt. We found him shaking with the ague. He asked a neighbor who was going the next day with a grist to McClay's mill, to take us along. The journey was slow, and we were chilled and weary with the raw winds of the prairie. Reaching the mill an hour after dark, we left the grist, and went on to the log house of John Shaw, who made us welcome, and we soon lost our chill and weariness in the warm supper Mrs. Shaw gave us. In a part of the house partitioned off by sheets, we found refreshing sleep.

The morning showed us that we were upon a gently rolling prairie, about a mile from the junction of the South and North Forks of the Maquoketa river, and from the long stretch of timber between them. Across the road from Mr. Shaw's was a small log house, banked with sod, the roof partly covered with sod. Built for a blacksmith shop, it was used for a school and public meetings. North of it was the cabin of John E. Goodenow, postmaster, eminent for his public spirit and generous nature, a descendant on his mother's side (Betsey White) from Peregrine White, who was born on the Mayflower in Cape Cod harbor, in 1620. Next north was the claim of Zalmon Livermore.

Leaving Mr. Turner to preach in the schoolhouse, I went horseback to Andrew, where a Congregational church had been organized by Oliver Emerson, the pioneer missionary of the whole region, Dec. 26, 1841. The meeting was held in the upper story of the log court-house. Deacon Samuel Cotton and family were there, and gave me a cordial greeting. He was a descendant of John Cotton, the first minister of Boston, Mass., and possessed the sterling qualities of his Puritan ancestry; Mrs. Cotton was of the Bemis family, from "Bemis Heights," Saratoga, N. Y., where Burgoyne's army was defeated in 1777. Their house was six miles north of Andrew, but the distance did not prevent their regular at-

tendance upon public worship, and I often shared the shelter and comfort of their home. In my first sermon in the county I showed that the early churches in the land of Israel were edified and multiplied by "walking in the fear of the Lord and in the comfort of the Holy Spirit," and I urged the duty of building up Christianity in the same way in Iowa. Pure and faithful churches, active in Christian service, are the saving salt of any community. A Methodist brother, a Justice of the Peace, greeted me, saying that he welcomed all preachers, "no matter what their tenements were."

I preached from the desk where sentence of death had been pronounced in the first judicial trial for murder in the Territory, the previous year. The case grew out of a dispute about a land claim. Before the execution of the sentence, John C. Holbrook came from Dubuque, and preached. The prisoner was brought into the court-house in chains, and cried out in his anguish, "Oh, what would I give to restore to life the man I killed," and "many a manly cheek was wet with tears," said Mr. Holbrook in his report of the scene.

At Andrew I made the acquaintance of Ansel Briggs, mail contractor on the route from Dubuque to Davenport and Iowa City, afterwards the first Governor of the State (1846-'50), a native of Vermont; of Philip B. Bradley, a native of Connecticut, clerk of the County Court, member of the Territorial legislature (1845-'6), of the State legislature (1846-'9, 1878), also prominent as an adviser of Governor Briggs. Nathaniel Butterworth and his gracious wife made me welcome at their primitive hostelry. They were natives of Massachusetts.

Returning to Maquoketa, I took Brother Turner sixteen miles west on his way to Jones county. Much of the country was taken up by settlers, and their cabins and clearings showed industry and thrift. Reaching a cabin towards dark, we asked if we could stay for the night, but the house was full. It was some distance to the next house, growing darker, the road blind, and we felt in a quandary, when an old man, learning who we were, said that his minister at Crown Point, N. Y., (Stephen L. Herrick) told him of a band of mission-

aries going to Iowa, and that he must look out for them. "You stop here," he added, and we were relieved. After supper, and a feast of soul with thanksgiving and prayer to "Jehovah Jireh," we found sound sleep on the cabin floor.

The next morning the old gentleman's son, Lorenzo Spaulding, offered to take Brother Turner on his way, and I returned to Maquoketa, and began a visitation of the people from cabin to cabin. I purchased a horse with saddle and bridle and saddle-bags, and, as winter came on, accoutered myself with gloves of deerskin, scarfs, leggins, and buffalo overshoes. In a circuit of six miles I found fifty families, some from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, more from New York than any other one State, and some from Canada. They represented every variety of religious opinion. A Methodist preacher (John Walker) had an appointment in the settlement. Charles E. Brown had preached his first sermon in Iowa the previous year, in the house of John Shaw. He organized a Baptist church, August 31, 1842, but left the field in November following, finding the cabin he had put up on the prairie in the summer not suitable to winter in, and he moved to Davenport. A man of excellent spirit, he was welcomed back to Maquoketa in 1847. Subsequently, a pioneer preacher in Howard county, he was a member of the House of Representatives from that county (1878). His son, William C. Brown, has gained eminence for efficiency in railroad management in Iowa, and is now Vice President of the N. Y. Central.

In my circuit I found six Presbyterian and Congregational families, and called them together on Thanksgiving Day, Nov. 30, for conference and prayer with reference to forming a church. They were divided on the question of government. Accommodation was necessary. The election of two elders to serve for two years was finally agreed upon, and William H. Efner, M. D., and Thomas S. Flathers were chosen. Both were of the "New School," which adhered to the Plan of Union of 1801. Mr. Flathers was born in Kentucky, but lived from childhood in Indiana. He had not learned to read, he told me, until he was twenty years of age, when a passion for knowledge and a zeal for religion

inflamed him, and he went to school and fitted for Wabash College, with the ministry in view, but chill penury had compelled him to leave his studies. On the Sabbath, Dec. 10th, the church was constituted, the elders were set apart with prayer, and the Lord's Supper administered. During the previous week Brethren Emerson, Robbins, and Turner, and Jared Hitchcock, delegate from Davenport, had come to Maquoketa, and we organized the Northern Iowa Association, to embrace churches north of Iowa river. I favored the Convention System (semi-Presbyterian), which had been adopted in Wisconsin, but the other brethren preferred a distinctively Congregational organization. Provision, however, was made to include the Maquoketa church. For the support of the church, a society was organized of which John Shaw was the most active and efficient member. They invited me to preach at Maquoketa half my time. Mrs. Shaw was a native of Oxford, Mass., of the Fiske family, of Huguenot stock; she acted the part of a mother to me, and paid me the fine compliment that she knew I had had a good mother.

In the Wright settlement, three miles south of Maquoketa, and at Burleson's, six miles west, I visited the schools and preached, as I did in every settlement in the county. Thomas Miles Wright was a native of Connecticut, had lived in Warren county, N. Y., near Lake George; Shadrach Burleson was a native of Vermont; Anson H. Wilson, of Canada; they all encouraged my work. In the Wright family were several sons, of like spirit with their father. A daughter was the wife of John E. Goodenow; she had all the fine qualities of the excellent woman in the last chapter of the book of Proverbs.

In the neighborhood of Maquoketa were a number of persons who had taken part in the Mackenzie rebellion in Canada, 1837; among them was William Current, a man of bright and active mind, a friend of temperance and education, but not of religion, because of alleged discrepancies, contradictions, and unseemly things in the Bible. I invited him to come to meeting; he said, "No," but that he would give me some hard texts for a sermon. I told him to do so, and I would come to his house and preach, which I did. I explained that

the objectionable things in the Bible are records from the ignorance and coarseness of former times, that the Bible does not endorse all that it records, and that the New Testament expressly does away with much that is in the Old, and I quoted a number of the words of Christ in the Gospels, in proof that Christianity, according to the teachings of its author, is an absolutely pure and holy religion. Returning from that appointment with my trusty companion, Mr. Shaw, our horses lost the way, and we wandered round and round on the prairie until a glimmering light in a distant cabin window relieved our bewilderment.

Among other settlers from Canada was Samuel Chandler, but he came to Jackson county by a very circuitous route. He had been sentenced to be hung as an insurgent in the "Patriot" cause, but the sentence (upon the intercession of his daughters) was commuted to banishment for life in the penal colony of Van Dieman's land, whither he was transported, via London. He had managed to make his escape on a Yankee whaler, and now found some of his old friends, and one of his daughters who had secured the commutation of his sentence, Sarah, the wife of Jesse Wilson. Mr. Chandler was a man of firm religious principles, a native of Massachusetts, a helper in every effort to improve the country.

The name of our post-office was that of the postmaster's native town in Vermont, but, being that of many towns in the United States, letters were frequently missent, and I joined Mr. Goodenow and Mr. Shaw in a petition for a change of name to Maquoketa, which was made by the Post-office Department, March 13, 1844. The word Maquo is Indian for bear, an animal that infested the whole region.

My cramped quarters in Mr. Shaw's house gave me scant opportunity for consulting my books or composing sermons, but I managed to write one sermon during the winter, sitting by the rotary cook-stove, and preached it to a congregation of thirty who seemed to appreciate my effort. In my solitary missionary tours the illimitable stretches of land and sky often inspired thoughts of the Almighty Maker of heaven and earth and I heard the voices from above that speak "in reason's ear."

In the settlements about Andrew I found two interesting families, recently from Pennsylvania. They had been brought with their teams and belongings from Pittsburg to Bellevue by steamboat for twenty dollars a family. They were warm-hearted Christians, of Protestant Irish stock. David Young was of pronounced anti-slavery sentiments, had been a "New School" Presbyterian, but liked the Congregational way, and became an active member of the church at Andrew. He built a mill on Brush creek, which was swept away in the freshets of 1844, a year of high floods in the Mississippi valley. Sixty-one years later, I met his son James, at Maquoketa, and he recalled my visits in the old house and the family prayers and worship together, of which he said his mother spoke with fond recollection to the end of her days.

At a cabin on Farmers creek I was advised not to speak on religion in the next cabin, or I might be put out, as the occupant had told a Methodist preacher who called there, that he would throw him into the fire if he spoke a word on the subject. It was a rough region. Nature appeared ill-shapen in "Rocky Hollow." Coming to a large log house I found a friendly Scotch family living cheerily, no floor but mother earth. Mr. Sage was away at mill, but his wife made me welcome, and called in a few neighbors to whom I preached. She told me she had heard Thomas Chalmers and Edward Irving in Glasgow. A little distance north was another Scotch family (Alexander), but there was trouble between the two families over their respective claims. They were the only Presbyterian families I found in this visitation, and it grieved me to find them at odds.

I was perplexed on being informed that a member of the Andrew charge had fallen into shame. It was made my duty to seek the recovery of the woman to a correct life, and I was relieved to hear profession of sorrow and purposes of amendment. I at once spoke to her husband, who was out at work, but he turned upon me with abuse, and threats to the church.

One family that attended my services were used to "tokens" on sacramental occasions, and would not come to communion without them. While visiting at their house a young man, seventeen years of age, called, who said he was

on a pedestrian tour. He had read Captain Cook's Voyages and Peter Parley, and told me that he knew a little Latin and Greek, and had learned the Hebrew alphabet from the 119th Psalm. He had walked from his home thirty miles west of Philadelphia and was still westward-bound.

I spent the last week of 1843 at Bellevue, making acquaintances, and preaching in the schoolhouse, and in the house of Alexander Reed, three miles south, where one said it was a "divilish" sermon. Bellevue is beautifully situated. When Wisconsin Territory extended to the Missouri river, 1836, it was proposed as a central site for the capital, in rivalry with Dubuque. The town was discredited by a sanguinary mob (April 1, 1840), or "war," as it was called, several persons being killed on both sides, and the county-seat was removed to the geographical center, the people voting 208 for Andrew, 111 for Bellevue. The Dyas family, who said they were the first family to make a home in the county, gave me a hearty welcome. They had lived in Galena and were warm friends of the Rev. Aratus Kent, pioneer missionary there. Many of the first settlers about Bellevue had worked in the lead mines, and had been in Col. Henry Dodge's battalion in the Black Hawk war. William A. Warren, sheriff of Jackson county, was a native of Kentucky, came to Bellevue in 1836, had served in the Black Hawk war, took an active part in the Bellevue "war," was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1857, and I resumed my acquaintance with him in July, 1864, at Stevenson, Alabama, where he was U. S. quartermaster, and I was in the service of the Christian Commission, and he gave me his kind offices. As sheriff of Jackson county, he had collected taxes in coonskins at fifty cents, and sold them in Galena at seventy-five cents.

At Bellevue, Thomas Cox and John Foley were at home for the Christmas vacation from the Territorial legislature of which they were members. On their return to Iowa City, Colonel Cox was elected President of the Council. He had been an influential member of every previous legislature of the Territory but one. He promoted the removal of the capital from Burlington to Iowa City, and gave the name to the

new capital. He was also one of the surveyors who selected the site on the Iowa river, and laid out the town. He invited me to visit his family, which I did later. Mrs. Cox was a native of Rhode Island, of Quaker stock. She came in her youth with her parents to St. Genevieve, Mo., and was a lady of gracious manners. Upon the death of her husband, Nov. 9, 1844, she sent for me, and I officiated at the funeral in the presence of a large concourse of people. The grave was under a hickory tree near the house. In a few years the land passed into other hands and was a plowed field. Sixty years later the Jackson County Historical Society had the grave unearthed, and the bones interred in Hope Cemetery, Maquoketa, where they set up a large and smooth-faced boulder, and had his name inscribed thereon as "Pioneer Law Maker." By invitation of the Society, I took part in the ceremony and made a prayer at the unveiling of the monument, July 4, 1905. A full account of the life of Colonel Cox, with his portrait, is given in this volume (pp. 241-269).

On the first day of May, 1845, I officiated at the marriage of Cordelia, daughter of Thomas Cox, to Joseph S. Mallard. It was the first marriage ceremony I performed. They went overland to California in 1849, and were among the early settlers of Los Angeles.

John Foley was a polite Irish gentleman, had been sheriff of Jo Daviess county, Ill., and a member of the First Legislative Assembly of Wisconsin Territory, two sessions of which were held in Burlington, 1837-'8.

I also visited George Cabbage and preached in his cabin. He was a native of Delaware, and an intense Protestant. He had been clerk to Felix St. Vrain, U. S. agent for the Sacs and Foxes, whom they foully murdered at the opening of the Black Hawk war. Mr. Cabbage had himself been a captive in their hands. He taught the first school in Dubuque, was doorkeeper of the Legislative Assembly of Wisconsin Territory at Belmont, 1836, and one of the Commissioners, under an act of Congress, to lay out Dubuque, Burlington, and other towns, 1837-'8.

A few weeks later I visited every family in Charleston (now Sabula). They were a friendly people, mostly from

New England and New York: James Leonard from Griswold, Ct., Benjamin Hudson, from Lynn, Mass., Mr. Marshall, from Gelltown, N. H. A gray-headed man, learning I was from New York, asked me if I knew Dr. Joseph McElroy, pastor of the Grand Street Presbyterian church in that city; I told him that he was an eloquent preacher, and I had heard him preach. "He is my brother," he said, and I saw a resemblance in their features. His name was Hugh McElroy. He came to Iowa in 1838, and made a claim west of Bellevue;

I preached in the Exchange Hotel at Ansonia, and had a larger congregation than in any place before in the county. A church was organized there by Oliver Emerson, Dec. 14, 1838.

North of Bellevue, I preached in Mr. Potter's house. To the north of the land was a German family in a settlement. I found a small cabin in the woods in the north.

That house was built by J. E. Goodenow, in 1838, for blacksmith shop, later used as school-house, meeting house, polling place and town hall. From an original drawing made under the direction of J. W. Ellis, of Maquoketa.

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Old sod-covered log house, built by J. E. Goodenow, in 1838, for blacksmith shop, later used as school-house, meeting house, polling place and town hall. From an original drawing made under the direction of J. W. Ellis, of Maquoketa.

limestone, solid, massive, covered with deep soil. Cave creek passes under it. We clambered up the sides of the bridge, and walked over it. I then turned with admiring gaze to the arch that from a height of more than a hundred feet slopes smoothly in a grand curve to the mouth of the cave. Descending to the creek, we heard the waters loudly rushing through, and saw ice pillars of transparent beauty. A mass of rock had fallen from overhead, warning us of danger, and having an appointment at a distance of twelve miles, I hurried from the advancing crowd. Later in the season I visited

New England and New York; James Leonard from Griswold, Ct., Benjamin Hudson, from Lynn, Mass., Mr. Marshall, from Goffstown, N. H. A gray-headed man, learning I was from New York, asked me if I knew Dr. Joseph McElroy, pastor of the Grand Street Presbyterian church in that city; I told him that he was an eloquent preacher, and I had heard him preach. "He is my brother," he said, and I saw a resemblance in their features. His name was Hugh McElroy. He came to Iowa in 1838, and made a claim west of Sabula; he had a large family, and his oldest child was named Joseph. I preached in the Exchange Hotel at Sabula, and had a larger congregation than in any place before in the county. A church was organized there by Oliver Emerson, Dec. 14, 1845.

North of Bellevue, I preached in Mr. Potter's house on Tete des Morts creek. I found some German families in the settlement, with Luther's translation of the Bible in their cabins. Some were beginning to learn English. I regretted that I could not preach to them in their own tongue.

The new year, 1844, opened with a heavy snow, and I was unable to fill my appointment for the evening at Andrew, my first failure of the kind. During the following spring there were many freshets, and I could not always make my circuit. In March I visited the people in the Forks. They had made clearings in the timber, thinking crops would be surer than on the prairie. One who came to my meeting told me that he had not heard a sermon for ten years. A young man of the house where I preached offered to conduct me to a wonderful cave and a natural bridge four miles away. The bridge is thirty feet long, about twelve feet wide, of limestone, solid, massive, covered with deep soil. Cave creek passes under it. We clambered up the sides of the bridge, and walked over it. I then turned with admiring gaze to the arch that from a height of more than a hundred feet slopes smoothly in a grand curve to the mouth of the cave. Descending to the creek, we heard the waters madly rushing through, and saw ice pillars of transparent beauty. A mass of rock had fallen from overhead, warning us of danger, and having an appointment at a distance of twelve miles, I hurried from the entrancing scene. Later in the season I visited

the spot again, in company with Mr. and Mrs. Holbrook, and my classmate, Ebenezer Alden, of Tipton. The creek was then dry, and we went several hundred feet into the cave, finding stalactites and stalagmites in profusion, and seeing subterranean marvels.

On visiting Galena and Dubuque I preached for Mr. Kent and Mr. Holbrook in their churches. Mr. Kent said to me that Mr. Peet had told him of his desire and intention to get me into Wisconsin.

In April, I made a long missionary tour in the adjoining counties of Jones, Cedar, and Clinton. Near the Wapsipinicon I found a good settlement of United Brethren. At Red Oak grove I was entertained by Robert Cousins, an intelligent and warm-hearted Christian, deeply interested in Sunday schools and devoted to the use of the Psalms in public worship. At Tipton I enjoyed the hospitality of Paterson Fleming, clerk of the court, and of Addison Gillett, merchant, who had come the previous year from Hudson, N. Y. I was disappointed, not finding my classmate Alden; he had gone to Denmark, to arrange for sending Asa Turner east, to raise funds for the purchase of lands on which to establish a college. After a dreary ride over the prairie to De Witt, thirty-five miles, I found Oliver Emerson shaking with ague; at his request I went to Camanche to fulfil his appointment for a funeral sermon, the second time I performed such a service. From Camanche I crossed the Mississippi, and preached at Albany, Ill.

Later in the month Julius A. Reed visited me. He had been on an exploring tour in Delaware and Buchanan counties for a site for the proposed college.

Receiving an invitation from John Lewis, my classmate in the University of the City of New York, and in Union Theological Seminary, to attend his ordination at Fairplay, Wisconsin Territory, I crossed the Mississippi at Bellevue the last day of April, and was two hours in getting over, the river being higher, it was said, than since 1828, and the islands and low-lands on the Illinois shore under water. In his examination by the Mineral Point Convention, Mr. Lewis stated that when a clerk in a bookstore in Boston he attended

Lyman Beecher's church, and that on several successive mornings when sweeping out the store, Dr. Beecher came there and gave him wise and helpful counsel. Mr. Kent preached the sermon, and I gave the right hand of fellowship. In obtaining his education Mr. Lewis had been aided by Christopher R. Robert, the founder afterwards of Robert College, Constantinople.

My Andover classmate, James J. Hill, arrived at Dubuque, June 7th, and I went to see him; hitching my horse to a small wagon, I took him through rushing creeks and over Turkey river to the field assigned him in Clayton county. He received a warm welcome at Jacksonville, the county-seat, from James Watson, whose brother, Cyrus L. Watson, had preached in Dubuque in 1836, the first Home Missionary in Iowa; they were natives of North Carolina.

Urgent invitations coming to me to visit Mineral Point and Potosi, I did so, and the church at Potosi gave me a call, and it was said, "You must come." I referred the matter to the Home Missionary Society, and the following letter decided the matter:

Rooms of the A. H. M. S., 150 Nassau St., N. Y.

AUGUST 3, 1844.

REV. W. SALTER:

Dear Brother: I lose no time in saying that the reasons which seem to have influence with your own mind in favor of your remaining in Iowa seem sound and weighty. The "Iowa Band" have awakened a good deal of interest in the East, and have a character that is drawing around them more and more the affections and confidence of the good, and it is very desirable that this character should be sustained. There would be some misgiving in regard to the results contemplated, if one of your number should return this side of the Mississippi; the chain would be broken, the charm in a measure dispelled, and the brethren there would be in danger of being disheartened; it would be easier for one and another to yield to discouragement. You might be more useful in Wisconsin at once, but I think it would be in appearance only. You have made a good beginning, getting acquainted, and acquiring influence, and it would be difficult to supply your place. Wisconsin can be easier provided with ministers than Iowa. You have given yourself to that Territory, and I think you had better say to all this side the river that you cannot come down or over.

Your Iowa brethren would all, I know, give you this counsel, and,

I think, the disinterested everywhere would do the same. I hope you will by all means stay in Iowa and lay the foundations. Your communications have all been of deep interest to us, and you will ever have our tenderest sympathy and our fervent prayers.

Yours truly,

MILTON BADGER,
Secretary.

Brother Holbrook wrote me: "I hope you will not see it to be duty to leave Iowa. Still I want to see poor Potosi supplied, and you to decide as the Lord would have you whether to go there or not. May He guide you, and make you useful wherever you may labor." Shortly afterwards I preached three Sundays at Dubuque for Brother Holbrook, he going East to solicit funds for removing an incumbrance on his church. Meanwhile I visited Clayton county, to attend the organization of the church which Brother Hill had gathered. I met there the Rev. A. N. Wells, U. S. chaplain at Fort Crawford, a very genial and friendly gentleman, and of much historical interest. I went with him to Prairie du Chien. He was a graduate of Union college, N. Y.; studied divinity with Dr. Eliphalet Nott, was a man of his spirit, was the first Protestant missionary at Detroit, and pastor there twelve years.

In October I rode horseback, via Tipton, and Muscatine, where Brother Robbins joined me, to Brighton, Washington county, and attended an Association meeting. The church there was composed of excellent families from the Western Reserve, Ohio. On returning, I attended a meeting of the Iowa Anti-Slavery Society at the county-seat of Washington county. Aaron Street, Jr., and other Quakers from Salem, and Mr. Vincent, a Seceder minister, were active and zealous members. At Iowa City I visited the capitol, and listened to some of the proceedings of the Constitutional Convention then in session; I made the acquaintance of Robert Lucas, the first governor of Iowa Territory, of Shepherd Leffler, president of the Convention, and other members.

Through the winter of 1844-'5 I kept up my work at Maquoketa and Andrew, and in the various settlements of Jackson county, holding some revival meetings, aided by my brethren, E. B. Turner, Emerson, and Holbrook, and some-

times aiding them in their fields. Brother Holbrook wrote me from Dubuque:

An Episcopalian minister has arrived here, and will for the winter preach in our old meeting-house half of the time. Consequently, I shall have some leisure Sabbaths, and could help you in a protracted meeting at Andrew, Bellevue, or Charleston. (He had previously aided me at Maquoketa.) It would be necessary to provide a conveyance for me to and from the places, as I have no horse, and could not afford to hire for so long a time. Let me hear from you as I am anxious to improve the winter. The meeting at Charleston should be when the river is closed, to admit of the Savannah people crossing.

We have exchanged our form of government for Congregational, and expect to build a new meeting-house the next year.

At Maquoketa we organized a Temperance Society with one hundred members, and kept the liquor traffic out of the settlement. We were not so successful at Andrew, though a society was organized there with fifty members. A subject of the reformation wrote me a pathetic letter:

ANDREW, FEB. 22, 1845.

FRIEND SALTER:

I have been a wretch for the last year, have sinned against God and man. I have made one more Resolve, one which I shall never break. I am determined by the help of God never to taste liquor, that which has been almost my ruin. I feel that I have been a guilty wretch, but will sin no more; I put my trust in God, and ask him to sustain me in my determination.

I write these few lines to you to ask an interest in your prayers. I want you to call and see me when you are in town, if you have not given me up as lost forever, as I have made promises and broken them so often; but this resolve, Mr. Salter, is firm, is not to be broken. I am determined once more to be a man, and not a brute. I love you and all the people of God, and wish you to call and see your unworthy friend,

G. W. S.

Impressed with the necessity of better advantages in the cause of education, I secured the co-operation of Mr. Goode-now, Mr. Shaw, and Mr. Current in measures for the establishment of an Academy at Maquoketa. Mr. Goodenow offered five acres of his land on a commanding site; others made subscriptions of material and labor, and, contemplating a visit East, I proposed to solicit aid from friends there. After attending a Presbyterian and Congregational Convention at

Detroit in June, 1845, I went to New York and Boston, and collected three hundred dollars. My brother, Benjamin Salter, was the largest contributor; among others were John Mace, A. L. M. Scott (who had been my Sunday School teacher), W. M. Halstead, R. T. Haines, Calvin W. Howe, Fisher Howe, Bowen & McNamee, Wiley & Putnam, Wm. Scribner, George Lockwood, S. B. Hunt, W. A. Booth, C. R. Robert, J. A. Robertson, I. Van Cleef, etc., of New York, and E. P. Mackintire, of Boston. The Academy was incorporated by an act of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory, January 15, 1846. The money I collected was expended in the purchase of brick, and in payments to the contractor (D. Jones, of Dubuque). The building was completed in 1848, and was dedicated with an address by George F. Magoun, the pastor of the Second Presbyterian church in Galena. Mr. Shaw had previously written me, April 8, 1848:

Our Academy is completed. I wish you could see it. It is a splendid building, I think much better than you expected. I think it will not be long before we shall add what we contemplated. My subscription is paid and over. When I signed I did not know any way to pay. The Trustees have settled with Mr. Jones, so the building is out of his hands. The dedication of the Academy will be on the 4th of July next. I hope you will be here certain. Mr. Gale (founder of Galesburg, Ill.) and Mr. Blanchard (president of Knox College) will probably be here.

We shall not have the county-seat here. It will be for our benefit. In my mind the evils attending a county-seat are more than the benefits of a Court House.

Jerome Allen was principal of the Academy for two years. He was a graduate of Amherst College, and married a daughter of John Wesley Windsor, pastor at Maquoketa (1849-'54); he became eminent for his zeal and ability in the work of education and as a teacher of teachers, both in Iowa and in the State of New York (Iowa Normal Monthly, xii, 356). The property of the Academy, including Mr. Goodenow's donation of land, was eventually turned over to the public schools of Maquoketa.

In the fall of 1845 the people of Jackson county were advised of an approaching sale of the public lands on which they had made their claims. The United States had delayed

the sale of these lands for several years as in the mineral district, where lands were subject to rents, and not for sale in fee simple. That policy was changed. There was much excitement and anxiety to secure the necessary funds, and to protect one another in their claims, and there were some disputes about claims that embittered the future; but harmony and order generally prevailed, and, becoming secure in their titles, the people built better homes and made more permanent improvements.

I now felt somewhat encouraged in my work, and, looking forward to making a home, I built a little frame house on a gentle rise of land south of Mr. Shaw's house, and moved into it. I was there enjoying such opportunity as I had not had previously for retirement and study, with my books conveniently arranged, and was especially enjoying a new book I had purchased in New York, *The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold*, when word came of the serious and probably fatal illness of the pastor at Burlington, and that he had resigned his office, and I was requested to come there. I made the journey in February, and was delayed in crossing Iowa river by running ice. I found my brother, Horace Hutchinson, near the end of his days. We had come to the Territory together. He was then in vigorous health, ardent in his work, his life full of promise. Now his countenance was changed, and it fell to me to close his eyes in death. Brother Robbins came from Muscatine, and preached at the funeral service, which was held in "Old Zion" church.

After spending three weeks with the church in Burlington, they invited me to become their minister. Returning to Jackson county, I reviewed the situation, and, not without reluctance to leave my friends there, I accepted the invitation from Burlington, which the Missionary Society approved. I had preached 326 sermons in Jackson county, 100 of them in the sod-covered schoolhouse in Maquoketa, 40 at Andrew, and 186 in other parts of the county. I now preached farewell sermons at Andrew and Maquoketa, and early in April removed to Burlington, "not knowing the things that should befall me there."

THE STORY OF THE BONAPARTE DAM.

BY TACITUS HUSSEY.

A gentleman of prominence in the State who has been active in the preservation of her institutions and history, gave utterance to a thought not long ago which makes a very good foundation upon which to enlarge upon the theory of equal rights for the humblest as well as the proudest in our good commonwealth. The thought was something like this: "Human food can in no way be so cheaply produced as by fish culture. Our lakes and streams should therefore be deemed, held and defended for this especial purpose, for the sole benefit of the people. Obstructions or hindrances of any sort should be strictly prohibited by law; and the law should be rigidly enforced."

With the countless millions of tons of fish taken from the great oceans, lakes and streams of the world, there is no perceptible diminution of the supply, for the reason that there is no check put on their propagation, nor are there any obstructions to their going and coming to their feeding and breeding grounds. They are beyond the power of man to exterminate, as have been exterminated the buffalo on the plains, the wild beasts of the forests and the game birds of our prairies. Fish in one form or another furnishes a goodly portion of the food for the people of the world; so the thought expressed by the liberal-minded gentleman at the beginning of this paper has a wider and deeper meaning than appears on the surface.

Should any untoward event deprive the inhabitants of the world of this universal food for a time, it would be a greater calamity than the destruction of any other single article of food, for the same length of time. Portions of the earth, for one cause or another, may refuse to reward the toil of the husbandman; but Old Ocean, the lakes and rivers, never!

On a bright morning in the year 1888, the writer, feeling that he had a mission to perform, and wishing to make a right start, dropped into the law office of Judge George G.

Wright, one of the best-hearted and most genial men that ever lived, and asked him if there was any possible mode of procedure that would secure a fishway in the Bonaparte dam across the Des Moines river in Van Buren county; telling him that it had been determined by the fishermen and sportsmen of Iowa, especially in the northern and western portions, to see what could be done in that direction, as the Des Moines river and its tributaries were becoming depleted of fish and all efforts to stock the rivers in an artificial way were unsuccessful. The Judge heard the plea very patiently and drawing in his mouth in a way which always preceded some humorous remark, said:

"Well, you have a big job on your hands!"

"Are you well acquainted with the Meek Brothers, then?" asked the writer.

"Yes," replied the Judge, his eyes twinkling with good humor, "I knew the grandfather, William Meek, his son, Isaiah, and am very well acquainted with the Meek Brothers of today. William Meek, the grandfather, was a very firm man, Isaiah Meek was much firmer, bordering on obstinacy; and his sons, no doubt, have a similar rich inheritance."

The richness and quality of this inheritance the fishermen of the State of Iowa learned in later years.

The first "Bonaparte Dam" was a primitive one built of brush, by William Meek, Sr., in 1840, for grist mill purposes. It was authorized by an act of the legislature approved January 17, 1839. The first section reads as follows:

Be it enacted by the Council and the House of Representatives of the Territory of Iowa, That William Meek and Sons be, and they are hereby authorized, to construct a dam across the Des Moines river, in Van Buren County, in said Territory, between sections 8 and 17, in township 68, north, range 8, west of the 5th principal meridian; which said dam shall not exceed three feet in height, above common low water mark, and shall contain a convenient lock, not less than one hundred and thirty feet in length, and thirty-five in width, for the passage of steam, keel, and flat boats, rafts, and other water craft, provided said water craft will bear two tons burden.

Then follows the stipulations for keeping the lock at all times in good order, so that water craft may pass through without delay and free of charge. A penalty also was at-

tached for any injury to lock or dam. The Territory reserved to itself the privilege of altering or amending the act with a view to the future navigation of the river; the right of construction and maintaining said lock and dam was to remain in force fifty years.

The Meek family at that time consisted of William Meek, Sr., William Meek, Jr., Isaiah, Robert and Joseph, sons of the first named. The grist mill they established was not unlike the primitive mills for grinding corn. Occasionally, in those territorial days, one could be found inland, run by horse power, where men assembled each with a bag of corn and awaited their turns for grinding. The meal thus ground was of very coarse quality, but when mixed with water and salt, patted up by the hands of a skillful wife and baked in a skillet, especially if eggs and bacon were added to the bill of fare, made the hearts of the hungry pioneers glad. The Meeks had been millers in Michigan before coming to Iowa, so the business was well known to them, and their mill became a popular resort for the meager grists of the pioneers far and wide. The rights of a ferry had been secured by them and later a large tract of land also, which gave them control of the river front for a mile or so above the present location.

As years rolled on, by dint of hard work and economical living, a more pretentious grist mill was erected. Later still the firm introduced some much needed carding machines, which were hailed with delight by the pioneer women who had been compelled to card their wool by the slow hand-carding process. Cloth was scarce in those days, and money scarcer, so the raising of sheep for food and clothing was a necessity. Men took the wool to the mill by the wagon-load after it had been prepared for carding and waited their turns for the work to be done. The waiting, however, was not always an irksome task. Here was a river well supplied with fish which made an excellent addition to the corn bread, bacon and eggs, to say nothing of the fun of fishing, cooking and eating in the open air, in jolly company, which partook somewhat of the nature of a picnic. In order to serve all as soon as possible, the mill wheels ceased not, day or night. The shop

keepers of the little hamlet which had sprung up about the mill profited by these prolonged visits, and quite a sum of the scanty supplies of cash was left by the waiting farmers who had come from ten to one hundred miles away to have grists ground and wool carded.

Later still, the manufacture of cloth was introduced by this enterprising firm, the quality of which is not surpassed by that of any similar factory in Iowa. The mill is the pride of the village of Bonaparte, affording, as it does, work for many hands in the various departments. The large reservoir of water held back by this immense dam when at its best is as pretty a lake as there is on the Des Moines river with the exception, perhaps, of that near Ottumwa. Below the dam in the spring of the year, when the fish were vainly striving to reach headwaters to spawn, it was at one time a famous fishing place. There are men still living who have experienced the exhilarating sensations which accompany the pitching out of a wagon-load of struggling, helpless fish, in twenty-five minutes with a manure fork!

Previous to the year 1850, the Des Moines River Improvement Company had entered into a contract to improve the Des Moines river in consideration of a vast quantity of land ceded to it by the government. The proposition was to make the river navigable by the slack water system, for which locks and dams were required at various points on the river. Already some work had been done at Farmington, Croton, Bonaparte, Bentonsport, Keosauqua, and perhaps at other points. The work was partly finished at some of these points but the great flood of 1851 so badly damaged the poorly constructed work that the company did not carry out the contract, and the improvements were disposed of at sheriff's sale, after the manner of a bankrupt stock. The dam, locks and gates at Bonaparte had cost \$80,000. When offered for sale, the entire lot was knocked off to Isaiah Meek for \$200. There was one other bidder, George Manning, by name; but for some reason his bid was not considered and the deed was made out in the name of Mr. Meek. The following paragraph quoted from the *Ottumwa Courier* gives some information not generally known to the public:

A fact which is not generally known except to those who are acquainted with the dam itself, is that behind, or up-stream from the dam now in question, which is the newest and latest one built, there are two other and older dams, which, strange to say, are said to be in fairly good repair. This is to be explained by the fact that although they have stood longer they have been enlarged by the addition of floating drift and mud and have been protected, too, by the newer structure. The farthest one up stream is the old, original "brush dam" built by the Meeks over fifty years ago. About a yard from that is the second dam which was built by the Meeks, under the direction of the government and which was fitted with gates and locks to allow the passage of boats. These locks are now closed and forgotten, and the newest dam of the three stands in front of the second. At the present time only the latest dam is visible, as the others are somewhat lower than it and are now covered with water. Just how they have stood the force of the water cannot be learned until the water recedes more; but the Meeks maintain that they are in good condition; so do other residents of Bonaparte, who claim to have investigated.

It will be observed that Isaiah Meek bid in the \$80,000 dam which he had helped to build, for the pitiful sum of \$200. This fact shows the thriftiness characteristic of the Meek family. In the contract with the State Commissioners who sold it by State authority, there was a covenant on the part of the Meeks "to forever preserve and maintain the dam, locks," etc., which was probably one of the considerations of the purchase. For the supposed purpose of abrogating this covenant, the following joint resolution, doubtless urged in the interests of the Meeks, was introduced in the House by Representative Charles Dudley of Wapello county during the session of 1866:

Whereas, by the facilities afforded by the Des Moines Valley Railroad for travel and transportation, the Des Moines River is no longer used for purposes of navigation;

Resolved, Therefore, By the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That our Senators and Representatives in Congress be requested to use their influence to have the said Des Moines River declared not a navigable stream, to the end that the same may be more cheaply improved as a motive power for machinery.

The resolution was passed, and the river which had played such a noble part in building up the Des Moines valley and central Iowa was thus pronounced a back number by those who were intoxicated by the new found interest of a line of

railroad which had reached the capital of Iowa only six months before. This resolution was a libel on the Des Moines river and she resented it by "getting her back up" sufficiently high to have floated a Mississippi steamboat from the mouth of the river to the Raccoon Forks, in the years 1867, 1869, 1875, 1876, 1882, 1892, 1902 and 1903. In the same year (1866), in the effervescent excitement over the new found mode of transportation, a bill was passed disposing of the locks and draw bridges on the river, and it was understood that Representative Joel Brown, of Van Buren county, was the introducer and champion. Yet notwithstanding all this, some of our leading lawyers were of the opinion that it did not release the Meeks from the obligation to "forever maintain the locks," etc., in the Des Moines river at Bonaparte.

Overtures were made to the Meek Brothers in 1894 by the fishermen and sportsmen for permission to put in a fishway, to be paid for by popular subscription. There were promises from men of prominence in various parts of the State to put up the necessary funds if a fishway were allowed; but the Meek Brothers refused the request on account of the weakening of the dam, which they alleged would be the effect. The legislature which met in 1896 was asked by many petitioners to buy the dam for the sum for which it was offered by the owners, \$25,000, and which was thought to be very reasonable. This was urged by Representative G. W. Crow of Wapello county; but the effort was a failure from lack of votes, or lack of interest—probably both.

During the term intervening between this and the next session, the fishermen and the Sportsmen's Club were very active in circulating petitions, praying the legislature of 1898 to buy the dam and destroy it. This petition was numerously signed throughout the State, and when it was presented it took two men to carry it to the speaker's desk. It weighed fifty-four pounds, and had the sheets been attached end to end, after the manner of most petitions, it would have reached to a much greater distance than a "sabbath day's journey." It was never opened nor were the names counted, probably; it may have been destroyed with similar labors of love, when the Capitol was partially destroyed by

fire, January 4, 1904. There were two or three hearings before the Fish and Game Committee, at which times great pressure was brought to bear as to the feasibility of purchasing the dam; but all efforts were unavailing. Seeing the bitter disappointment of the fishermen, Senator L. C. Blanchard of Mahaska county came to their relief and drew up a bill authorizing the State of Iowa to pay the expense of a fishway in the dam and appropriating the sum of two thousand dollars for the payment of the same. This bill passed the Senate without a dissenting voice; but when it got into the House the chairman of the Fish and Game Committee lost, or pigeon-holed it, until near the close of the session. Representatives Eaton and Merriam, who had pledged themselves to its passage, hunted it up, however, and were going to call it up on the floor of the House on next to the last night of the session; but being delayed a few minutes on that evening in reaching the House, one who was probably in the employ of the Meeks, seeing his opportunity for killing the bill, had it called up by the representative of Van Buren county, and it was "indefinitely postponed."

During the next two years, or between legislatures, a suit was brought by the State of Iowa, assisted by W. L. Read, who represented the interests of the sportsmen and fishermen, for the purpose of compelling the Meek Brothers to put a fishway in their dam; but the suit was lost on the grounds that the Meeks claimed, among other things, an "adjudication," in that some years before Fish Commissioner Griggs had brought suit against them for maintaining a nuisance, in that they had no fishway in their dam. The justice of the peace decided in favor of the defendants, and as the Fish Commissioner did not appeal the case as he should have done, but allowed it to so remain until too late, the case was considered as adjudicated and was so held by the court. An appeal was taken to the Supreme Court and the decision of the lower court was affirmed, notwithstanding some of the leading lawyers of the State declared that the "decision was badly strained." Yet law is law, and if the Supreme Judges were convinced that there had been an "adjudication," nothing more was to be said; and the fishermen, while bitterly disappointed, bided their time.

When the legislature assembled in 1902, a new and somewhat novel departure was taken. Early in the session at the request of a representative of the fishermen, Senator Blanchard of Mahaska, in the kindness of his heart, introduced a bill condemning such portions of the Bonaparte dam as was necessary to be removed, and which could be done by the State of Iowa, the work to be done under the supervision of the Fish and Game Warden and approved by the Governor. After the bill had been submitted to the Attorney General for his approval, it was passed in the Senate. At one of the morning sessions, when papers were in order, the Senator from Mahaska, without any previous notice, made a motion and said: "Mr. Speaker, I have been informed from some of my constituents living below the Bonaparte dam that I would like to introduce and have read a bill which he very greatly handed the following is a writing part, which took it to the Senate about a time when it was read while the 'grave and reverend senators' smiled quietly."

Said the Fisherman to the Senator:

"I have some news to tell you,
That the dam down here at Bonaparte
Will have a good removal
I don't be pious but I know
For saying about how
I hope against that structure
And you'll say 'Yes'!
Then the fish will get a shooting
At the good time they had before
The Catfish spread wide his mouth
That was a good word!"

RUINS OF BONAPARTE DAM AS IT NOW APPEARS.

To this one spot forever—
I'm afraid I'll lose my mind!
This dam raising makes my head ache—
"Say, look here," said the Boxer
"Ask the fish and Game Commission
To give us all a pass!
Then the Quiltback took the leadage
From off his aching head—
"You're a real lot of fellows!"
The big-mouthed Catfish said.

When the legislature assembled in 1902, a new and somewhat novel departure was taken. Early in the session at the request of a representative of the fishermen, Senator Blanchard of Mahaska, in the kindness of his heart, introduced a bill condemning such portion of the Bonaparte dam as was necessary for a fishway, the expense of which was to be borne by the State of Iowa, the work to be done under the supervision of the Fish and Game Warden and approved by the Governor. After the bill had been submitted to the Attorney General for his approval, it was introduced in the Senate. At one of the morning sessions, when petitions were in order, the "Senator from Mahaska," without the semblance of a smile, arose and said: "Mr. Speaker: I have here a petition from some of my constituents living below the Bonaparte dam which I would like to introduce and have read," and he very gravely handed the following to a waiting page, who took it to the reading clerk's desk, where it was read while the "grave and reverend seigniors" smiled quietly.

PETITION.

Said the Pickerel to the Catfish:

"I heard rare news today;

That the dam down here at Bonaparte

Will have a good fish-way!

I can't be pious here below:

For staying where I am

I bump against that structure

And invariably say 'Dam!' "

Then the game fish fell to shouting

At the good news they had heard—

The Catfish opened wide his mouth,

But never gasped a word!

Said the Quillback to the Sucker:

"I hate to be confined

To this one spot forever—

I'm afraid I'll lose my mind;

This dam roaring makes my head ache"—

"Say, look here," said the Bass:

"Ask the Fish and Game Committees

To give us all a pass!"

Then the Quillback took the bandage

From off his aching head—

"You're a sealy lot of fellows!"

The big-mouthed Catfish said.

Said the Salmon to the Goggle Eye:

“When this fish-way is in place,

I'll strike out for headwaters

At a good two-forty pace!

The dam roaring and head-thumping

Will ne'er again be mine—

And perhaps our friends, the fishermen,

Will be dropping us a line!”

Then the game fish burst out laughing,

Nodding each expectant head—

“Meeks will roar much louder than the dam!”

The grinning Catfish said..

Said the Mullet to the Catfish:

“I've just heard something new;

That the Fish Clubs and Game Warden

Have been making ‘game’ of you;

That the ‘Sucker Tribe’ you’ve shaken

And you’re classed with Pike and Bass!”

Then said the smiling Catfish: “Yes,

I’m swimming in that class!”

Then the Eel began to grumble

About this new-found preference—

“Well, a big mouth,” said the Mullet,

“Often stands in stead of sense!”

When the fish-way had been finished,

And the Meeks had shed their tears,

There was the biggest “Fish Convention”

That had been held for years;

With their loins now firmly girded,

And in each fin a staff,

They prepared to give “Old Bonaparte”

The “Grand Razzle-Dazzle” laugh!

As they climbed the road to freedom

Everybody had to smile;

For the glad flip-flapping of their tails

Could be heard for half a mile!

The bill passed the Senate without a dissenting vote on March 8th. When it reached the House the “Petition” happened to strike the “funny bone” of Representative Marlin J. Sweeley of Woodbury county, who had a genius for humorous rhyming, and who wrote a reply to it, which, in turn, was responded to by the author of the “Petition,” and before the fun terminated there had been written six “dam elegies,”

as they were called. The House passed the bill unanimously, on the 22d of March, upon which the Des Moines correspondent of *The Chicago Tribune* announced, that for the first time in the history of Iowa legislation an act had been passed because of arguments in doggerel! The bill was duly signed by the Governor and became a law in the regular way.

When the sheriff of Van Buren county called the jury together for condemnatory proceedings, he must have selected those of great wisdom and especially well qualified in the valuing of water power property, as they brought in a verdict of \$40,000 for the space to be occupied by the proposed fishway. No doubt the Meek Brothers were justified in asking this price if they believed the proposed fishway would ruin their dam. They are honest men and the property was their own; yet there is some inconsistency in their offering the entire structure a few years before for \$25,000 and later asking \$40,000 for a few feet of it!

In the meantime the never-tiring elements were at work. The summer flood of 1902 evidently injured the dam to some extent. Then the heavy ice of the spring of 1903 gave it a severe battering; this was followed closely by the almost unprecedented flood of the same year, which finished what the heavy ice gorge had begun earlier in the season, riddling the fine structure with numerous holes and finally sweeping out the main part of it, leaving the two ends only in their natural positions.

Surely, "the Lord tempers the wind to the shorn lamb." Had the fishway been forced into place before the last two floods, the loss of the dam would have been attributed to that, by interested parties; and there would probably have been a suit for damages, and "good money" thrown away on both sides, besides any amount of bitter feeling engendered.

Thus it will be seen that the elements and the "gnawing tooth of Time" have done more in two years than the combined forces of legislatures, courts and sportsmen, in the last sixteen years. There has been no undue hot blood in this long fight. It has cost considerable time and money for both parties. On the part of the fishermen there have been no threats of violence. Had there been, they would have been

quickly suppressed. The fishermen have fought the battle for the good of the people, patiently and hopefully. On the other hand, there has been a dogged determination to fight the legal battle to the bitter end, no matter what the cost. What the end of it all will be, no man has the wisdom to forecast. But of this we feel confident, that if the dam is rebuilt by the Meek Brothers, or any one else, there will go in it a fishway approved by the Governor, and the Fish and Game Warden of the State of Iowa.

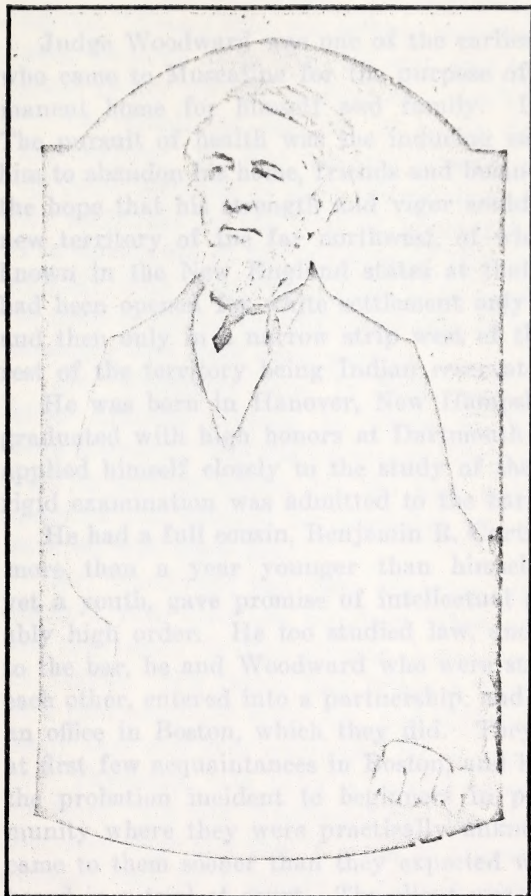
If such a contest was worth entering into, it is believed to be worth recording and that is why the writer, at the request of a friend, dips his pen in ink once more, and it is hoped for the last time, on this subject. He is in no wise ashamed of the prolonged part he has taken in this contest. If good has come of his efforts, well. If not, let the axiom of more than two thousand years ago be remembered: "It is expedient that one man should die for the people."

A DEPUTATION of ten or twelve individuals, from the Six Nations of Indians, residing in the State of New York, and at Green Bay, passed this place a few days ago, on board the steamer Olive Branch. They were on their way to the country beyond the Missouri river, whither they were bound for the purpose of viewing the lands offered them by the United States Government in exchange for their rich reservations at home.—*Montrose Western Adventurer, September 9, 1837.*

THE CHIPPEWA TREATY.—We have to congratulate the citizens of the whole Upper Mississippi valley upon the success of this enterprise. Governor Dodge returned to his home on the evening of Thursday last, after a month's absence, and has brought with him the important information that a treaty had been concluded with the Chippewas on the 29th ult., for a large portion of their country, computed to be above nine millions of acres.—*Montrose Western Adventurer, September 9, 1837.*

JUDGE WILLIAM G. WOODWARD

BY JAMES W. F. WOODWARD



W. G. Woodward

WILLIAM G. WOODWARD

JUDGE WILLIAM G. WOODWARD.

BY JUDGE W. F. BRANNAN.

Judge Woodward was one of the earliest pioneer lawyers who came to Muscatine for the purpose of making it a permanent home for himself and family. He came in 1839. The pursuit of health was the inducing cause that impelled him to abandon his home, friends and business in Boston, and the hope that his strength and vigor could be regained in a new territory of the far northwest, of which but little was known in the New England states at that time, and which had been opened for white settlement only five years before, and then only in a narrow strip west of the Mississippi, the rest of the territory being Indian reservations.

He was born in Hanover, New Hampshire, in 1808, and graduated with high honors at Dartmouth college. He then applied himself closely to the study of the law, and after a rigid examination was admitted to the bar.

He had a full cousin, Benjamin R. Curtis, who was a little more than a year younger than himself and who while yet a youth, gave promise of intellectual gifts of a remarkably high order. He too studied law, and on his admission to the bar, he and Woodward who were strongly attached to each other, entered into a partnership, and concluded to open an office in Boston, which they did. They were young, had at first few acquaintances in Boston, and had to quietly bear the probation incident to beginners in practice, in a community where they were practically unknown. Opportunity came to them sooner than they expected when they could be heard in a trial at court. The client was poor, but the questions at issue were of importance, and the opposing counsel had the advantage of long experience. The case was tried to the court without a jury. Curtis made the opening argument, and the judge who presided listened with great interest, as did some lawyers who were present, at a speech coming from one who looked like a beardless youth. It had the eloquent language of the accomplished scholar, and every proposition presented was fortified with appropriate authorities,

with the skill and force of the studied logician. His opponent who had anticipated an easy victory over his youthful looking antagonist, was not chagrined at his defeat, when the judge announced his conclusion. He extended his hand to Curtis, saying, "Young man, you seem to be all brain," and the judge, when he came down from his seat, said to Curtis, "You have great ability for one of your age; don't become vain."

The wonderful capacity of young Curtis spread among the lawyers. He was not only treated with marked respect by them, but some of them had retainers sent to the new firm for assistance in the trial of important and difficult cases. The reputation of the law firm of Woodward & Curtis grew rapidly, with gratifying results to its members. Clients came to them from the wealthy merchants, in cases involving large amounts, and from other sources.

Mr. Woodward now, in 1838, took to himself a wife, Miss Arabella Brooks, to whom he had for some time been affianced. She was an accomplished young lady who was held in general esteem for the high and graceful womanly qualities that adorned her character, and made her a favorite with all who knew her.

Mr. Woodward had been enjoying excellent health until about a year after his marriage, when an insidious disease, not uncommon in that climate, began to manifest itself, as he feared. His father had fallen a victim to consumption at a comparatively early age, and such had been the fate of many near and dear relatives. He at once consulted an eminent physician, who after a careful examination, confirmed his fears. He told Woodward that the disease was yet in its incipient stage and that it could be arrested and its progress changed only by a change of climate, and that this climatic change should be made without delay. He had to turn his back upon the prosperity that shed its bright colors for the future, and the high rank in his profession which his firm was rapidly attaining. He felt that all these considerations must give way to a sense of duty which he owed to the wife he had recently married. She concurred with him that his health was an object of the highest concern. He wrote at once to Mr. Brownell, whose wife was a sister to Mrs. Wood-

ward, and who for years had been, and was still a resident of Iowa. He sent a prompt answer that the climate of Iowa was redolent with health; that the strong heavy damps of the Atlantic coast, that bred fatal disease, had no existence in Iowa. He spoke in the highest terms of the fertility of the soil, with its gentle undulating surface, and of the picturesque scenery.

On the receipt of Mr. Brownell's letter, he and his wife at once started for Iowa, and on reaching Keokuk, where Mr. Brownell was then living, stopped with him, and by his advice rode up to Muscatine (then known as Bloomington) and concluded to make that his home. He bought a choice lot on the river front and built a house in which he lived the rest of his days.

He found the town with a small population and modest houses but of "great expectations." There were young lawyers, some of whom remained while others sought more productive pastures. The emoluments of the lawyers were such as to enforce rigid economy. But Mr. Woodward found what he most needed, a pure and health-giving atmosphere, and a conquest over the threatened disease. He jogged along quietly like the rest of the lawyers. He did not, however, remain unknown and unappreciated.

The first session of the legislature of the State paid a high and worthy compliment to Mr. Woodward. It passed an act creating a commission to consist of three to frame a complete code of laws for the new State. It was conceded that peculiar ability and fitness should be made the test in selecting the members of this commission. The democrats controlled both legislative branches. Charles Mason, of Burlington, who had been Chief Justice of the territory for years, William G. Woodward, and Stephen Hempstead, of Dubuque, an eminent lawyer, constituted the commission. Mason and Hempstead were democrats and Woodward was a whig. Hempstead was elected the second Governor of the State. The work required time and study, great care for its labors, and when completed was reported to, examined by, and met the approval of the legislature.

Mr. Woodward was chosen to prepare the marginal notes,

arrange in proper divisions, index and superintend its publication. When published it was called the Code of 1851.

The legislature was named the General Assembly in the constitution under which Iowa was admitted as a State, and the power was conferred upon it of electing the judges of the supreme court. The democratic party, which had hitherto dominated the politics of the Territory and State, had lost its supremacy in 1854, and its opponents came into power. The terms of the three supreme judges, all democrats, were about to expire, and the legislature in the month of January, 1855, convened as one body, and on the vote for chief justice, George G. Wright received 53 votes and Mr. Woodward 51 votes, and Judge Wright having received the larger vote, became chief justice and Woodward associate supreme judge. The vote for the third judge was split among a number of candidates and it took a week or more to secure an election. Judge Wright told me, at the funeral of Judge Grant at Davenport, that at his first election to the supreme bench, he was present, that he expected Judge Woodward would be elected chief justice, and he was greatly surprised at his own election to that position, and further, that he never knew how it happened.

Judge Woodward served six years on the supreme bench. He had his share of the opinions to write. Those he wrote were drawn in scholarly language, bore ample evidence of the care he bestowed in coming to just conclusions, and the clearness with which they were expressed.

In 1861 he was elected to the State senate from Muscatine county, but resigned in 1863 to accept the more lucrative position of clerk of the Circuit Court of the United States. He died on the 24th of February, 1871. Death had robbed him of his excellent wife on the 31st of March of the preceding year.

I never heard Judge Woodward deliver a speech in or out of court. I came to Iowa a few months after he had been placed on the bench. He had a case then pending in the district court in which he took great interest. His position as one of the judges of the supreme court precluded him from taking a part in the trial, and Judge Grant, of Davenport,

was retained as counsel in the case. I was called into the case, not so much to aid in the case, but to keep watch over it. I was present at their conferences, but was simply a listener, although I noted all that was said. Judge Woodward's face always wore an expression that invited cordiality, and a polished but gentle manner that made no distinction between individuals. He had a quiet dignity that won respect without anything like assumption to mar it.

He had always been a great reader and his mind was stored with useful information. In social life, he had fine conversational powers and could readily interest an intelligent company on topics relating to science, history or physics, and even politics. Visitors at his home always met with a pleasant reception, and no efforts were spared for rational enjoyment.

Judge J. Scott Richman commenced his law practice in Muscatine the same year that Woodward did, in 1839, and they were much together. He tells me that Woodward had a high sense of the professional ethics that should govern a lawyer, and that he could not be persuaded to bring a suit unless he had good reason to believe that it would be successful, and that he would not seek to win a case by unfair means. He also says that Woodward was a smooth, easy talker, improving with time, and that his arguments showed earnest research for the law applicable to the case. If there was material conflict in the testimony, he sought to discover where the truth lay, by mild means and not by abuse. Judge Richman further states that Mr. Woodward from the beginning, by his courteous deportment, was treated with a degree of deference that was seldom accorded to any of his legal brethren.

The strong attachment that existed between Woodward and young Curtis, and the fact that they united as partners in the legal profession, and the wonderful talents that were developed in Curtis at an early age, have been referred to. It may not be amiss to trace the career of Curtis after the partnership ceased and more than a thousand miles lay between them. Woodward was conscious of the lofty professional heights that could be scaled by Curtis. It is more than likely that a correspondence was had between them. Woodward

learned that Curtis, instead of moving forward by degrees, leaped forward by bounds, and before he was thirty stood in the foremost ranks of his profession, the equal of the ablest. He applied himself closely to his profession and an enormous amount of business came to him. He was a decided whig, but he mingled but little in politics. On the death of Judge Woodbury a vacancy was created in the Supreme Court of the United States, and the vacant seat was offered to him. It required a great deal of persuasion to induce him to accept the appointment, and President Fillmore in 1851, signed his commission. The office was not to his taste, and in 1857 he resigned and resumed practice. He was on the supreme bench when the celebrated Dred Scott case was before the Supreme Court. The dissenting opinion of Judge Curtis was widely read and warmly commended. In 1868 he was one of the counsel that defended President Johnson when his impeachment was sought on certain charges filed and presented against him by the House of Representatives. The speech of Judge Curtis had an effect that doubtless contributed to defeat the impeachment of President Johnson, and Johnson was allowed to fill out the few months of his term.

A negro was in 1848 arrested in Muscatine as a fugitive slave, on a warrant issued by D. C. Cloud, who was justice of the peace. His owner lived in St. Louis, Missouri. He was not at the trial and the case was dismissed. J. Scott Richman and W. G. Woodward appeared for the negro. An appeal was taken, but nothing was done with it. The negro was discharged as a free man. The feeling in the community was naturally very strong for the negro. It was, I believe, the second and last case where the fugitive slave law was declared inoperative in Iowa.

Of Judge Woodward it may be truly said that his disposition was mild, incapable of intended offense, either in word or manner, and conciliatory to the last degree.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

THE CODE OF 1851.

The interesting article on the life and services of Judge Wm. G. Woodward, contributed to the foregoing pages by Judge W. F. Brannan, recalls again the noteworthy work of Iowa's first Code Commission appointed by the first General Assembly, in 1848, whose report in 1850 became the Code of 1851. When Iowa became a State the people had a miscellany of laws, an accumulation of ill-assorted, over-lapping and redundant acts that had been added to the acts first adopted, namely, those in force in the old territory of Wisconsin. The forms of procedure had been brought from the older Eastern States and were a mixture of Southern and Northern court practices, altogether a system that was cumbersome and expensive. Moved, doubtless, both by the latter considerations and by the agitation for codification, led, at that time, by David Dudley Field of New York, Iowa was almost the pioneer in codification. The legislature gave the commission power "to draft, revise and prepare a code of laws" and most thoroughly and vigorously did they execute their important task. The laws were re-written and re-organized, being condensed, clarified and classified under logical categories. Judge Emlin McClain, now a member of our Supreme Court, and for many years a distinguished publicist and himself the author of an annotated code, has said that "the Code of 1851 is a model of plain and unambiguous statement, in direct and clear language, of the rules and legal propositions which are attempted to be laid down. So satisfactory has been the work done, that while these sections have been overlaid by subsequent legislation, they have been largely retained in the Revision of 1860, the Code of 1873 and the Code of 1897 as the best statement of that portion of the law which they are intended to cover."

The Commission not only applied the knife vigorously in

reducing the verbiage of the early statutes and gave it lucid and logical form, but they introduced a number of radical reforms. They swept aside the elaborate modes of procedure reported from the older states and secured simplicity in process in ordinary civil actions and in criminal proceedings. In the conduct of government, outside the province of the courts, they provided, at least the Code as adopted so provided, for some revolutionary changes in methods of administration. The two reforms that eventually aroused great public discussion were the establishment of the County Judge system and the new methods of taxation and financial administration in the collection and distribution of taxes. In both instances the conspicuous fact was the marked increase in centralized authority at the expense of the autonomy of minor political units.

Prof. H. M. Bowman, of Amherst College, declares that the Code of 1851 is "justly famous." But he states that "its chief title to fame lies in the fact that it marked the abandonment of the common law." We doubt if this assertion is warranted. The Commission compiled, restated and enacted in fine form the administrative law of the State and local governments, and it codified the forms and methods of procedure in civil and criminal actions. But their Code did not mark the abandonment of the common law in Iowa. What it did mark was the discontinuance of the common law procedure in civil actions. The common law prevails in Iowa today in so far as its rules or principles are not inconsistent with or have not been superseded by statutory provisions. The Commissioners of 1848 did not attempt to produce a code that should assemble and include all of the general principles of law governing man in his relations to property and his fellows, a consummation hoped for by David Dudley Field and our own Judge John F. Dillon.

ROBERT LUCAS—THE MAN.

The discovery of the journals of Robert Lucas, reviewed at length elsewhere, has given us much new light upon the character of our first Governor, light that reveals a finer type

of man and public servant than he has heretofore been considered. From the very outset of his career as territorial Governor the fates served him many tricks. The peculiar conduct of the Secretary of the Territory, Wm. Conway, and his apparently flagrant attempt at usurpation of the gubernatorial office, the collision with the legislature and the eventual triumph of his enemies, all converged to create general popular prejudice against Governor Lucas, and tradition has not lessened it materially. His compatriots in opposition regarded him as a contentious, narrow-minded, overly exacting and stubborn man.

In the Journal of the War of 1812 one is impressed with various mental and moral characteristics that always distinguish Robert Lucas the man. He was methodical and precise and reserved in his conduct. He was concise in speech and cautious in characterization of men if his expressions were adverse. He was conscientious and gave to the performance of any duty anxious and scrupulous attention. Conduct that smacked of insubordination or self-seeking was not tolerated by him even when he might easily have gained temporary, worldly advantage thereby. This noteworthy trait in his character was strikingly shown early on the march towards Detroit, when on May 21 he was "solicited by Governor Meigs and Colo. Cass to assist in Detaching a part of Colo. McArthur's Regt. and attaching th[e]m to Colo. Cass' * * * and promised me the Command of the best Batallion in the Army if I would Consent to which I replied tha[t] when I engaged as a volunteer it was neither with a view to gain rank or emolum[e]nt but purely to serve my country." This was not pietistic patriotism or pharasaical cant, for although he was a regularly commissioned Captain in the United States Army and a Brigadier General in the militia of Ohio he had put aside ambition for personal distinction which he might have secured without much effort and had promptly enlisted as a private.

There is a complete absence of animosity or egotistical boasting, guile or sharp practice. There are no carping complaints or envious reflections. Yet when men and things are at fault, progress is halting, dangers needlessly incurred and

the management of affairs is at cross purposes he speaks out clearly, exactly and vigorously. Now and then he writes with deep feeling. His indignation was intense when he realized the result of Hull's treachery or stupid generalship at Detroit. But the narrative throughout all the trials and misfortunes exhibits a dignity, a fine self-control, an earnestness of character and purpose that compels admiration. In his letters to the Secretary of War and to James Foster after his return to Portsmouth, Ohio, after his escape from Detroit, one finds no self-laudation, no superlative and promiscuous denunciation of men or measures and no sly insinuations derogatory of companions or superiors, but a straightforward, serious, comprehensive and convincing recital of facts and observations. The rugged, somewhat uncouth narrative of the Journal shows us a man and a character thoroughly admirable.

The Journal of Robert Lucas, "Governor of Iowa territory," displays the same man and the same character. Exactness, promptness, scrupulous observance of the precise duties of his office, rigid insistence upon regularity, lack of sympathy with questionable proceedings, strict construction of governmental powers, resistance of insidious interference with official prerogative or of disregard of the organic law; these traits all stand out conspicuously. He is "anxious to commence official duties in a regular manner." He will not express an opinion on a legislative contest because he "would be traveling out of my appropriate sphere of duty." One may have various views as to the wisdom or correctness of Governor Lucas' vetoes that caused so much friction throughout his term as chief executive of the Territory, but there can scarcely be two opinions as to the candor, consistency and conscientious character of his course. Governor Lucas was not what nowadays would be called a good politician. He lacked various important elements that make for popularity in a public official. Whether it was his Scotch-Irish nature and his notions of right and wrong or his military training, he could not coddle the public. He was not pliable, nor was he given to dodging or hedging when any matter presented itself to him that called for his official action or expression, his attitude or action was unequivocal, immediate and irrevocable. His

one concern was the law. And he could not and would not make himself think that the adverse opinion of the legislature was necessarily *vox dei*, if the law plainly said the contrary. Nor would he admit that a count of heads gave one the better of an argument, even if the fates decreed his removal.

In his communications answering charges made against him by his belligerent opponents, he expresses his dissent in language that is always notable for its restraint under rather irritating circumstances. His enemies did not always proceed against him openly. Many of their criticisms he refuses to notice because he deems it beneath his dignity to characterize them. His irony is pungent at times when he refers to legislative proceedings taken not with a view to the public welfare, but solely with a view to trapping him.

AN ALMOST FORGOTTEN CONTEST.

Elsewhere in this number, Mr. Tacitus Hussey of Des Moines, relates the history of the effort of Iowa fishermen and sportsmen to secure a fishway in the dam across the Des Moines river at Bentonsport. This fight was a long one and unsuccessful. It was led from beginning to end by Mr. Hussey, who tells the story in his pleasant style. The Bonaparte Dam was one that was built to render the Des Moines river navigable under the old scheme of improvement. It was erected before any special interest was taken in the direction of fishing. When the fishermen discovered that it was an obstacle in the way of the fishes in their spring migration up stream, they were very anxious to have a fishway constructed, or to have the dam removed. The Messrs. Meek, however, had purchased it at an authorized auction sale, and were averse to incurring any expense in the matter of establishing a fishway. They had legal rights in the premises which could not be molested, as Mr. Hussey conclusively shows. The dam, therefore, remained until the high water of 1903 when it was partially swept away. It has never been

reconstructed and will probably never be,—a result which will be entirely satisfactory to the fishermen.

Beginning with pioneer times, several generations of the Meek family have been engaged in large business operations at Bonaparte. Their flouring mill and woolen factory was one of the most important pioneer enterprises ever undertaken in southern Iowa. They always performed excellent work, whether in the manufacture of woolen cloths or bread-stuffs. Their customers came from long distances in northern Missouri and southern Iowa. Scarcely another business enterprise could have been of so much importance to the pioneers. Early settlers always speak of the Meeks in terms of the highest respect, paying just tributes to the importance of their mill and factory. Even the fishermen themselves no longer indulge in any expressions regarding the Meeks except those of highest commendation.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

THE JOURNALS OF GOVERNOR ROBERT LUCAS.

The Robert Lucas Journal of the War of 1812, During the Campaign Under General William Hull. Edited by John C. Parish, p. IX, 103. Published at Iowa City, Iowa, in 1906, by the State Historical Society of Iowa. Edition limited to 400 copies.

Executive Journal of Iowa, 1838-1841. Edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh, Professor of Political Science in the State University of Iowa, pp. XXV, 341. Published at Iowa City, Iowa, in 1906, by the State Historical Society of Iowa.

The Historical Society at Iowa City is indeed to be congratulated upon the good fortune that has enabled it to publish these Journals of Governor Robert Lucas, and the public is under lasting obligations to Mr. Parish and Dr. Shambaugh for their labors in discovery and preparation for the press. The Journal of the War of 1812 is reprinted from Professor Shambaugh's *Journal of History and Politics*. Both volumes appear in handsome form. The binding is attractive and firm. The paper is "Old Stratford," heavy and compact, hand-made, with deckle edges and gilt tops. The type is large and clear, the lines are leaded and the margins broad. These volumes are in fact *editions de luxe* by far excelling anything heretofore put out by the Historical Society. Certainly, if it is necessary or peremptorily desirable that documentary

material be thus reproduced one must be captious or eccentric who would not prefer these fine tomes.

The Journals constitute important additions to our stock of original materials bearing upon our national and state history at critical stages. They illuminate or make possible more satisfactory explanations of events heretofore perplexing or but partially understood. More than this, they bring out in strong relief the sturdy character of Iowa's first chief magistrate, who, if we err not, has been greatly underrated alike by contemporaries and historians, because of his collisions with the territorial legislature and his stubborn adherence to his own views in his many controversies with the first lawmakers throughout his term of office as Governor.

The general, special or relative values of the two Journals cannot be easily measured and perhaps no gain would result by such estimates. To one interested in studying the nature and course of events in the "disastrous campaign" that concluded in the "general wreck of the Northwestern Army" at Detroit, "The Journal of the War of 1812" is of inestimable value. But of like value is the "Executive Journal" to the student searching for the major facts and predominant influences determining the political history of Iowa from July 17, 1838, to June 18, 1841. The Journal of Captain, Brigadier General and Private (for such he was simultaneously), Robert Lucas far excels in dramatic interest the Executive Journal of Governor Robert Lucas. In the former, although the recital is given in concise, intermittent, rough narrative, the blood begins to run faster as the story of the march proceeds and the campaign culminates in the capitulation that amazed and outraged "the Patriotic army" under General Hull: while in the latter Journal the accounts and discussions in letters, messages, memoranda and proclamations, while enlightening and important, stir one but little.

The editors tell us little or nothing of the reasons for the development of the whereabouts or the mode of discovery of these Journals and it is not idle curiosity wholly to wish for more information. What led to their discovery? Who exhumed them—the respective editors or some one of the descendants of Robert Lucas? We should naturally infer that Mr. Parish unearthed the Journal he edits and Professor Shambaugh the collection he edits. On the other hand, it is not unlikely that Mr. Parish discovered both documents. Further, were they discovered by accident while rummaging the trunks and receptacles in the attics and cellars of the owners or were they secured as a result of direct search for them? There is no reason to doubt their authenticity, nevertheless fuller information respecting such details would have been most appropriate in the explanatory data supplied by the editors.

The Journal of the War of 1812 begins April 25, 1812, in "Scioto county," Ohio, and closes under date of Sept. 4, 1812, at Portsmouth, where the writer had "safe arrived, etc." Lucas was with the Army of Detroit when Hull surrendered but he avoided transportation to prison by flight as he "had no inclination to go with such Detestable

Enemies as the British, to Quebec as a prisoner of war." The Journal is almost a daily account of his journeyings. There are but two serious breaks in the narrative, viz., from June 7 to June 13, and from July 27 to Aug. 3. The entries of the first month are generally quite brief, the notations and references in many instances making no more than four, three or two lines, and now and then one line. Thus on May 20, he notes simply but significantly "Done my duty with the army." The narrative throws interesting side-lights on many men and subjects—on methods of dealing with Indians, on the character of the western militia and volunteer soldiers, on the character of army organization, on the lack of discipline and the enervating effects of favoritism, and rivalry of local and popular leaders. It would be presumptuous perhaps to say that the assertions of this eye-witness and keenly interested officer alone warrants the conclusions that General Hull was guilty of treachery in surrendering Detroit, yet this recital of facts and first hand impressions and observations, seems to make one of three conclusions necessary: He was utterly incompetent and gave up supinely; or, he was completely befogged by misinformation or temporarily unbalanced by his perplexities; or, he was guilty of the treachery with which his compatriots charged him. "Never was there officers more Solicitous," says Lucas, "or more united than our Patriotic Colonels (and indeed the whole army) have been both of the Regulars and Volunteers, to promote the Public good, neither was there ever men of talents as they are so shamefully opposed by an imbesile or treacherous commander as they have been." This declaration of Lucas is enhanced by his habit of cautious judgment and the evidence of general freedom from rancor or self-seeking in his notes and reflections.

Three interesting letters in appendices, one by Governor Meigs referring to General Lucas, and two long letters by Lucas further describing the events incident to the surrender of Detroit; facsimiles of the first and last pages of the original Journal, maps of the routes of Lucas and of Hull's army and of the region from Detroit to Brownstown and St. Malden on the Detroit river, and an index of 9 pages increase the value and usefulness of the Journal. One is curious whether the maps (pp. II, 23) are taken from the original Journal or from contemporary prints, or have been constructed by the editor from data afforded in the Journal.

This volume that Professor Shambaugh entitles "Executive Journal, 1838-1841," consists of a miscellany of copies of certificates of election, commissions, letters, memorials, messages to the legislature, oaths of office, proclamations, together with an appendix containing a "Memorandum" or schedule of legislative bills on which Governor Lucas took action. The real title of the volume from which the contents of this Journal are taken is "Copy of Ex[ec]utive Letters": a title more accurate as a description than the arbitrary designation of the editor. The latter appreciates this fact but he takes the original volume to be in effect the "Record" which the Organic Act establishing the territory directed the Secretary to keep, but which, so far as known, was not done.

Impatient because such a record was not kept by Wm. Conway, the official charged with the duty, Governor Lucas, doubtless for prudential reasons, systematically made copies of most of his important communications in his copy-book. It is with one exception the contents of his copy-book or letter-press that we have here. The messages and proclamations were in essence communications no less than the letters included. The book containing them, in the absence of the "Record" required, was, of course, a fair equivalent or substitute but it is stretching terms not a little to designate this collection as a "Journal."

Professor Shambaugh does not misrepresent the facts in his editorial preface, but one gains an impression on reading his enthusiastic expressions anent the discovery of the manuscript record that this Journal contains documentary materials hitherto entirely hidden, or unavailable—hence its value and his joy on its discovery. There is nothing in the preface to indicate that a large portion of these pages has always been available in the Journals of the Territorial Council and of the House of Representatives and in the "Messages" recently collected and published by the editor himself. This Executive Journal contains 379 pages, and approximately 150 pages of its contents are found in Volume I of the editor's edition of the Messages between pages 75 and 246 thereof. Comparison of the contents of this Journal with the documents in the Messages is not easy, because the chronological order is followed in the former and the topical order in the latter. It would have added greatly to the usefulness of the Journal if a comparative schedule showing the messages found herein that are lacking in the Messages, and *vice versa*. Besides the numerous notes acknowledging receipt of acts or resolutions transmitted to him by the Council or lower House, four messages seem lacking in this Journal that are found in the Messages. On the other hand, if my count is correct, this Journal discloses some 10 formal public communications not given in the collected messages of Lucas.

The editor's comments in the foot-notes are almost wholly confined to elucidation of verbal obscurities in the transcripts of the original copy. We are not informed whether there has been any systematic comparison of the text with other manuscripts or printed copies. In one instance at least I find slight textual differences. In the collected Messages (Vol. I, p. 175) a communication addressed to the "Legislative Assembly," dated "Dec. 20, 1839," appears in this Journal as addressed to the "House of Representatives of the Legislative Assembly" under date of "Dec. 21, 1839." Again in the former Governor Lucas is compelled to veto the act because of a "conscientious sense of duty," while in the latter he is constrained so to do by reason of a "conscious sense" of duty. Such discrepancies may be slight and unimportant, and they may be exceedingly important, depending upon the matters in controversy or doubt.

The great value of the Executive Journal lies largely in the many letters of Governor Lucas wherein we may find his statements of the facts

as he saw them and his explanations or arguments in justification of his course in the various controversies he aroused and maintained during his gubernatorial career. In his collision with the Legislature, the practical outcome for him personally was discomfiture and defeat. The opposition was successful in securing a limitation of his powers by Congress. The political revolution in the country at large that took place in 1840 enabled his opponents to enforce his retirement. The public, judging simply by the contrary drifts of public sentiment, has not unnaturally concluded that our first governor was not only wrong, but was more than firm, pig-headed. It is fallacious, of course, to depend solely upon the printed or written records in measuring the faults or merits of political conduct because so much that is vital takes place *sub rosa*, or behind the curtains and in obscure recesses of which no record is made and hence correct interpretation *ex post facto* is exceedingly difficult. But an impartial study of Governor Lucas' letters and messages must convince one that he had solid ground in law, if not in fact, for his opposition to so many of the legislative bills presented to him. These letters in his own defense seem not to have been initial communications on his part, but in each case to have been written in response to official inquiry of his superiors at Washington. There is a fine dignity, and reserve of manner in his explanations, although his arguments and rejoinders are keen and his irony cutting at times. One cannot but think of the striking similarity in points of character and conduct, in the circumstances and experiences in the careers of Robert Lucas and Arthur St. Clair, the first Governor of the Northwest Territory. Both men were Scotchmen, and made of staunch stuff; both were firm to stubbornness in any course they deliberately undertook; both were conscientious and constant in carrying out both the letter and the spirit of the laws; both quickly ran counter to the ardent, insistent populace heedless or reckless of the law's injunctions, and both were finally worsted and ousted by the belligerent partizans they offended.

F. I. HERRIOTT.

Drake University.

THE SOD-COVERED SCHOOLHOUSE.

Mr. J. W. Ellis, Secretary and Treasurer of the Maquoketa Valley Pioneer Association, Secretary and Curator of the Jackson County Historical Society, sends the following communication about the old sod-covered building, the cut of which appears on another page.

By all odds the most important building erected in the then village of Springfield, later Maquoketa, was the sod-covered log house built by J. E. Goodenow and a Mr. Gowen for a blacksmith shop some time

in 1838. It was the first schoolhouse, the first blacksmith shop, and the first meeting house in what is now the city of Maquoketa.

This building first stood about where the Servatius store is now located on the east side of Main street and from the evidence of A. H. Wilson, A. J. Phillips and George Earl, who are still living here, was undoubtedly the third building erected in the village. It was built of unhewn logs, first covered with timbers split out of oak trees, and then covered with sod, it being the only sod-covered house ever erected in Maquoketa. Prior to 1842 it had no floor and but one small window, and was first used by Mr. Gowen for a blacksmith and general repair shop. Later two men, John and William Abbey, came to the village and built a shop and engaged in blacksmithing, and as the business was not extensive enough to afford two shops, Mr. Goodenow had an empty building on his hands, but not for long. In the spring of 1842 the population had so increased that a school was a much needed feature in the new settlement. Mr. Goodenow very generously offered to donate his building for a schoolhouse if those interested would assist in fitting it up for that purpose. His proposition was accepted and a floor was put in, also two windows, one on each side, made by cutting a section out of two logs near the middle and inserting the two parts of an 8 by 10-12 light window in such a way that one part of the sash would slip by the other in order to give ventilation. There was but one door in the building, it was made of plank ripped out with a whip-saw by hand, and was in the end facing the road near the southwest corner. The seats were made by splitting logs in halves, boring holes in the bark side and inserting pegs the proper length for legs, leaving the flat side up. These seats were 8 or 10 feet in length without back or foot rest, and would accommodate from 6 to 8 pupils each, according to size, if it could be called an accommodation. The desks on which the scholars practised writing were made by boring holes in logs the proper height from the floor and driving pegs into the logs, and fastening a wide, smooth plank on these pegs. The seats were arranged lengthwise about the room. When the pupils were studying their lessons they faced inward, and when time came for practicing writing, they reversed their positions and faced outward.

The first teacher was a Miss Dennison, a sister of Mrs. Sherwood who lived with her family on Section 10, South Fork township, or "over in the timber" as people would say in those days. Miss Dennison taught the spring term in 1842, Miss Catherine Earl taught the second term, and Ebenezer Dorr, who later married Miss Earl, taught the winter term. The first pupils of the first school taught in Maquoketa were Sophia, Laura and John Shaw; Serena, Nancy, Bolivar, Margaret and A. J. Phillips; Mary, Julia and Phebe M'Cloy; Mary, Sarah and Hubert Pangborn; Sarah Wright, a half-sister to Mrs. J. E. Goodenow; Columbus Billups; Henry and Charley Hall; Frank and Matilda Battles; Rhoda Effner, and George, Lizzie and Hattie Earl. Mary M'Cloy married Hon. Pierce Mitchell, one of our pioneer merchants. Phebe M'Cloy

married Fred Dunham; Julia M'Cloy died. Young Sarah Pangborn married Horace Salter, and she is now living in California. Mary Pangborn married Fred DeGrush, Hubert Pangborn died before reaching man's estate. Sophia Shaw married Judge Joseph Kelso, and still lives in Bellevue. Laura married John Brockschmit, and both are now living in Cedar Rapids. Helen Wright married Columbus Billups; she is dead, he is still living. Henry Hall married a Miss Smith. Nancy Phillips married Joel Higgins; both are dead. Serena married Alfred Clark, Bolivar married a woman in California, and A. J. married Elizabeth Springer. There might have been other pupils attending the first school taught in Maquoketa, but Mr. Phillips, from whom we have obtained most of this information, states that some of the first families only remained a short time and moved on to points farther west. Of the pupils of the old sod-covered schoolhouse of 1842, there are 10 or 12 known to be living, at this writing, but they are scattered over many states, most of them on the Pacific coast.

The first cabin in what is now the business section of Maquoketa, was built in the fall of 1837 by a Mr. Parmeter, and this cabin and the claim it stood on was sold to J. E. Goodenow in the spring of 1838. The next cabin was built by Nelson Brown, and stood where the Jackson County Bank now stands. James Sherman, a carpenter, built a small frame house in 1838 about where the First National Bank is located and in 1842 sold it to John Shaw who used it for a store building. The first store in the village was owned and operated by a man named Marr who came up from Nauvoo and after looking the field over, said he would put in a stock of merchandise if he had a building. Mr. Goodenow told him to go for his goods and the store room would be ready when he returned. Goodenow had a new corn crib which had not been used, and this he fixed up and put in shelving and when Marr returned with his stock of goods, the store room was ready for him. Mr. A. H. Wilson, who came here in April, 1839, is positive that Marr's was the first store started in the village of Maquoketa, or Springfield as it was then called.

Mr. Wilson is also positive that the cabin occupied by J. E. Goodenow, the Nelson Brown cabin, and the sod-covered cabin that Goodenow had built for a blacksmith shop, and the little frame coop, as it was called, were the only cabins in the village in 1839.

An item of history of which I had been entirely ignorant came out in a conversation with A. H. Wilson on the 4th of November, 1906, when he informed me that the first town site laid out in the Maquoketa valley, was made by Nelson Brown prior to 1839. That Brown had surveyed and platted a town site about where Dostal's brewery now stands, and had offered town lots for sale in the east before Mr. Goodenow had done any surveying for the present site of Maquoketa. Mr. Wilson recalls a visit he had with Brown in 1839. Brown had invited him to stay over night with him in his cabin in which he lived alone near the banks of the river. Mr. Wilson says when Brown started supper, he put

some water in a kettle and some coarse corn meal into the water and hung the kettle over the fire and then sat down to visit until the mush was cooked. Our old friend says it was the first time he ever saw mush made by putting the meal in cold water, but that it tasted very good with sweetened water.

Mr. Wilson states that the first preacher he remembers in the Maquoketa valley was Simeon Clark; other early day preachers were Rev. William Jenkins, Rev. Roberts and Rev. Weed, of whom Amasa Nims and his good wife thought so well that they named a son for him. Rev. William Jenkins settled in Perry township in 1839 and preached occasionally in the sod-covered log cabin, usually coming on horseback with a sheep skin for a saddle. Reverend William Salter preached here from 1843 to 1846, and has a very distinct recollection of the old sod-covered log house in which he first preached in the Maquoketa valley.

HALF BREED LANDS.

The farming lands in the Half Breed Tract, between the Mississippi and Des Moines Rivers, Wisconsin Territory, are now offered for sale, at the office of the Des Moines Land Company, at Montrose, (formerly Fort Des Moines) head of the Des Moines Rapids of the Mississippi River. The terms of payment are one-fourth cash at the time of sale, and the balance, half in two, and half in three years, with interest at six per cent per annum. There will be a public sale of Lots in the towns of Keokuk and Montrose, commencing at Keokuk, on Wednesday, September 6th, and closing at Montrose.

Persons with families, wishing to purchase lands and settle on the Half Breed tract, can be accommodated with rooms, or dwelling houses, and stabling for horses and cattle, at Montrose, without charge of rent, for a reasonable time, to erect buildings on such lands as they may purchase.

JOSEPH AIKEN,

ROBERT E. LITTLE,

Agents.

Office of the Des Moines Land Company.

Montrose, June 17th, 1837.

—*Montrose Western Adventurer, August 19, 1837.*

NOTABLE DEATHS.

WILLIAM A. HUNTER was born in Carrollton, Ohio, July 8, 1845; he died at Anamosa, Iowa, Sept. 30, 1906. He came with his father's family to Newton, Iowa, in 1857, where he remained until October, 1861, when at the age of 17 he enlisted in Co. B, 13th Iowa Infantry. He went as a drummer boy, but after the battle of Shiloh he expressed a strong desire to lay aside the drum and carry a musket, in which wish he was gratified, thereafter serving in the ranks. He participated in many battles, before Atlanta, at Pittsburg Landing, Corinth, and was with Sherman in the battles before Richmond. He was present at the Grand Review in Washington just before the Union armies were mustered out of the service. He returned to Newton, from which place he went to Iowa College, at Grinnell, and took a part of the regular course. After leaving college he was engaged as a clerk in Newton, for the next year, and afterwards went to Ft. Dodge, where he had an interest in a mercantile establishment. He sold out his business in Ft. Dodge and returned to Newton, after which he engaged in the drug business in Belle Plaine, of which city he served two terms as postmaster. In 1898, the State legislature elected him for a term of two years as warden of the Anamosa penitentiary. He was also re-elected for another term of two years. At the expiration of this last term he was appointed to the same place by the Board of Control, which continued him in this position until the day of his death. From the outset he devoted himself assiduously to the investigation of the many problems involved in prison management, both theoretical and practical. His most successful reforms were the inauguration of the grade system and the banishment of the lock-step. He divided the male inmates into three classes, the intermediate class were accorded certain privileges and the discarding of prison stripes. Then, another grade above this was given still more desirable privileges and clothing practically as unobjectionable as an ordinary citizen's suit. Below these two grades was the class of incorrigibles, with prison stripes and limited privileges. This latter class involved but a small per cent. of the whole number of convicts. His plan worked admirably and gave the prisoners high hopes of restoration to the walks of useful and respectable life. Mr. Hunter became exceedingly useful in his philanthropic efforts to reform those under his charge, and his action met hearty endorsement all over the State and in many other states. He represented the State of Iowa in many conventions throughout the country where he ably presented his views of prison management. It is believed that he was instrumental in discharging many men who were thoroughly reformed and ready once more to take responsible positions in the communities where they lived. He inspired them with hope from the very start of their prison careers and kept them improving until the day of their discharge. He made a complete revolution in the management of the average prison and his example bids fair to be widely copied throughout the United States. *The Anamosa Eureka*, of October 4, 1906, contains a highly appreciative notice of the career, life and death of Warden Hunter from which we have compiled the facts herein stated.

JOHN CLINTON SHRADER was born in Washington county, Ohio, April 24, 1830; he died at Iowa City, Oct. 30, 1906. He graduated from the Marietta (O.) Academy, especially distinguished for his knowledge of the classics. He settled in Keokuk, Iowa, where he studied medicine in the College of Physicians and Surgeons. Later he entered the Long Island Hospital in New York City from which he graduated

at the head of his class in 1870. When the civil war broke out Dr. Shrader was commissioned Captain of Co. H, 22d Iowa Volunteer Infantry, and some time afterwards was made surgeon of the regiment. During the Shenandoah campaign under General Sheridan he served as operating surgeon as he did in all the engagements in that region. He was for a time Hospital Director at Winchester, but was transferred to the South, serving at Port Gibson, Champion Hills, Black River, and the siege of Vicksburg. After the war he settled in Iowa City where he became a distinguished practitioner and an honored and public-spirited citizen. For twenty-eight years he was connected with the College of Medicine of the State University. He was physician of Mercy Hospital and health officer of Iowa City, a member of many medical societies in this and other states. He was for many years a member of the Iowa Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion. He was a man of great public usefulness, both as educator and as physician and surgeon. His death was deeply deplored wherever he was known.

DANIEL O. FINCH was born in Unadilla, Otsego county, N. Y., June 6, 1829; he died in San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 27, 1906. His early education was received in Delaware Institute, Franklin, N. Y., in Oxford Academy, Chenango county, N. Y., and in the law office of Judge C. C. Noble, of Unadilla. He afterwards graduated from the Cherry Valley law school. In the spring of 1848, he began the practice of his profession in Monroe, Wisconsin. In 1851 he removed to Cedar Rapids, Iowa, where he was associated with Judge George Greene; in 1853 he located in Des Moines, where he became one of the most prominent attorneys and democratic politicians of the State. He was first associated in the practice of the law with Judge Curtis Bates, afterwards with Judge Mitchell, Gen. M. M. Crocker, John A. Kasson and other prominent men. All through the prolonged litigation connected with the Des Moines River Land cases he was chief attorney for the River Land Company. He was for a time editor of the *Iowa Star*, one of the earliest papers published in the State. He was a candidate in 1854 for district judge, in 1857 for state senator, in 1862 for congress. He was delegate to the national democratic conventions in 1860, 1864, 1868, and was president of the State convention in 1867. From 1885 to 1889 he held the position of U. S. Attorney for the Southern District of Iowa. From the time that he came to Iowa until he retired from public life Mr. Finch was one of the most conspicuous leaders of the democratic party of this State. He enjoyed a high degree of personal popularity throughout his career.

JOHN H. LEAVITT was born in Franklin county, Mass., Oct. 11, 1831; he died in Waterloo, Iowa, Sept. 25, 1906. He was reared and educated in Massachusetts, and at the age of 23 started west, arriving in Waterloo in 1854, from which time he was a resident of that city until the day of his death. He was one of the early settlers of Black Hawk county, and its pioneer banker. His first two years in Iowa were occupied by the work of surveying and dealing in real estate. In 1856 he started a private bank, which was the foundation of the splendid institution of which he was the head at the time of his death. In 1898 the institution was reorganized as the Leavitt & Johnson National bank. This bank has enjoyed a wide reputation as one of the best financial institutions in Iowa. During all these years Mr. Leavitt has remained its president. He has always been known as one of the leading business men of Waterloo and Black Hawk county. He was public-spirited, participating in many of the large business enterprises of that region, and a man who always occupied a high place in the public confidence.

Those who knew him well did not consider him as especially anxious for political preferment, but he was nevertheless nominated and elected to the State senate, serving in the 14th General Assembly. Possessing a genial, social nature, enjoying the highest confidence as a business man, he was at once recognized as a leader in the senate. He was a charter member of the first Congregational church of Waterloo, with which he had been connected from the first.

JAMES D. YEOMANS was born in Bennington, Wyoming county, N. Y., April 21, 1845; he died in Washington, D. C., Oct. 31, 1906. He was educated in the public schools of New York. At the age of seventeen he was employed on the Erie railroad and for many years continued in the work of constructing railways. During the war the Government employed him in railroading in the South. In 1888 he removed to Onawa, Iowa, and engaged in stock-raising. He served as State senator in the 24th and 25th General Assemblies, but on April 2, 1894, before the expiration of his last term, President Cleveland appointed him a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission. He was re-appointed by President McKinley for a term of six years. While in Iowa Judge Yeomans was active commercially and organized the Sioux City Jobbers and Manufacturers' Association, the purpose of which was to prevent discrimination by railroads against Iowa cities in the making of rates.

JOHN DOWNEY was born in Belfast, Ireland, in 1834; he died in Charleston township, Lee county, Iowa, Oct. 29, 1906. He migrated to this country at the age of twenty, settling at first in the city of New York. After two years he went to Ohio, and soon after came to Iowa settling in Lee county in the spring of 1857, where he spent the remainder of his life. He held many local positions of honor and trust, but his principal public service was as State senator, to which position he was elected in 1893, serving in the 25th and 26th General Assemblies. He was for twenty years justice of the peace of his township. He was all his life a democrat and his party honored him with several local distinctions.

EGBERT C. SUDLOW was born in Litchfield county, Conn., Sept. 8, 1834; he died in Newton, Iowa, Nov. 30, 1906. When a child he moved with his parents to Ohio; in 1856 he came to Scott county, Iowa; in 1869 he settled on a farm near Newton, where he became one of the influential and well-known citizens of Jasper county. He served as State senator in the 19th and 20th General Assemblies.

THOMAS W. JOHNSTON was born in County Mayo, Ireland, in 1840; he died in Dubuque, Iowa, Nov. 30, 1906. In early youth he came to America with his parents settling in Indiana and a few years later locating on a farm in Dubuque county. He represented Dubuque county in the 15th and 16th General Assemblies. For many years he was superintendent of the county poor farm.

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